GUIDE TO THE AD5 TAIWAN HOKKIEN FILE

[The AD5 Taiwan Hokkien file is concemed with the Hokkien Chinese-speaking peoples of the island of Taiwan (Formosa). Hokkien (also called Min-nan) has two dialects on Taiwan; however, the speakers are mixed together and the dialects are mutually intelligible. Hokkien is the language of the population of the adjacent mainland Chinese province of Fukien - comparative material may be found in the AF17 South China file. Older Hokkien-speakers (those who lived on Taiwan during the Japanese occupation) are bilingual in Hokkien and Japanese; the younger speakers are bilingual in Hokkien and Mandarin. The focus of the file is on the peasant villagers, although there is much intercourse with the larger cities and some material on the latter is also contained in the file.

There are four sources in the AD5 Taiwan Hokkien file, all of them in English and all of them major sources. 1: Gallin is a study by an anthropologist of the village of Hsin Hsing, which is located in Chan-hua Hsien (county) on the west-central coastal plain. . It is an intensive study of sociocultural change from the beginning of the 20th century up to 1959, containing a good deal of data on village and clan (tzu) organization. 2: Wolf, by an anthropologist, is a study of marriage and adoption in the village of Hsiachichou near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei basin in the north of the island. Based on a study of 850 genealogies covering the period 1870 to 1960, it presents detailed information on marriage and adoption practices, emphasizing the integration of these institutions with the rest of the cultural system. 3: Wolf, by the wife of the author of 2: Wolf, is a case study of an ideal Hokkien extended family in the village of Hsiachichou. It offers a large

amount of material on family structure and relationships, as well as other aspects of village life. 4: Barnett, by an anthropologist is a detailed ethnography of the village of Sanlei Ts'un in the Taipei basin in northern Taiwan. It uses the ethnographic data to illuminate the status of women in the village, quite high in contrast to the traditional view expounded in the literature. The file is quite a good one for most comparative purposes, with limited data on material culture but a good deal of data on the economic and life cycles, social and political organization, and history. Several marking decisions have been made for the file. Information on ch'in t'ang (villagers with a surname common to others, yet not claiming descent from a common ancestral village) has been placed in Category 614; on the hsiang (a political unit consisting of several villages) in Category 632; on the hsien (county, consisting of several hsiang) in Category 634; on the tzu (tsu) (a common descent group) in Category 618. National government activities which influence village affairs at the community level have been analyzed for the pertinent 65 categories. The file was processed between 1969 and 1972.

12 The population of the genealogies used in the study consists of a total of 843 persons. Some of these people were born in the village of Hsiachichou and died there; others lived in the village only before or after their marriage; still others were born in the village but given away in adoption within a year or two of birth. The entire population with which we will be concerned does, however, have at least two traits in common. At one time or another in their lives all were members of a family living in Hsiachichou, and if they were not living there themselves in 1960 they did have at least one primary relative living in the village at the time, a father or mother, a son or daughter, a brother or sister, or a husband or wife. Although our genealogies refer to a number of people who have moved away from the village or who have died so long ago as to have no surviving primary relative, we have excluded these cases from our analysis, assuming that such information as we have about them is untrustworthy. For various reasons we were unable to obtain the precise date of birth of a number of people included in our genealogies. Nonetheless, we are able to estimate within a year or two the birthdates of the great majority of our population, since we usually know the ages of their children and their spouse. According to these estimates, 20 of these 843 people were born in the years 1871-1880, 22 in 1881-1890, 56 in 1891-1900, 79 in 1901-1910, 80 in 1911-1920, 134 in 1921-1930, 133 in 1931-1940, 104 in 1941-1950, and 215 in the decade 1951-1960. The time period with which we will be concerned is therefore the ninety year period between 1870 and 1960, although it must be noted that by and

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12 large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900
[101] will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

[b21] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

132 is about 184.4 (Nuttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

• 101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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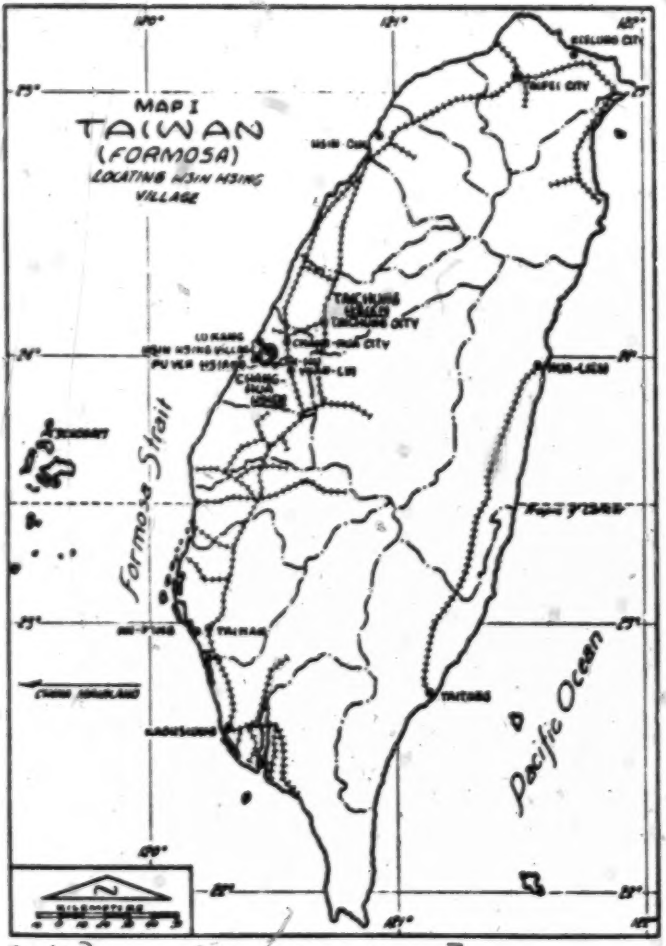

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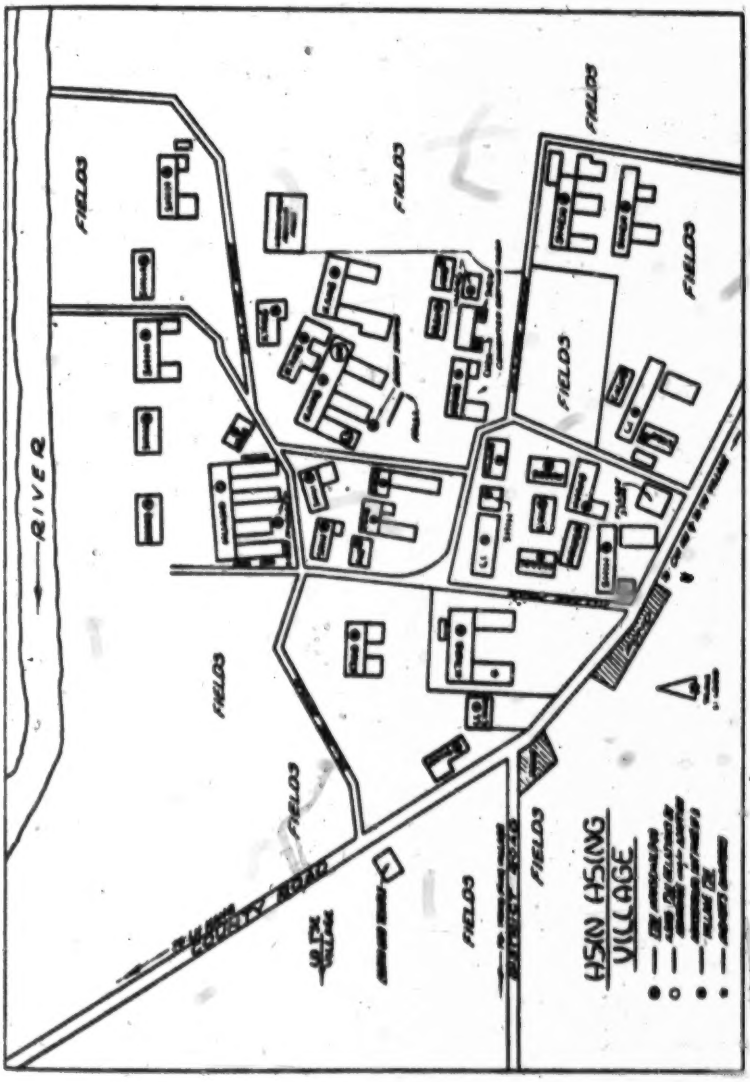

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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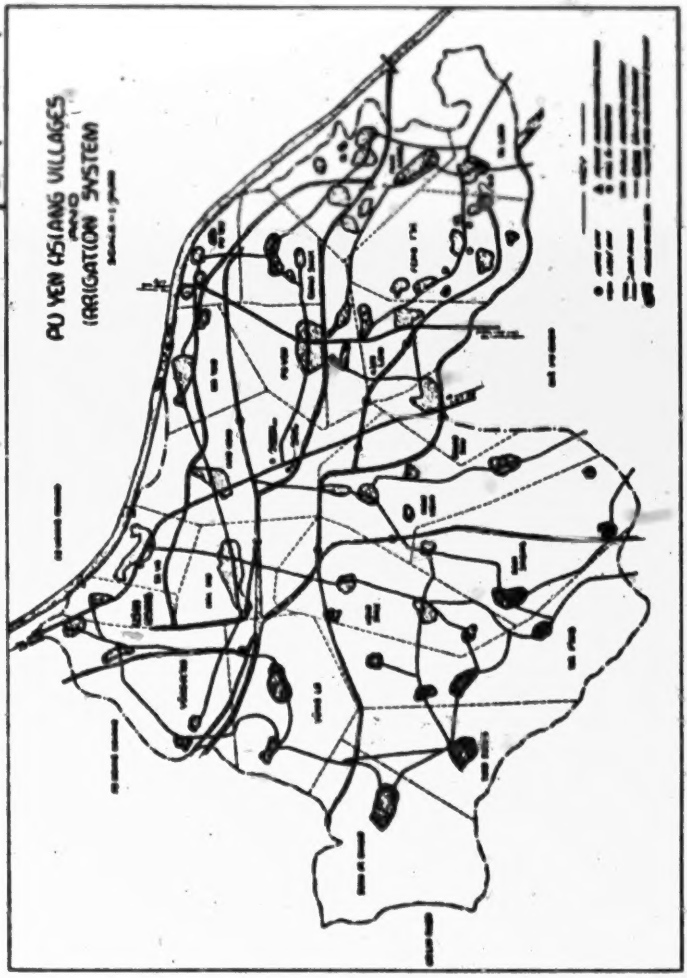

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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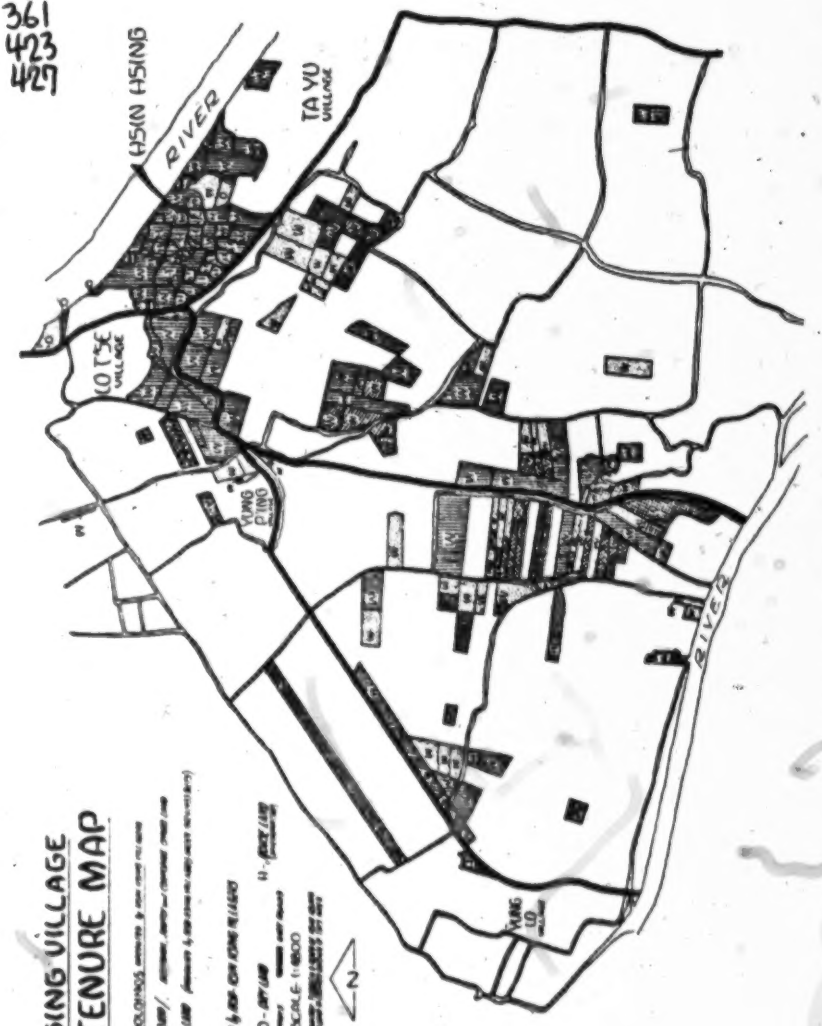

Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Luhsng Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

4:Barnett E-4, 5 (1955-1967) 1970 × AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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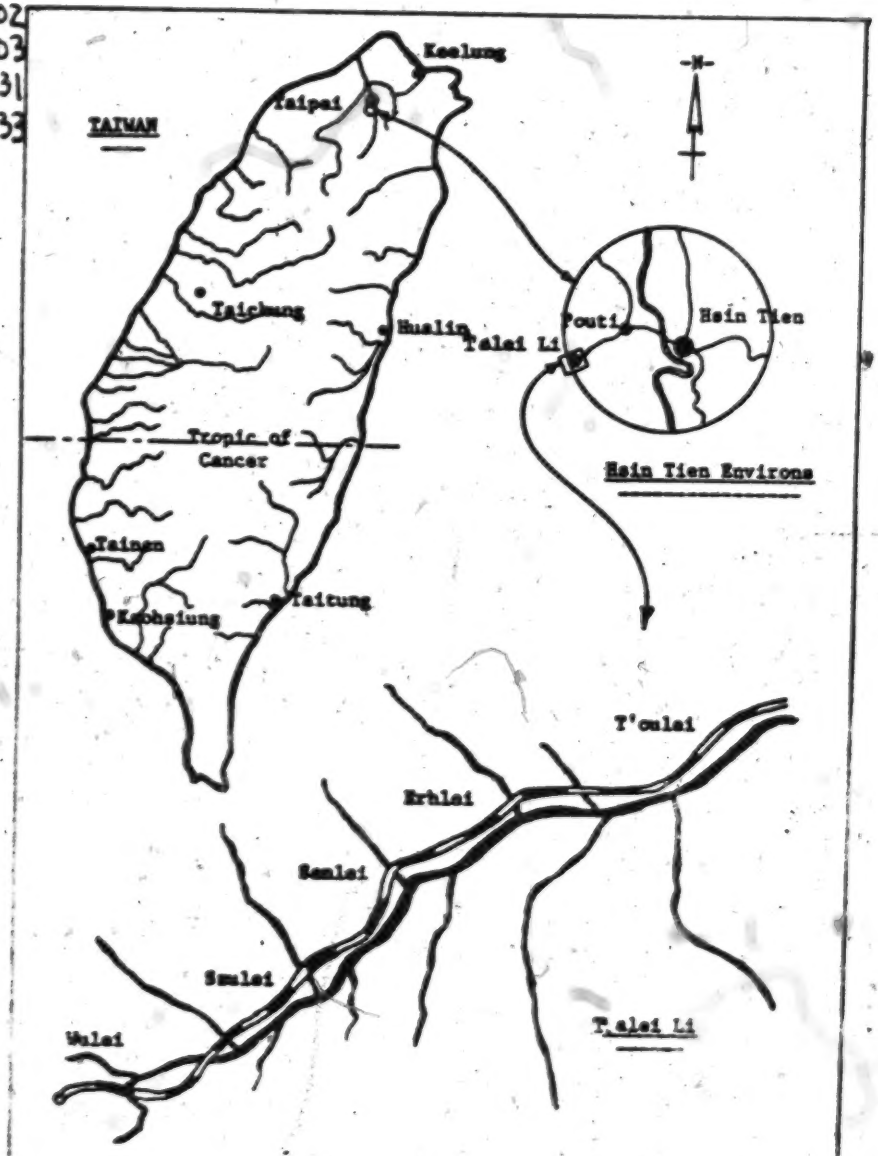

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan: Locating Sanlei Village

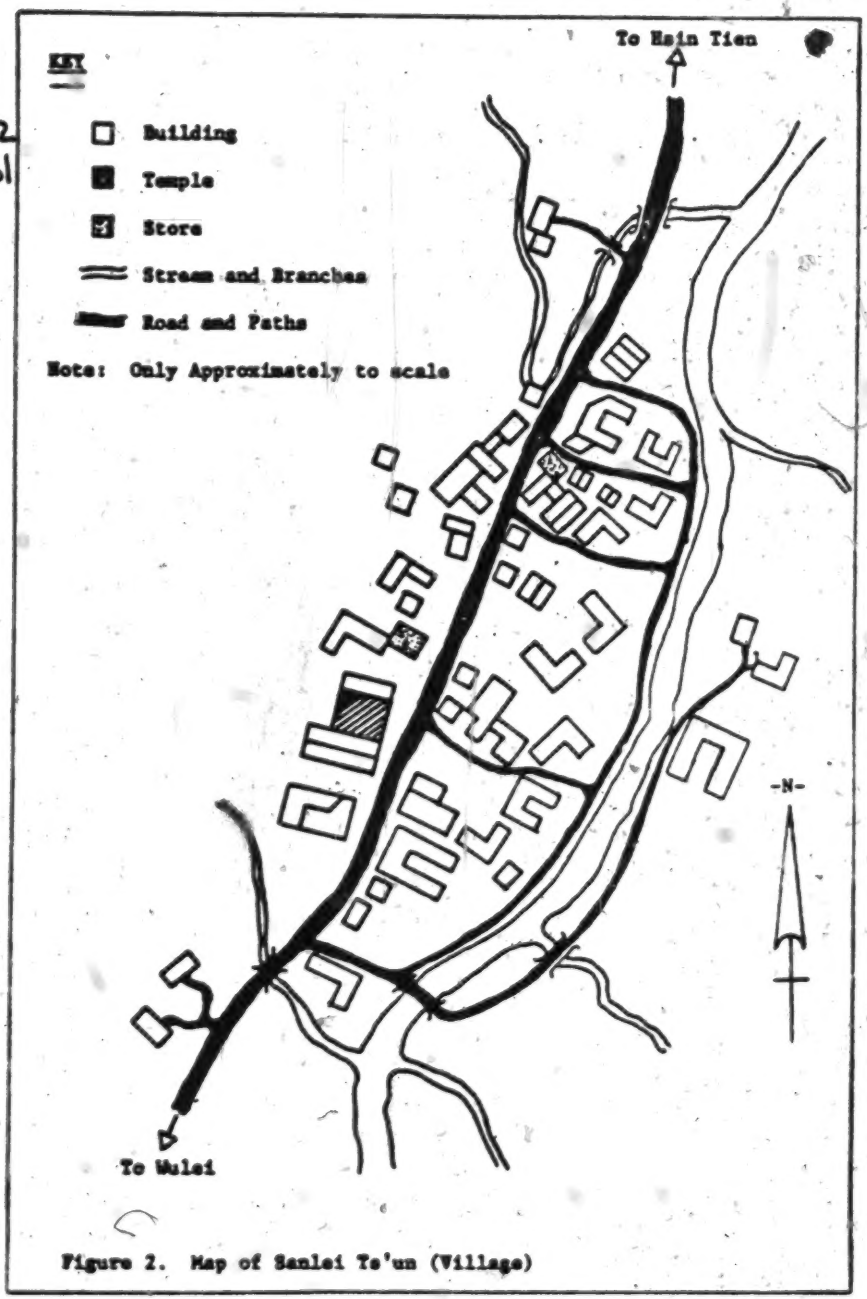

Figure 2. Map of Sanlei Ts'un (Village)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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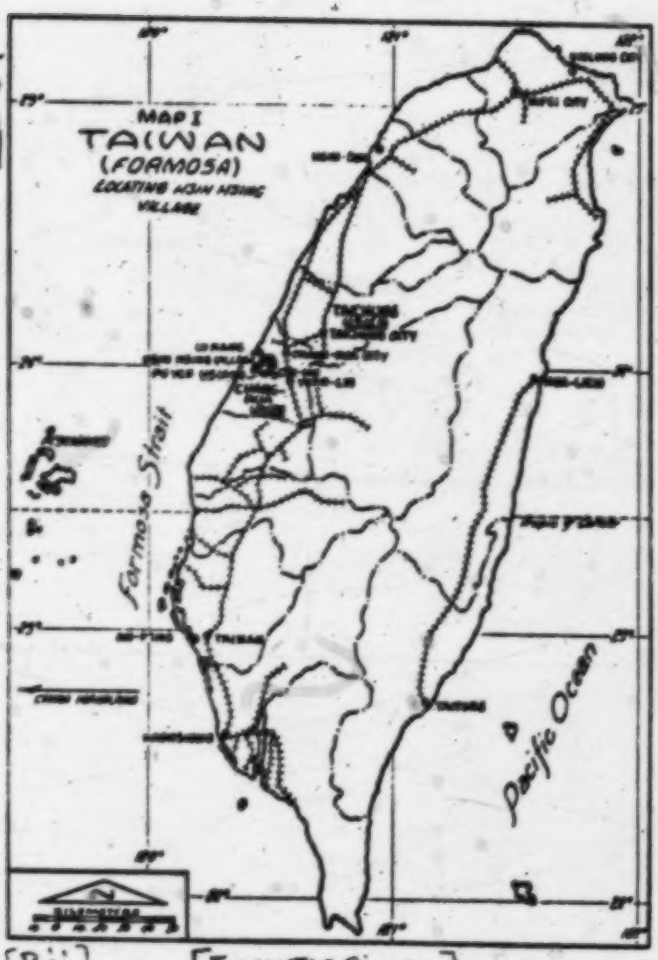

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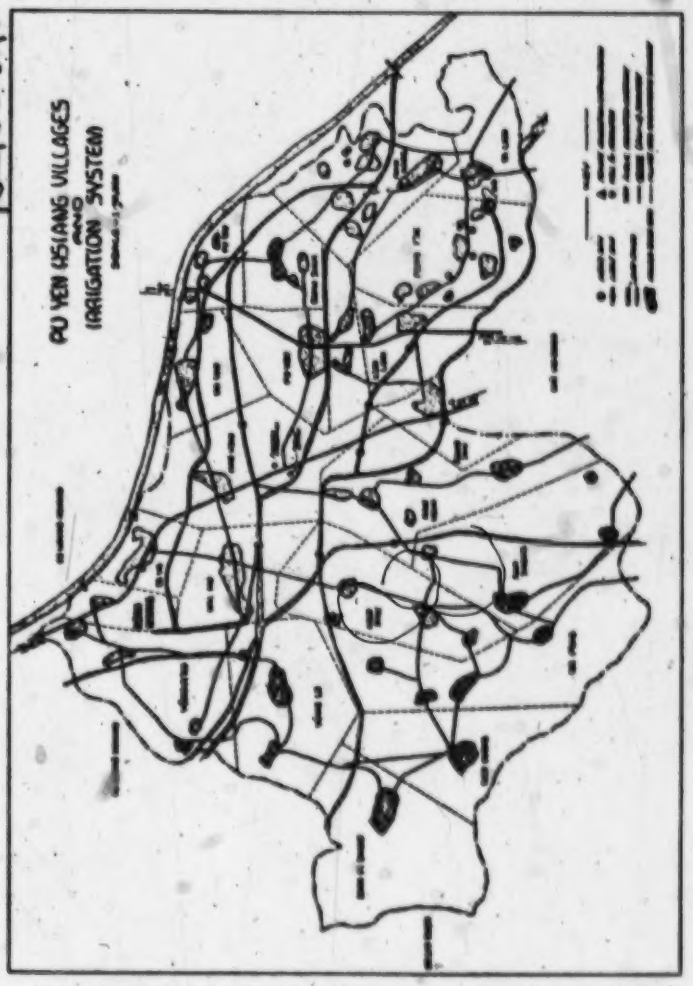

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

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kìan-siǎu	見笑
kōng-thîa:	公庭
kùe-páng-kìa:	過房子
lǎu-siât	鬧熱
liâu-cī:-hŭe	Not known
lông-lù	養女
lún	Not known
pûi-mía:	壞名
pôu-pŭe	Not known
sàng-cùe-tûi	Not known
sĭm-pùà	媳婦仔
ŭ tùi-thâu	有頭對

II. Place Names in Taiwan

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Chichou	溪州
Fantsupu	番子埔
Hsiachichou	下溪州
Hsinchu	新竹

• 103	Hsulin	樹林
	Keelung	基隆
	Keelung River	基隆河
	Panchiao	板橋
	Taipei	臺北
	Taiwan	臺灣
	Tamsui River	淡水河
	Sanhsia	三峽
	Shalun	沙崙
	Shantzuchiao	山子脚
	Tucheng	土城
	Wanhua	萬華

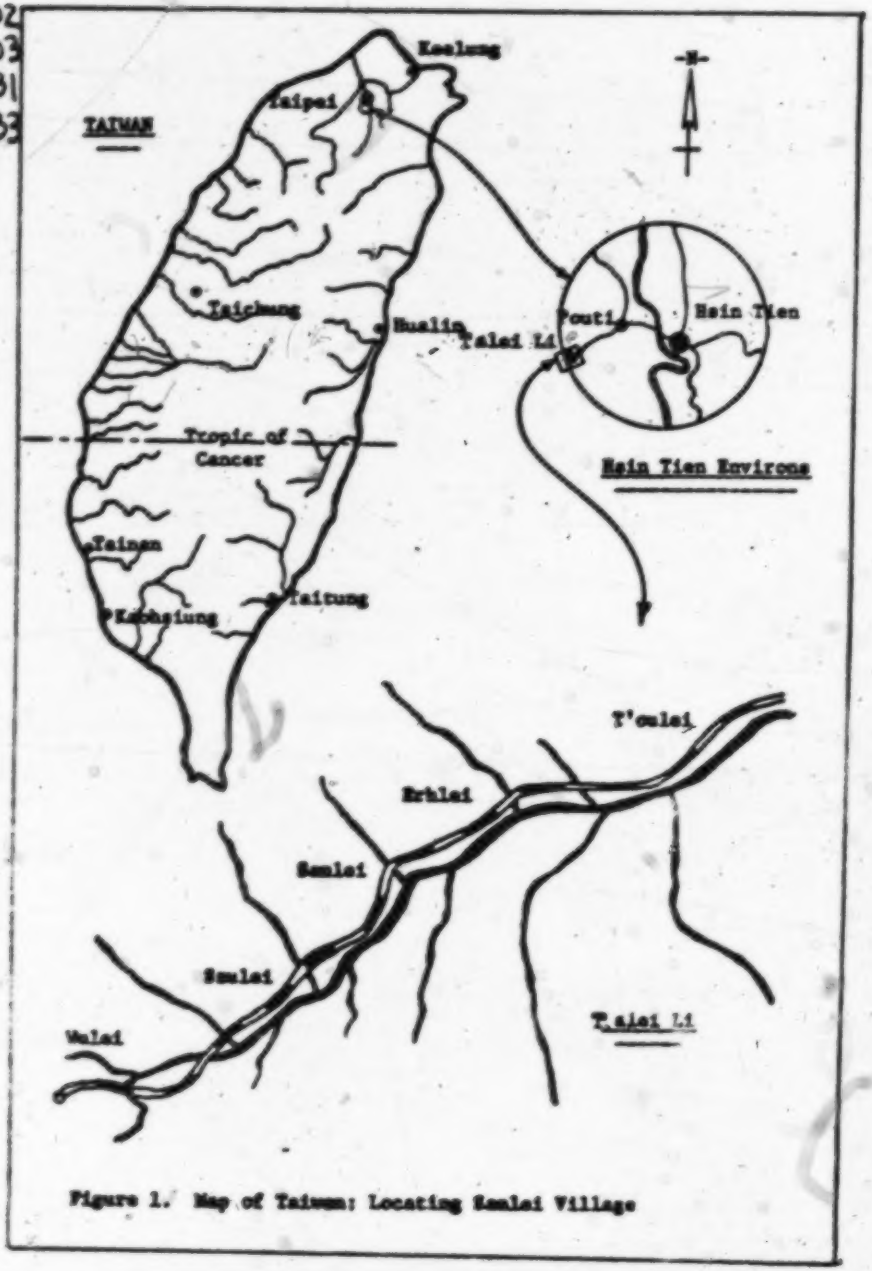

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan: Locating Sanlai Village

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

GLOSSARY A

PROPER PLACE NAMES

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二垂村	Erhlei (Erh Lei Ts'un)	四垂村	Szulei (Szu Lei Ts'un)
福建	Fukien	臺北	Taichung
河南	Honan	臺南	Tainan
新店	Hsin Tien	臺北	Taipei
花蓮	Hualien	臺中	Taitung
高雄	Kaohsiung	大垂里	Talei (Ta Lei Li)
基隆	Keelung	臺灣	Taiwan
廣東	Kwantung	頭垂村	T'oulei (T'ou Lei Ts'un)
裘地村	Pouti (Pou Ti Ts'un)	五垂村	Wulei (Wu Lei Ts'un)
三垂村	Sanlei (San Lei Ts'un)		

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 15, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central costal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND WORDS*

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Chao fu	招夫	Adopted-in husband
Chao ti	招弟	To invite in a younger brother
Chen	鎮	A market-township area
Ch'eng ssu	承嗣	A term referring to a person adopted for the purpose of "continuing the family line"
Chia	甲	A measure of land equal to about 2.99 acres
Chia chang	家長	Head of an economic family
Chieh	節	A festival
Chieh pai hsiung ti	結拜兄弟	Sworn brothers
Ch'in ch'i	親戚	Matrilateral and affinal relatives, or relatives through adoption
Ch'in t'ang	親堂	People bearing same surname, but not part of same *tzu* (lineage)
Ch'in tzu	親族	Members of the same *tzu* (lineage) or patrilineal kinship group
Ching	驚	A scare (a fright)
Ch'ing Ming Chieh	清明節	A festival for worshipping at graves
Chui hsü	贅婿	Adopted son-in-law

* For additional Chinese kinship terms, see Appendix 2.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Chu Wang Yeh	朱王爺	A minor Hsin Hsing village private god
Chung Yuan	中元	Seventh month, fifteenth day (lunar); festival for *hao hsiung-ti*
Ch'ung	冲	Hit into a bad thing (as a demon)
Er Shih Kung	二使公	A private god worshipped in Hsin Hsing village
Fa shih	法師	A powerful shaman who exorcises demons or negative spirits
Hao hsiung-ti	好兄弟	Unworshipped ancestors ("good brothers")
Hsiang	鄉	A district or sub-unit of a *hsien* (county)
Hsiang chang	鄉長	A *hsiang* (district) mayor
Hsien	縣	A county, several of which make up a *sheng* (province)
Hsien chang	縣長	County magistrate
Hsiu ching	修驚	To fix a "scare" (a fright)
Hu	戶	A household registered as the administrative or tax unit
Je nao	熱鬧	Interesting; bustling; noisy; exciting
Kan-ch'ing	感情	The emotional feeling or relationship (good or bad) between people
Kuan Yin	觀音	Buddhist Goddess of Mercy
Kuei	鬼	Demon or evil spirit
Kung t'ing	公廳	Central room in a house; used for an-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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		central worship and other festive functions; often a kind of family room
Kuo-Yu	國語	Mandarin; the "national language"
Lin	鄰	A neighborhood; a village is divided into several lin
Lu chu	爐主	Pot master
Matsu	媽祖	A goddess in the Taoist hierarchy
Min-nan hua	閩南語	Taiwanese language; one of the Fukienese languages from the Amoy area
Pai-pai	拜拜	A ritual in which food and other sacrifices are offered to gods and spirits; to worship
Shang Yuan	上元	First month, fifteenth day (lunar); first full moon of year
Shen	神	A spirit, a god
Ta Shih Kung	大使公	Hsin Hsing village's main ambassador god
Tao shih	道士	A Taoist priest
T'iao t'ung	跳童	A shaman (in Taiwanese, called a *dang-ki*); one who is possessed by a god; a medium
T'ien Kung	天公	God of Heaven; highest of all gods; equivalent to Yu ti, the Jade God
Tso p'ing-an	做平安	A festival held sometime after the autumn harvest in thanksgiving

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Tsu	族	A patrilineal, patrilocal lineage organization with a demonstrated common ancestor
Ts'un	村	A village
Ts'un chang	村長	A village mayor
T'u Ti Kung Miao	土地公廟	The Earth God temple
Tung Chieh (chih)	冬節(至)	Winter solstice festival
Wei Ya	尾牙	Twelfth month, sixteenth day (lunar); last day of year for worshipping *hao hsiung-ti*
Yu Ying Kung Miao	有應公廟	Considered a "devil temple" but euphemistically referred to as "temple of responding gods"

GLOSSARY

biēng-liēng-kiá	adopted male child from a non agnate
bōu Ī-sǔ	"meaningless", "dull"
bōu tùi-thâu	"those who have not counterparts" (term for the adopted daughter, employed in the context of marriage status)
būe	"sold" (giving the male child in adoption to a non agnate)
bùe	"bought" (receiving the male child in adoption from a non agnate)
cā-bó-kàn	"female servant" (girl adopted as a domestic)
chī	the act of adoption of a male child by agnates
ciŏu-zíp	"having been called in" (a man married into his wife's family)
chŭa-chŭt	"left the family" (a woman married out of her family)
cuè-khĕq	"being a guest" (ceremony of the first visit of the bride to her natal family)
hŏu-miā	"good fortune", "good name"
kā-tiù:	"head of the household"
kê	"family" (nuclear, stem or extended family)
kiàn-siău	"embarrassing"
kōng-thiā	"court" (largest room in the house with the family altar)

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kìe-páng-kia	adopted male child from an agnate
lǎu-zi̍t	"noise", "enthusiasm"
li̍u-cǐ:-hǔe	"something to lose money on" (term for a female infant)
lông-lù	"adopted daughter" (not committed to marry the son of her foster parents)
lún	"areas" (divisions which make up the locally recognized district)
pa̍i-mia:	"bad fortune", "bad name"
pôu-pǔe	"treasure" (term used for a male infant)
sàng-cùe-tu̍i	"pushing them together" (brief New Year wedding ceremony with a "sǐm-pû̀")
sǐm-pû̀	"little daughter-in-law" (adopted girl committed to marry the son of her foster parents)
ǔ tùi-tháu	"those who have counterparts" (term for the "sǐm-pû̀" employed in the context of her marriage status)

*121 foster family. Local custom in most areas of the country also recognized
171 two distinct forms of male adoption, the criterion in this case being the relationship between the child's foster family and his natal family. If the two families were agnates, the adoption fell into one category; while if they were not, it belonged to another. Generally speaking, the child's status in his foster family was much the same regardless of the form of the adoption, but the nature of the transaction itself was very different in the two cases. In the first case, the adopting family did not give more than token remmeration to the boy's parents, perhaps not more than a few dollars in a red envelope, while in the second the adopting family had to pay dearly for the child. The difference is reflected in the verbs used to denote the two acts of adoption. When a child was adopted from an agnate, the act of adoption was referred to with the term chī, a verb which is ordinarily rendered in English with some form of the verb "to adopt," whereas the act of obtaining a child from a non-agnate was more commonly spoken of in terms of the verb bué, the most common meaning of which is simply "to buy."[8]

*121 Such a variety of alternative forms of marriage and adoption
#383 created for most Chinese families a number of recurring decisions
*507
171

• 104 [8] Since the present study is concerned with an Amoy-Hokkien speaking community, all linguistic forms have been romanized following the Hokkien pronounciation. Place names, on the other hand, follow the post office spellings. For a description of the Hokkien transcription used here see Nicholas C. Bodman, Spoken Amoy Hokkien (Kuala Lampur, Federation of Malaya: Charles Grenier & Son Limited, 1955).

A LIST OF CHINESE WORDS AND TERMS IN THE TEXT

I. Linguistic Forms

• 104

biēng-liēng-kia:	螟蛉子
bōu ì-sū	無意思
bōu tùi-thaú	無頭對
bōe	賣
bué	買
cē-bô-kàn	婊媒嬸
chī	Not known
ciōu-zīp	招入
chŭa-chŭt	娶出
cùe-khĕq	做客
hô-mia:	好名
kâ-tiu:	家長
kâ	家

• 104

kìan-siǎu	見笑
kŏng-thîa:	公庭
kùe-páng-kìa:	過房子
lǎu-zíăt	鬧熱
liân-cí:-hŭe	Not known
lông-lù	養女
lún	Not known
pâi-mía:	壞名
pôu-pŭe	Not known
sàng-cùe-tûi	Not known
sîn-pù	媳婦仔
ŭ tùi-thâu	有頭對

II. Place Names in Taiwan

103

Chichou	溪州
Fantzupu	番子埔
Hsiachichou	下溪州
Hsinchu	新竹

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding personal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* (Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin, using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua

[pxix]

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

PREFACE

128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Port Li).

128 104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
• 104 Ts'un (Third Fort Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned name is used consistently throughout the report with reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any material which might be considered injurious or which could prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa (Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A consists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters. Since the names are in common use in literature and for postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided. Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

GLOSSARY B

CHINESE TERMS AND SHORT PHRASES

104 Characters	Romanization: Mandarin	Romanization: Taiwanese	English Equivalent
章	Chang	Chiu	Signature stamp
招夫	Chao fu	Chiao hu	Adopted-in husband
拆伙	Ch'ai hwo	Chiat hoe	Family division (Separation of stove)
招弟	Chao ti	Chiao ti	Adopt a child in order to attact a baby brother
旗袍	Ch'i pao	Tng sa	Tight-collared slit-sided dress
吉壽	Chi shou	Kea shu	Ninetieth birthday (senior longevity)
甲	Chia	Ka	Unit of land measure equal to about 2.39 acres
家	Chia	Ka	Family
家長	Chia chang	Ka taung	Head of family
甲子	Chia tzu	Ka' chu'	First term in the 60-year cycle of years, calandar
結拜兄弟	Chieh pai hsiung ti	Kea pai' hia ti	Sworn brothers association
斤	Chin	Kin	Unit of weight equal to about one and one third pounds
親戚	Ch'in Ch'i	Chhin Chiang	Affinal Relative

• 104	親堂	Ch'in t'ang	Chhin tung	Agnatic kinsmen by virtue of possession of a common surname
	親族	Ch'in tsu	Chhin tsou	Agnatic kinsmen with demonstrated descent
	清明節	Ch'ing ming chieh	Chin meng tast	Clear and Bright Festival
	豬人	Chu jen	Ti lang	Village to-fu salesman (pig man)
	中秋節	Chung chiu chieh	Tiong chiu tast	Mid-Autumn or Moon Festival
	中壽	Chung shou	Tiong shu	70th Birthday (middle longevity)
	中元	Chung yuan	Tiong kuang	Festival of the Hungry Ghosts
	耳子	Erh tzu	Hi tsa	Handles on censer of ancestors (ears)
	法師	Fa shih	Hoat su	Shaman
	房	Fang	Bong	Branch of a Clan
	風水	Feng shui	Pung tsui	Geomancy (wind and water)
	府	Fu	Hu'	Government district
	好兄弟	Hao Hsiung Ti	Ho hia ti	Good brothers (unworshipped ancestors)
	黑頭	Hei t'ou	O tao'	Priest important for funerals (black headed Taoist0
	喜冲喜	Hsi chung hsi	Hei chon hei	Good counteracts good
	稀飯	Hsi fan	Moi	Rice gruel
	小壽	Hsia shou	Shia shu	60th birthday small longevity)
	香爐	Hsiang lu	Hiu lo	Ancestral censer

• 104	新年	Hsin nien	Chian goeh	New Year
	户	Hu	Hou	Household
	紅頭	Hung t'ou	Han tao'	Priest important for curing illness (red-headed Taoist)
	義警	I' Ching	I' Keng	Voluntary policemen
	感情	Kan ch'ing	Koung chin	Emotional relationships or feelings
	乾杯	Kan pei	Kan poe	A toast - bottems up
	高鼻子	Kao pi tzu	To' phi a	Westerner (big nose)
	觀音	Kuan yin	Kuamg yim	Goddess of Mercy
	鬼	Kuei	Kuei	Malevolent divine powers
	公廳	Kung t'ing	Kong Taing	Central room in house
	國語	Kuo yu	Kok gi	Mandarin (national language)
	里	Li	Li'	A political unit smaller than a township
	里長	Li chang	Li' taung	Mayor (head of a li)
	隣	Lin	Lin	Neighborhood, an official government unit
	隣長	Lin chang	Lin taung	Head of a lin
	爐主	Lu chu	Chan tsu	Pot master (official in charge of a religious ceremony)
	滿月	Man yueh	Moun goeh	Ceremony for the 30-day-old baby (full month)
	媽祖	Matsu	Ma tsou	An important goddess

• 閩南話	Min nan hua	Tai oan oe	Southern min, a Chinese dialect
八字	Pa tzu	Peh li	Year, month, day, and hour of birth (eight characters)
拜拜	Pai pai	Pai' pai'	A ritual or the celebration part of a ceremonial event
半杯	Pan pei	Pang poe	A Toast - half a glass
保甲	Pao chia	Pou ka'	Traditional system of local government
蓬萊	P'eng lai	Pung lai	Variety of rice
上壽	Shang shou	Shoung shu	80th birthday (high longevity)
上水	Shang shui	Siong tsui	Village neighborhood in Sanlei (above the water)
上元	Shang yuan	Shoung Kuang	Lantern Festival
神	Shen	Sin	Gods or good divine powers
神杯	Shen pei	Sin poe	Spirit sticks for communicating with the gods
神位	Shen wei	Sin we	Ancester or soul tablet
壽	Shou	Shu	Long life
養娘	Siaosiv	Yong shin Po	Adopted Daughter Marriage
隨便	Swei bien	Chhin Chhai	A toast - as much as you like
下水	Sya shui	Ha tsui	A village neighborhood in Sanlei (below the water)
香肉	Syang chou	Kou ba	Dog meat (fragrant meat)
大家庭	Ta chia ting	Tua Ka teng	Extended family

• 104	大生日	Ta sheng jih	Tua sien jit	Big Birthday
	歌仔戲	Taiwan Hsi	Goa a hi	Taiwanese Opera
	胎神	Tai shen	Tai' sin'	God of the pregnant womb
	太陰	Tai yin	Tai yin	Goddess of the moon
	道人	Tao jen	To jin	Priests (Men of the Tao)
	地支	Ti chih	Te che	Twelve terrestial branches
	地理	Ti li	Te li	Variant form of geomancy, activities not related to dead
	頭腐	To fu	Tao hu	Bean Curd
	再來	Ts'ai lai	Tsai lai	Variety of Rice
	村	Ts'un	Chhun	Village
	族	Tsu	Tsuo'	Clan or lineage
	土地公	T'u ti kung	T'ou te kong	Earth God
	土地婆	T'u to Po	T'ou te ma	Wife of Earth God
	端午節	Tuan Wu Chieh	Leng chiu tast	Dragon Boat Festival
	冬節	Tung chieh	Tang tsat	Winter solstice
	五行	Wu hsing	Go chhian	Five primary elements: fire, water, earth, wood, metal
	陽	Yang	Yong	Male principle of yin-yang dichotomy
	陰	Yin	Yim	Female principle of yin-yang dicotomy

GLOSSARY C

CHINESE SENTENCES AND LONGER PHRASES

• 104

你最知道 You know best.

不论你怎麼想 Whatever you think.

把鞋子放在床下 Putting the shoes under the bed.

把他们推在一起 Pushing them together.

我会太不安 I would be too embarrassed.

这不会很有趣 It would not be interesting.

今日的青年做更多的决定 Young people make more decisions now.

可能女孩的男孩有价值 Perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

好就跟猪一樣 That is just like the pigs.

今天你不是只能拿那一个 That is not the only one you will get today.

104 当两个人到法庭时他们都是输者 When two men go to court, both loose.

連親不如近隣 A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative.

打破飯碗 Breaking someone's rice bowl.

敢花錢 Dare to spend money.

你看起来好像娼妓 You look like a prostitute.

我会買便宜一点 I could get it cheaper.

你買了什麼多少錢? What did you buy? How much was it?

你到那裏? 你做了什麼? Where have you been? What did you do?

你要到那裏去? 你要去做什麼? Where are you going? What do you intend to do?

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien 1-2

1: Gallin, Bernard. Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press: 1966.

Yale: Ntc45 966G. DLC: HT431. G3. DLC card no.: 66-14734

Pp. xi, /324; 18 photographs, 4 maps, 5 figs., 24 tables, bibliography.

/This book is an intensive study on socio-cultural change in a Taiwanese peasant village, from the turn of the century onward over the Japanese occupation and World War II, up to 1959. Due to a tremendously increased population since the end of World War II, land shortage has become a severe problem for the Taiwanese peasant. As a result there is a strong trend for temporary as well as permanent migration to the city (usually Taipeh). This, together with other factors of which a very important one is the lack of leadership within the village since the rich landlords have lost their power since the land reform, have greatly weakened the village and clan (tzu) solidarity. Instead of the concentration of social relationships in the village and clan community, there is now a strong tendency to establish ties with social groups outside the community in other villages. At the same time individualism is constantly gaining in importance. It finds its most obvious expression in the dissolution of the extended family as a household and even economic unit, into more or less independent conjugal families.

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien 2

111

1: Gallin

The research was conducted by the author and his wife in the local dialect, Mandarin and Japanese. Footnotes appearing in the body of the text will be found in category 116, pp. 301-308./

Field date: 1957-1958 (16 months)
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969

2: Wolf, Arthur Paul. Marriage and adoption in a Hokkien village. Doctoral dissertation submitted to Cornell University in 1964. University Microfilms, Publication No. 65-4171. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1965 (1969).

5, 294 l.; glossary; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[This work examines the alternatives which the social structure of Hsiachichou, a small Hokkien community in north Taiwan, offers in the way of choosing marriage and adoption forms. This structural study is based upon the genealogies of 843 persons, covering the time period from 1870 to 1960. It presents detailed information on marriage and adoption practices, emphasizing the integration of these institutions with the rest of the culture system. From information derived from other sources, it is possible that the community of Hsiachichou may be somewhat aberrant when compared to other Taiwanese Hokkien communities.]

Field date: 1958-1961
Analysts: Dubravka Schmalzbauer, marker
Helen Gunsher Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1971-1972

3: Wolf, Margery. The house of Lim; a study of a Chinese farm family. Foreword by Maurice Freedman. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968.

22, 148 p.; illus.; genealogical chart.

Yale: Nq46 C61 968W. DLC card no.: 68-11211.

[This source, written by the wife of an anthropologist (Arthur P. Wolf), presents a case study of an ideal Hokkien extended family from a small community near the market town of Hsulin on the southwest edge of the Taipei plain. The family under scrutiny had been hosting the Wolfs during the period of the field work. The source offers unique material on the family structure and relationships and touches on many aspects of village life and institutions such as marriage, adoption, religion, youth organizations, sex, kinship, and agriculture. The data suffer by no means from the naivété possibly suggested by the author's lack of the professional training.]

Field date: 1959-1961
Analyst: Dubravka Schmalzbauer, marker
Helen G. Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Foreign Resident - 5
Processed in 1972

4: Barnett, William Kester. An ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un, Taiwan, with emphasis on women's roles; overcoming research problems caused by the presence of a great tradition. Dissertation (Anthropology) -- Michigan State University, 1970. University Microfilms Dissertation No. 71-2026. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1971.

3, 15, 565 l.; 12 figures; 11 tables; list of symbols; notes; bibliography; glossaries of place names, Chinese terms and short phrases, and Chinese sentences and longer phrases.

HRAF copy.

[This doctoral dissertation is concerned with the discrepancy between the traditional view of the inferior status of Chinese women as contrasted with the quite different status as revealed in the study of a Hokkien village in northern Taiwan. Most of the source is a rich ethnography of this village, presenting data on the status of women throughout the description. The remainder deals with the presentation of women's status in the literature and in the ideal view of the Chinese Great Tradition. Notes to the source are found in a separate section on pp. 535 to 543.]

Field date: 1965-1967
Analysts: Dubravka Schmalzbauer, marker
Helen Gunsher Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4, 5
Processed in 1971-1972

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

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Michigan State University
June, 1965

B. G.

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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "It was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three: reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

618 769 In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

618 171 • 114 476 But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

618 [171] To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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596 593 [114] frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

[626] From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend 887 a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who 593 has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaoiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[5] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[6]

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[5] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[6] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arthur P. Wolf was born in Santa Rosa, California, on March 2, 1932. After graduating from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1952, he was granted Preferment by the Telluride Association and transferred to Cornell University. He graduated from Cornell in 1953 with English literature as his major. The following fall he entered the Cornell Graduate School as a student in the Department of Anthropology, and held a Teaching Assistantship in that Department during the years 1954-56. In 1956 he was awarded a Foreign Area Training Fellowship for a year of graduate study at Stanford University, and in the following year an Inter-University Fellowship for Field Training in Spoken Chinese. The period 1958-1961 was devoted to a field study of a Hokkien village in Northern Taiwan, again under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Program. The completion of his graduate study was supported by a Fels Fellowship for the academic year 1961-62. He is at present a Lecturer in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, and for the past two years has held an appointment in these Departments as an Assistant Professor.

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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114 123 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly, but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when 114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and 124 their relatives. With many members of the family my communication [19] was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

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FOREWORD

I shall not disguise my pleasure in being able, by writing a foreword to this admirable book, to contradict its author. Mrs. Wolf tells us in her preface that she is not an anthropologist and goes on to set out her three aims: to offer us a case study of a large Chinese family; to "provide another account of village life for those with a general interest in China"; and to "tell a good story." The charming simplicity and modesty of these brief statements may seduce the unwary reader into believing that the ease with which the subsequent narrative flows has been the happy result of literary skill coming upon a ready-made story. If anybody closes this book thinking that it is the Lims who have enlightened and entertained him, he will (I suspect) have fallen into a trap cunningly laid for him by the author. It is my job to put him on his guard and to force him to pay Mrs. Wolf the tribute that she seems unwilling to claim for herself.

This is a very cleverly constructed book in which the facts—so far from speaking for themselves—are made eloquent by the ideas which inspired their collection and arrangement. Of course, if Mrs. Wolf insists that she is not an anthropologist, then we must respect her disavowal. (It is perhaps a sign of the times. In the good old days people had less respect for professional degrees and licenses to practice.) I think it is all the more necessary for me to show how important anthropology has been both in her choice of problems and in the methods she has used to study them. I shall come back to the problems; let me say a word on methods.

Professor and Mrs. Wolf lived for two years in the household described in this book. In that period, while they were engaged in the investigation of many aspects of village life, they had the opportunity to study their immediate hosts and friends at close quarters. The word "study" may chill some readers, especially if they think of themselves as being, in the position of the Lims and wonder how they would feel if their domestic life, quarrels and all, were under the cool gaze of foreign observers. But anthropology is a science in which the common humanity of the observer and the observed does not allow the one to make an object of the other. The investigator and the investigated are in a social relationship; and it follows that the facts about those under study must

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not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us, the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

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though they were in some derogatory sense peripheral. Naturally, it is frustrating for social scientists interested in China to be held off from the mainland; and there is a certain unpleasant irony in the fact that there are now many more North American and European anthropologists and sociologists equipped and eager to study Chinese society than there were before 1949. Yet, as *The House of Lim* decisively demonstrates, field studies of crucial importance can be made in Taiwan; and I could adduce similar evidence for a parallel statement on Hong Kong. Professor and Mrs. Wolf were accompanied in Taiwan by other American field workers, and they have been succeeded by yet others. (I am happy to say that a British student has been added to the ranks of anthropologists to whom Taiwanese hospitality has been extended.) The research work carried out in recent years in both Taiwan and Hong Kong has brought China fully within the range of the societies now being systematically examined in the light of the problems and techniques of modern social science.

The House of Lim touches on many aspects of village life—agriculture, business, religion, youth organization (note especially the remarks on *lo mua*), kinship, sex (the accounts of prostitution are incisive), and so on. But the book is above all the study of a family. Now, it may seem to some readers that the Chinese family is a well-worn theme. Many books and learned papers have been written on it, by both Chinese and foreigners, and the "large" Chinese family has been a familiar piece of furniture in the minds of several generations of Western intellectuals. Let the reader beware: the study of the Chinese family is a never-ending enterprise, and he must be ready to revise his ideas on it as research of increasing sophistication is put before him. He will find in this book an epitome of the most modern knowledge of the Chinese family in its traditional form.

The Lims, when the Wolfs lived with them, were a "large" family. In this they were both typical and untypical of their society. They were typical of its ideals and untypical of its realities. It is not an accident that (with one exception) they were the only family of its kind in Peihotien, and the richest. Bigness is a matter for pride, and those who would maintain it must struggle, as Mrs. Wolf shows us, against the forces that press relentlessly for its undoing. For it is not crude numerical size that characterizes a family of this sort; it is its complexity. And from the complexity flow the problems which Mrs. Wolf's narrative illustrates clearly and abundantly.

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The Chinese family normally recruits itself through its sons, its daughters being exchanged for daughters-in-law. Each new marriage brings into the house a focus of dissension, for the new small family which it creates within the bosom of the greater family gradually matures into an independent unit. Some greater families dissolve when their sons are married; virtually all disappear by the time the old father dies, for then, as Mrs. Wolf tells us for the village of Peihotien, the wives of the brothers allow their interests in their own small families to issue in quarrels. If, that is to say, a family has two or more sons, the normal unfolding of the cycle of development sees them become husbands and fathers only to make them move on to form separate units.

But occasionally a large family for a time escapes this fate. The Lim family was such a one. The potential new families within it were not realized. Lim Chieng-cua together with his wife and children remained along with his older brother's widow and descendants in an undivided family. It is important to remember that every Chinese family, be it simple or complex, holds a joint estate under the management of the senior male (or, in some cases, a widow). When, as in the house of Lim, the estate is valuable and economically differentiated into agricultural and business sectors, it can be efficiently and profitably run by the specialized work of different branches of the family. But the very economic features which make the estate productive are also the foe of family unity. Each son being endowed at birth (or adoption) with a right to an equal (or nearly equal) share in the estate on its division, jealousies can easily arise between brothers and between their respective smaller families over the differential enjoyment of the fruits of the undivided estate. The agricultural half of such a large family may suspect that the business half is taking more out of the total estate than its arithmetical share justifies. In Mrs. Wolf's account of the Lims we can see these suspicions in action.

It may well be significant that of the two brothers, Lim Chieng-cua and Lim Hue-lieng, one is dead. A-pou, the latter's widow, represents her late husband's interests in the family. "When," Mrs. Wolf writes, "Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her." Her relations with Chieng-cua can be seen to express the tension between the main component units of the family. But (we may suspect) it is precisely because Hue-lieng is dead and only one man is left in the senior generation that the house of Lim is a house long undivided. I should suggest (without foisting my opinion on Mrs. Wolf)

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that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

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114 seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

114 The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

MAURICE FREEDMAN
London School of Economics and Political Science

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114 This study is based on field work conducted in the Republic of China (Taiwan) between September, 1965, and
122 January, 1967. The generous financial support for travel, subsistence, and research expenses was realized from the following sources: National Science Foundation Cooperative Fellowship, Michigan State University Asian Studies Center, National Defense Education Act Loan, and an International Development Fellowship, Institute of Advanced Projects, Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West. The latter also provided six months in residence to organize field notes, review library materials, and consult with visiting and resident scholars. Finally, the period spent in writing after my return was partially supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship. My appreciation is considerable for it simply would not have been possible to accomplish the research without this aid.

114 The field work was facilitated by the hearty cooperation
122 of many people in Taiwan. Although operating under the constraints of the "period of rebellion," pertinent data was provided whenever consistant with the security of the country. Officials in such Hsin Tien offices as those of the mayor, clerk, council, farmers' association, police, and land all made us welcome. Scholars at National Taiwan University

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu, an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Professors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the United States Information Service. Our major assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people who lived in the village I studied and in the other four villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it is located. They took us into their homes and into their hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University. Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental structural and organizational problems. In the time available to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

these suggestions although I believe that they would have made the thesis significantly better than it is now. I apologize to Professor Gallin and to readers for defects that could have been remedied if I had made the improvements that he suggested. I plan to make the recommended changes as portions of the dissertation are revised for publication.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my family. My wife, Nancy McMillin Barnett, provided professional assistance as a fellow anthropology graduate student as well as incredible amounts of patience, encouragement, and understanding. My two children, Beth and Sidney, not only endured what might have been regarded as the relative hardship of life in a rural Taiwanese village, they thoroughly enjoyed it, made many friends of their own, and helped make our stay a most enjoyable one. My parents, Betty and Bill, and my mother-in-law, Mary, never deviated from a constant faith in my ability far beyond my own.

Please forgive the unfortunate errors of omission for my debt to so many is too great to be recognized or repaid other than indirectly, by a dedication to scholarship and service to others, in order to transmit the benefits to the next generation.

Iowa City, Iowa
May, 1970

WKB

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A Ku (FaSi) by most village children.

• 114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

• 114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
531 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in [583] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
763 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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562 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

• 114
562 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

114 562 in Chinese society would be to provide a series of direct quotations from the literature. Although these have been taken out of context, efforts have been exerted not to distort the impression created by the original author. Although many of the statements may appear to be over-simplified and absolutistic, i.e., without exception, the fault is that of the author and not mine. The eight examples are as follows:

> The domination of age over youth within the old-style family was matched by the domination of male over female. Chinese girls in the old days were more likely than baby boys to suffer infanticide. A girl's marriage was, of course, arranged and not for love. The trembling bride became at once a daughter-in-law under the tyranny of her husband's mother. In a well-to-do family she might see secondary wives or concubines brought into her household, particularly if she did not bear a male heir. She could be repudiated by her husband for various reasons. If he died she could not easily remarry. All this reflected the fact that a woman had no economic independence. Her labor was absorbed in household tasks and brought her no income. Peasant women were universally illiterate. They had few or no property rights. . . The inferiority of women imposed upon them by social custom was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of a society of status. . . While male and female were both necessary and complementary, one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of Chinese male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity which was to be expected of women. These patterns subordinated girls to boys from infancy and kept the wife subordinate to her husband and the mother to her son. Forceful women, whom China has never lacked, controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat (Fairbank, 1958:30-1).

> In China, the expression "an article on which money has been wasted" is a common paraphrase for designating a young girl; and the most ideally perfect daughter, viz. she who possesses the virtues of the

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562 eighteen Lohans according to a Chinese proverb, is not equal to a club-footed son. . . A Chinese woman may even be repudiated by her mother-in-law; a Chinese who admits to having beaten his wife to death escapes any penalty if his pretext for doing so is that she failed in her filial duty towards his parents. . . A Chinese husband would blush if he were surprised in the act of conversing with his wife. In a group composed of several couples, the women always keep to themselves and the men do the same without any communication between the two sides or any sign which would betray who is married to whom. . . If the Chinese woman has no son and gives birth to a series of daughters her existence in the home becomes a hell (Herbert, 1965:221-36).

Girls have been generally regarded as much less valuable than boys and sayings in common circulation appraise sons as infinitely preferable to daughters. One such proverb states in effect that the most beautiful and gifted girl is not so desireable as a deformed boy. . . Among the very poor, the killing of female infants has been by no means unknown. While statistics are lacking, it seems, indeed, to have been very common. . . In ordinary homes, especially of most of the farmers and the poor, girls and women have led a life of hard labor (Latourette, 1959:679-80).

The present position of woman in China is a heritage of the remote past, as is illustrated by the most ancient Chinese literature . . . The essence of Chinese classical teaching on this subject is, that woman is as inferior to man as the earth is inferior to heaven; and that she can never attain to full equality with man. According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the Yin, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the Yang, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. . . We must, therefore, regard the position of women in China, as the ultimate outcome and a most characteristic fruitage of Confucianism. In our view it has been a bitter fruit (Smith, 1899: 305-6).

• 114
562 The low status of Chinese women whether in the family or in society is proverbial. In traditional Chinese fiction the female character was frequently introduced by the line "unfortunately she was born a woman." K'ang Yu-wei, the precursor of modern reformers at the end of the last century, listed being born a woman as one of the calamities of life. . . To hold women in general, and young and middle-aged wives in particular, to an inferior status where mistreatment abounded and even death lurked, the authority of the family was supported by all the repressive features of the traditional institution of arranged marriage. . . In addition to concubinage, which posed a constant threat against the wife, and the absence of freedom of divorce, which served to block the wife from a peaceful means of escape from an unpleasant situation, there were three other traditional limitations which applied not only in marriage but to the general status of women in Chinese society: loss of her name, seclusion, and lack of education (C. K. Yang, 1959:106-111).

The second element [in summarizing the culture of West Town] is what I call estrangement between the sexes. On the one hand this pattern prescribes sex inequality, and on the other it necessitates the elimination of all erotic expression. Both measures are means for subordinating the husband-wife relationship and enhancing the father-son relationship. In West Town we see an outright superiority of men over women. Not only are husbands above their wives, but brothers are also superior to their sisters. This inequality is implied in the life of the people and clearly stated and recognized by both sexes without reserve or hesitation (Hsu, 1949:241).

The low position of women in China is due to a combination of several economic and ideological factors. . . The traditional Chinese philosophy provided a theory of women's inferiority that was an ideological justification of her lower status in the society of imperial times, and helped to perpetuate it. . . Buddhism, in which woman is the personification of all evil, added new ideological propositions to the idea of woman's inferiority. For twenty-two centuries, hundreds of male and female Confucian writers wrote scores of books on the position of women and their role in family and society, and devised practical rules for their

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114 education and conduct. With slight variations all these books presented the same teachings. Obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability were the main virtures of women. Three rules of obedience to man shape a woman's life, "An unmarried girl should obey her father and elder brother, a married woman--her husband, a widow--her son." . . . The legal status of a woman was inferior to that of her husband. . . Chinese women had practically no property rights. . . It is not surprising that girls were the main, if not exclusive, victims of infanticide, which was practiced in the poor families of China from time immemorial (Lang, 1946:42-6).

> A woman's social position in ancient China was even more deplorable [than her legal position]. Politically, she was a mere nonentity but socially, she was an inferior species of mankind--a human chattel, slave of men's caprices. Being considered inferior to men, she was regarded with indifference, if not with studied contempt, not only by the men but also by her own kind. Her birth was an unimportant event and even the name that was given her by her father at the time of her birth was not supposed to be known beyond the family threshold, and the education she received, or was entitled to receive, was negligible; for it was deemed improper for women to possess too much knowledge. . . The so called "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," which have shackled the Chinese women for thousands of years, derive their origin from the belief in the superiority of men over women and from the attempt of the ancient moralists to hold women in lifelong subjection. By means of the three obediences a woman is constrained to obey the paterfamilias at home, to render obedience to her husband after marriage and to be obedient to her eldest son after the death of her husband. By means of the four virtues a woman is made to preserve her feminine qualities, to be gentle in disposition and pleasing in appearance, to be chary of speech, and to be assiduous in the performance of her domestic duties (Chiu, 1966:18-20).

An easily-provided larger listing of many more examples by other equally renowned authors with similar viewpoints and arguments would only provide quantitative rather than

• 114 562 qualitative changes for I feel the above sample is representative of a wide body of literature. The above authors are drawn from such fields as anthropology, history, religion, sociology, law, and philosophy and [redacted] members of such nationality groups as French, English, Chinese, Russian, and American. In each case the cited item was written after extensive field work in Chinese society or by a sinologist who has extensive familiarity with Chinese sources.

In spite of the fact that lengthy segments were used in order to preserve the author's intent, in all fairness to the cited individuals, it should be made patent that several did list exceptions to the dominant patterns. For example, although stressing that such women were exceptions, Herbert does state that China has had many female priests (1956:223), empresses (1965:225), and poets (1965:227). In a chapter solely devoted to what he describes as the degraded situation of women, Smith (1899:258-311) scatters about contra-indications such as in his discussion of noisy women and their "hen-pecked" husbands (1899:304-5). The anthropological accounts in particular appear much more sophisticated in this regard with a greater recognition of actual variation and a lesser emphasis on the ideal patterns.

In summary, China is usually described as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. Females were always inferior to men and at birth, boys were desirable and appreciated

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually involved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive. 114 • 562

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are 121 562

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

• 114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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[606] a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277: Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 562 593 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to support in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

562 593 However, the most important relationship under consideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
• 114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San
586 Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all
671 such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

• 114 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect
562 of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have con-
586 sidered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the
671 primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, potmaster,

121 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to sup-
184 port any claim that the research results were not reasonably
562 applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null
562 hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of
• 114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both
121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the
562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

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862 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

121 in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive
• 114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro-
121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[This should be footnote 9--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognised experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

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Just as my wife and I came to be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter. His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The villagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding personal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* (Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin, using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua

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128 Li Guat-ngo — Adopted daughter of Lim A-pou

115 Lim A-bok — First born son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim A-hua — Adopted daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan

Lim A-ki — Wife of A-bok

Lim A-pou — Lim Han-ci's first adopted daughter; wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Bieng-cu — Second daughter, fifth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Chieng-cua — Second son of Lim Han-ci; present head of the house of Lim

Lim Chui-ieng — Wife of Lim Chieng-cua

Lim Cin-hok — Fourth son, sixth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Gioq-ki — Oldest daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan; only child born to them

Lim Han-ci — The father

Lim Hue-lieng — Eldest son of Lim Han-ci

Lim Kim-hok — First born son of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Kui-hok — Third son, fourth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Le-cu — First daughter, second child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Masa — Second son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim So-lan — Second wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Thiam-hok — Second son, third child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Ng Kok-hua — Son of Ng Kui-lian; proprietor of Peihotien's store

Ng Kui-lian — Go-between for marriage of Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng

Tan A-hong — Lim Han-ci's second adopted daughter who was re-sold when his own daughter was returned

Tan Chai-ngo — Second-born daughter of Tan A-hong

Tan Chun-ieng — First-born daughter of Tan A-hong

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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he pointed out one of our neighbors who had been an active *lo mua* in his youth, or some of the young men who participate with the *lo mua* on an amateur basis, but he never discussed his own family's connection with *lo mua* activities, past or present. At first I accepted this as a device to protect his family, but as the months went by and our staff became more accepted in the gossip sessions of our neighbors, I found that he did not allude to his brother's connections in conversations with others either. I do not believe Lim Chieng-cua is particularly ashamed of his brother's career or that he harbors any deep hatred of him, but rather that as head of the Lim family he intends to maintain for the family the aura of normal respectability his father struggled to create. His brother, even after his career outside the village was ended, never took the responsibility in the family expected of an eldest son. He submitted to a marriage with the girl of his father's choice, but he never really returned to the family. If his career was responsible for the family's sudden rise to prosperity, fate could just as easily have sent some other form of luck. Lim Chieng-cua prefers to have it believed that Lim Hue-lieng was a deviant and not representative of the family established by Lim Han-ci. He wants the Lims of Peihotien to be known not as an obscure family made wealthy overnight by the doubtfully obtained fortune of one of its sons, but rather as an old, well-respected family that came upon better days due to the perseverance of the father.

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*159 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her
*596 life because she knows no other.

*593 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the
584 behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted
597 reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?"
[461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors
[231] in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce
[115] about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one 115 male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.

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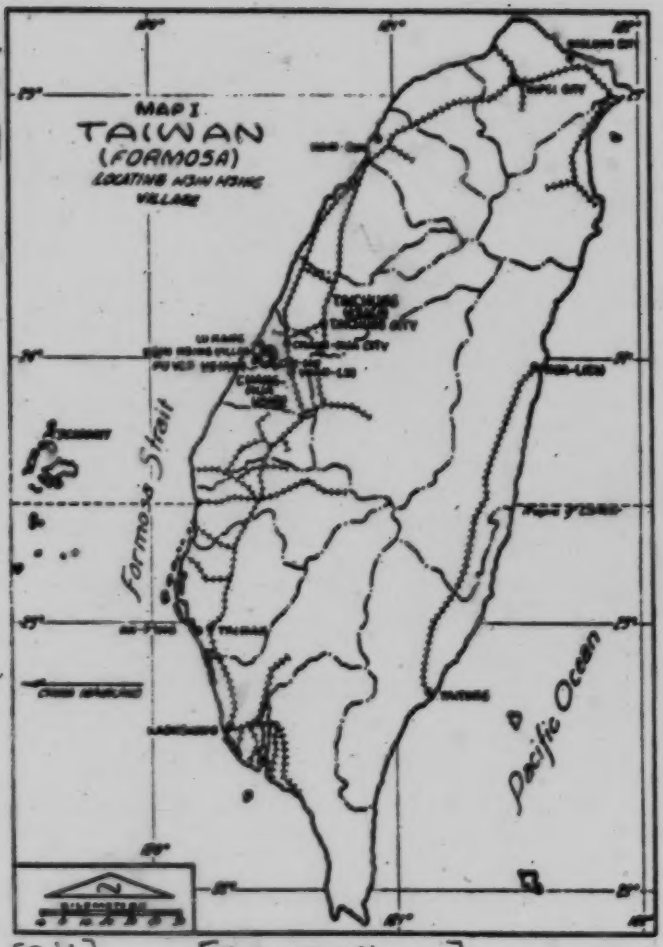

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HSIN HSING, TAIWAN:

A CHINESE VILLAGE IN CHANGE

Bernard Gallin

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To Rita,
who has shared so much

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Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

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Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

Much of the analysis, additional library research, and the writing and preparation of the book was made possible by a grant from the Asian Studies Center, Office of International Programs, Michigan State University. I am indebted to the center for its support and to its director, Dr. William T. Ross. Also, during the final period of the writing of this book, a number of people provided me with the benefit of their helpful comments and suggestions; for this I owe thanks to Professors Charles C. Hughes, John Donoghue, Ralph Nicholas, Joseph Spielberg, Warren I. Cohen, all of Michigan State University, and Herbert P. Phillips of the University of California at Berkeley. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Hilda Jaffe of Michigan State University for her dedicated editorial assistance on the final manuscript.

The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

B. G.

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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

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121 167 177 178 eastern part of the mainland to Taiwan had been going on for several hundred years, beginning in the 1600's and virtually ending about 1900 when it was almost completely stopped by the Japanese regime. Throughout the early period and even after the Japanese occupation and administration of the island, the traditional Chinese culture brought over from southeastern China was maintained with little major change.

648 177 178 During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, except for the period just before and during World War II when they attempted to Japanize the island, the government tried deliberately to inhibit fundamental changes in the Chinese culture.[1] As George Barclay (1954b:52) has pointed out, during most of their occupation it was advantageous to Japanese colonialism to maintain the Chinese social and economic order which already existed in Taiwan. It was by means of the traditional Chinese system, which facilitated the maintenance of social control, that Japan was best able to function as a colonial power and to derive the greatest advantage from this area, which soon became an integral economic part of the Japanese empire. Because of this policy of maintaining and utilizing the existing Chinese social and economic system, the fifty years of Japanese rule had limited direct effect on much of the traditional social life of the Taiwanese. This was especially true of the rural agricultural areas of Taiwan, where direct contact with the Japanese was infrequent and where the Japanese had, therefore, limited influence on the cultural level of life. Some superficial changes—religious forms, for example—were in later years forced on the Taiwanese rural people by the Japanese, but they were quickly dropped when Chinese rule was restored at the end of World War II. Today, unlike the situation in the urban centers of Taiwan where Japanese cultural influence was much stronger and is still evident, only few Japanese-introduced traits can be observed in rural Taiwan, and the people attach little importance to them.

However, during the later years of the Japanese period and especially during most of these past two decades under the Nationalist Chinese, the socioeconomic impact on the whole Taiwanese population has been significant. The combination of relatively efficient government, orderliness of life, and public health measures, together with an extensive system of communications on a relatively small island has greatly facilitated rapid population increase on a stable land base and a rapidly increasing growth of urban centers.

[744] [20] [16] [369] Out of these developments, the most significant changes for the rural population have been the extension of village contacts and involvement with urban centers far beyond the immediate village area, and, with this an increased spread of urban influences or at least their effects into the rural villages. These increasingly significant extensions

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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has wide-spread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

T 121

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

F [133] [131] I F 121 654 648

At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. 121
Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua [122]
Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the
only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village 121
chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from 184
other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I 114
lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. 123
As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former 124
village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the 123
entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we 126
began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the 124
village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed 124
as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers 123
showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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123 to be quite pleased that we had decided to live in their village. A number of them actually pointed out that life was now much more interesting and exciting for them. For one thing, our presence in Hsin Hsing (we were the only Westerners ever to have lived anywhere in that area) resulted in an increased number of visits from outside relatives and friends. Many of these people came to visit in the village with the idea of at least getting a view of the foreigners. Not long after our arrival we learned that some Hsin Hsing villagers, upon meeting or visiting relatives or friends from other villages, would actually extend an invitation to them to "come visit and I'll take you in to have tea with the Americans." While some villagers or their guests would be too embarrassed to actually come into our house, they were not too embarrassed to stand at the windows or doors and peer in at us for a length of time. When this occurred, we would frequently issue a personal invitation to come in and sit awhile. This kind of entertaining proved to be quite fruitful in that early in our stay we got a very good idea of the extent, the nature, and the kind of relationships that Hsin Hsing villagers have beyond their own village. It also gave me some opportunities for entree into the other villages from which these people came and therefore served as an important means for gathering information and pictures of the area villages. On the basis of such contacts and others we were then frequently invited to visit neighboring villages and even some not so near.

During the early part of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers generally tried to keep us from witnessing or even hearing about the various and frequent magical rituals which most often took place late in the night. Gradually, as we began to make several friends in the village who took an interest in us and our work, we were quietly informed of the performance of these rituals. Once we had managed to be present at one or two of these rituals, our presence became an accepted matter-
[126] of-fact occurrence. After a brief time I was even able to take photographs of the various magical activities which are described in some detail in later chapters.

Within a month after we had taken up residence in the village, apparently as a matter of courtesy we were invited to a wedding festival in Hsin Hsing. Our presence seemed to make a big hit with the villagers and especially with their guests, who soon happily engaged me in various kinds of drinking games. With this initial contact experience over, there was scarcely a single festival or a happy occasion or even a funeral ceremonial to which we were not invited. It was not at all unusual for me to be asked to make a brief public talk to congratulate the newlyweds or to take part in a funeral by wearing a mourning band for the deceased. When village festivals were being planned and money collected from each village family to finance the occasion, after

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several months in the village we were asked to pay the head tax for all members in our household in much the same way as the villagers paid it. We were considered by the Hsin Hsing villagers as part of the population. 123

In the later part of the fieldwork, I was at times actually asked by villagers, including the village mayor, to advise them on the settlement of a conflict in which at least part of the village was engaged with another village. However, our virtually complete acceptance by the villagers did not come until we had been in the village nearly a year, when I was unavoidably involved in a conflict in which at least part of the Hsin Hsing villagers were engaged with a neighboring village. In the situation, which concerned the Li Fan case discussed in Chapter 6 (and which has been described in detail in an article I wrote in 1959), I did find it necessary and perhaps even desirable to render some advice and assistance. Once this had been done successfully, I found that what formerly had been a good situation for fieldwork had now turned into an excellent relationship with almost the entire village. Thus, whereas until that time I was still recording interview notes in private, I could now record interviews as they were carried on. Most villagers who would usually spend time talking with me only when they had nothing else of importance to do now willingly made themselves available for interviews whenever it was at all possible. What I had earlier recognized as a good field situation, and it was, had now turned into an ideal one.

Relations with the local officials in the district Public Office (similar to our town hall), the district police, the district Farmers' Association, and the local land records office were of course also extremely important. Access to public and private records such as demographic data, maps and surveys, and land tenure data records depended upon my relationships with these people. For the most part, I was able to secure all the necessary available official records, though this always entailed the utmost patience. 123 127

However, the availability of written historical records, documents, and statistics for the period prior to about 1950 was unfortunately rather limited. While a great deal of literature written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Ch'ing dynasty, e.g., *Chang-hua Hsien Chih*, about Taiwan in general is available, such writings seldom deal with specific local areas. This seems true also of Japanese material. In addition, it has been a frequent Chinese historical practice to copy the material for such books from older chronicles. Therefore, books about Taiwan do not adequately describe the particular area during the period prior to 1950. (This problem is further discussed in a note for Chapter 2.) 127

The absence of family records in Hsin Hsing village makes it diffi-

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

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The community study provides firsthand data essential to gaining a better perspective of the culture. It suggests that for some areas of life our image of traditional culture, on which any analysis of the dynamics of contemporary China must be based, may not be accurate. Eventually it can stimulate us to reassess some of our most basic conceptions of Chinese culture. 121

Thus, for example, while examining the interplay of the many aspects of village life, this book, like some before it, explores in detail some of the traditional truisms and assumptions usually made about Chinese culture and society. In some instances it validates some traditionally based assumptions, as when it reports the continued significance of family and patrilineal kinship groupings even in present-day changing rural life. At the same time, much as Fried (1953) has enlightened us on the importance of non-kin interpersonal relations (*kan-ch'ing*), so this book presents subjects previously neglected, such as the significance of kinship relationships which are not based on the patrilineal kin tie and the nature of some traditional attitudes and ways of life.

The community study technique enables us to apprise significant cultural facts as they may have actually existed in the past and now exist for the masses of Chinese peasantry. It provides the data necessary for a perceptive inquiry into the dynamics of Chinese culture. Through it one becomes aware of facts which may yield insights into the larger society. It is this which I hope to provide in this book.

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The Setting

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128 In any community study there is always the question of where to begin outlining the picture of village life; on what does one focus first? While the question is perhaps just as urgent during the actual fieldwork, in the field it is possible to observe and ask questions on many subjects at the same time and to move from one subject to another in the course of an interview. But in attempting to put the ethnography down on paper, the decision must be made where to begin.

I have chosen to begin this book as I began my fieldwork—with a general picture of village life that will provide a context which can give meaning to particular aspects of village life. This picture will be followed in Chapters 3 and 4 by a description of the village livelihood, although it has perhaps been more common to begin Chinese ethnographies with a discussion of family and kinship (here Chapters 5 and 6). The importance of the economic sphere in Hsin Hsing is explicit in the very purposes of this book as noted in Chapter 1 and the conclusions of Chapter 9; its importance was implicit throughout the fieldwork as it will be throughout this book. We now turn then to the setting of the village so that specific topical chapters which follow will have some contextual meaning.

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131 Travel to Hsin Hsing village from the capital city, Taipei, is neither
F easy nor brief. The approximately one hundred and seventeen-mile
497 trip to Chang-hua, the closest major city, must be made mostly by train via the seacoast or by the interior route through Taichung City. This takes about three hours by diesel express or six hours or more by a local train. It is generally possible to find a seat on the diesel express, but on the local trains one must almost always stand a good part of the way.

F Once out of Taipei the countryside is almost all rice paddies and
311 farmland. Even in the mountain area between Taipei and Taichung,
F terraced rice paddies form a part of the green and lush vegetation
499 typical of Taiwan. The train goes through a series of tunnels in these
175 rugged mountains, and if one happens to be traveling with a
648 Taiwanese companion, he will probably point out that these tunnels, like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

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like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

The mountain ranges serve as a kind of climatic divide. The area north of the mountains, which includes the Taipei region, is known for its long rainy season and cold raw winters. In the area south of the divide, and especially around Taichung and the interior mountain region, the weather tends to be milder, with far less rain and many days of bright sunshine.

On the trip south from Taipei to Chang-hua City the train crosses several large rivers which originate in the interior mountains and flow west to the Strait of Formosa. The rushing torrents of water during and immediately after the rainy season dwindle to a trickle during the dry season, meandering through wide, sandy, and rocky river beds.

At Chang-hua City the traveler must leave the train for a bus headed southwest to the old port city of Lukang. Although the buses leave every fifteen minutes during the day, they are invariably crowded with people and their bundles of produce, fish, a chicken or two, or even building materials.

The thirty-minute trip in an old wooden Japanese bus is made entirely on dirt roads. The ride may be dusty or wet according to the season, but it is always bumpy and noisy. In the dry season strangling dust pours into the bus from all sides. During the wet season, there is always a possibility that the passengers will have to leave the bus and wade while the bus creeps slowly along over the flooded roadbed. Many menthol-distilling factories, brickworks, and small rice mills line the way. The bus must cross many small irrigation canals and maneuver around oxcarts. As the bus moves further away from Chang-hua City and approaches the seacoast area of Lukang, a change in the agricultural landscape, resulting from differences in irrigation systems, becomes more and more noticeable. In those places where there is still no irrigation system, there are large areas of dry fields.

After a half-hour wait in Lukang, the traveler boards another, similar bus for the trip to the village, which lies about three miles inland or southeast of Lukang. The uncomfortable fifteen-minute ride ends when the bus comes to a halt in front of the Hsin Hsing village store.

The houses in the village are constructed of bamboo, mud or fired brick, and plaster. The foundations and structural uprights are usually brick; the walls are a latticework of bamboo strips, filled in with plaster which is a mixture of mud and cow dung. The plaster filling is usually whitewashed. Sometimes the main supports are not brick but heavy bamboo poles. Newer houses, and the older houses of the wealthy, generally have roofs of cement tile, while the oldest and poorest houses have thatched roofs. Houses made of mud bricks are always thatched.

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F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [480] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

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just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

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THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[2] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1600's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

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With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[2] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) -1966
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greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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F 175 648 its brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161] After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

Tn 197

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to as such. Taiwanese, also called Min-nan *hua*, is a Fukienese language like Amoy. It is spoken by the majority of the people of Taiwan, and, although it is spoken with different accents, the speakers of the different variants can understand each other. The accents vary according to the place of origin of the speaker's ancestors. Regional differences have developed in Taiwan as well, so that the accent of the coastal area where Hsin Hsing is located differs from the accents of Taichung or the mountains.

Hakka, another Chinese language, is spoken by the Hakka people (*k'o jen*, "guest people") who originated in Kwangtung province on the mainland. Because of the minority position of the Hakka in Taiwan, they have often had to learn Taiwanese, although Min-nan speakers seldom learn Hakka. The Hsin Hsing village area has no Hakka speakers, and there has been little or no reason for the people of the region to learn Hakka. They are, however, well aware of the Hakka people and of the differences between their languages.

Mandarin, the third Chinese language, is now the official language of the government, replacing Japanese. Japanese first became important in Taiwan through the school system developed by the former rulers. In the 1920's the Japanese government began to augment Taiwan's school system, and "by 1943, 70 percent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school" (Barclay, 1954b:68n). A limited number of Taiwanese children, usually those whose parents had some status, attended a special primary school system set up by the colonial government for the Japanese children on the island. Classes in these schools were conducted in Japanese. Most children, however, attended the public primary schools whose classes were "conducted in the local dialect" although the children "were required to learn to read in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138). All secondary schools and colleges conducted classes "exclusively in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138).

In the rural area some children from wealthy landed families attended school beyond the primary level. Because of their education, they were given official jobs under the Japanese regime and mainly spoke Japanese. Today, these men, like a great many urbanites educated under the Japanese, still speak fluent Japanese. The same men now are working for the Mandarin-speaking Nationalist regime and so usually speak Mandarin. They have rarely had the opportunity to use their native Taiwanese and are often chided for speaking their own language very badly.

Most of the rural people though, who did attend public school, usually did not go beyond the primary school level. Many villagers, and almost all rural women, attended school irregularly or not at all. Among all these villagers then, many learned no more than a few

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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665 often local Taiwanese. They are usually opposed by independent
665 candidates, some of whom are elected, at least as *hsien* assemblymen;
634 thus far, all of the *hsien* magistrates have been Kuomintang members.

665 On the *hsiang* (district) level, at least in Pu Yen Hsiang, all candidates
665 who have been elected *hsiang chang* (district mayor) have been members
632 of the Kuomintang. They have also been leading members of the local political factions which include in their membership only limited numbers of Kuomintang people. In all elections of the *hsiang chang* by the *hsiang* council, the Party, through the efforts of its small but effective local membership, has always successfully supported the candidacies of its own members. (The Kuomintang, apparently in an attempt to build its local prestige and strength in the rural areas of Taiwan, also involves itself in district affairs by maintaining an office in each district seat. In Pu Yen, the Kuomintang office is virtually next door to the district Public Office. The Party office, staffed by several full-time people, serves as an unofficial mediating agent in local disputes, including domestic quarrels such as divorce cases, and also offers its services free of charge to villagers who need assistance in the writing of formal letters of petition to the courts or some government office.)

The local factions in Pu Yen Hsiang are not dedicated to any special principles or objectives, but for the most part are organized around particular personalities. While village candidates for representatives to the *hsiang* council, or village mayors, may have some relationship with *hsiang* level factions, their allegiance is usually to village kinship groups rather than political factions. The activities of the *hsiang* level factions do not extend down to the village level, except as they include individual villagers.

665 In general, the villagers consider elections unimportant, and candi-
666 dates on all levels often buy votes. A few packs of cigarettes or some bath towels and soap may be all that is needed to secure someone's vote. One villager said, "you can only accept a gift from one candidate, and then you are obligated to vote for him." In addition, it is not unusual to read in the newspapers or hear of election irregularities which have caused whole elections to be declared invalid and taken to
665 court for prosecution. On occasion, the *hsien* Kuomintang party com-
666 mittees have been deeply involved in such cases. For example, in
634 Chang-hua Hsien in 1958, seven of the nine candidates running for eight seats in the *hsien* assembly tried to bribe one candidate to withdraw his candidacy so that there would be no real contest and the rest would win automatically. In this case, it was discovered that a leading Kuomintang committeeman was responsible for the attempted bribery.

665 However, the direct influence of the Kuomintang in the rural vil-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Hain Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 3 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

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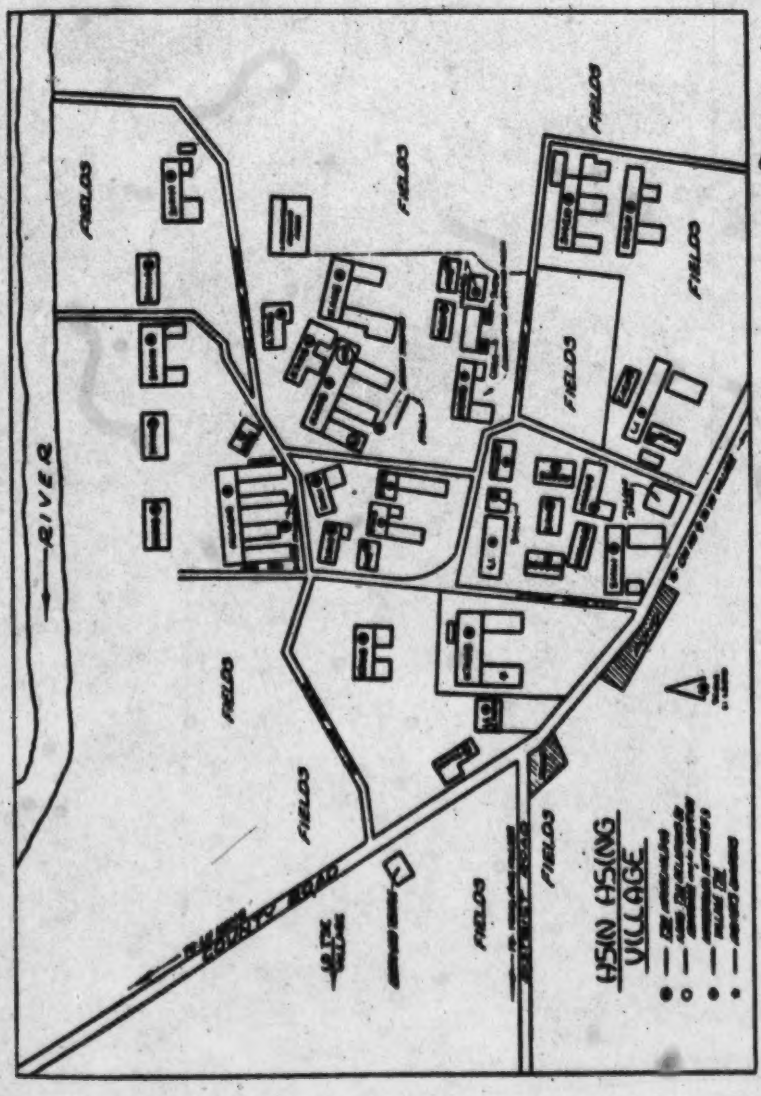

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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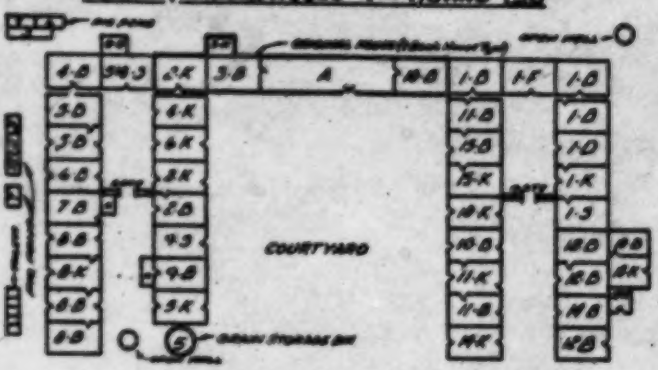

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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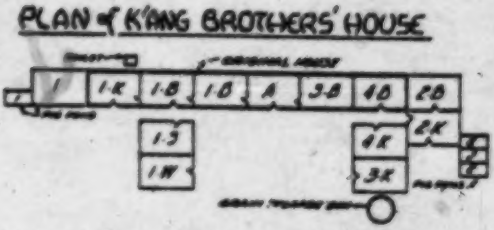

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; 2, K'ang Ting-shan; 3, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

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THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

T 161 162 [127]

In 1956, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been reestablished. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

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With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

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This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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Tn 161 [702] This most recent decline may well be a result of marriages delayed because of such things as military conscription.[5] (See Table 1.)

Tn 161 165 The basis for the rapid population growth in Taiwan has been the dramatic decline in mortality rates. These dropped from an average of 33.4 deaths per thousand in the years 1906–1910 (Barclay, 1954b:146), to an average of 25.8 deaths per thousand in 1920–1924 (United Nations, 1954:36–41), to 9.5 deaths per thousand in 1959 (United

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TABLE 1

FERTILITY INDICES FOR TAIWANESE ONLY [a]

Year	Births per 1000 persons
1915	41.4
1920	40.8
1925	41.5
1930	43.9
1935	46.1
1940	44.2
1947	37.1
1948	38.8
1949	40.7
1950	42.8
1951	40.0
1952	43.9
1953	44.4
1954	43.8
1955	44.5
1956	44.1
1957	40.8
1958	40.9

[a] Figures provided by Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer of the National Taiwan University in May, 1959. The birthrate here is based on end-of-the-year figures instead of mid-year figures which are usually used in the United Nations Yearbook.

Tn 161 165 [744] Nations, 1954:36–41), and to 8.0 deaths per thousand in 1956 (United Nations, 1957:192–193). These changing mortality figures may be attributed primarily to better public health facilities and improved sanitation, both of which made diseases of epidemic proportions such as plague and cholera, and endemic diseases such as malaria, almost unknown in Taiwan starting in the latter half of the Japanese period (the 1920's).

T 161 The acceleration in the rate of national population growth in Taiwan is reflected in Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area. Although there are no early statistical data available for this region, some of the older people maintain that when they were children the

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village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	330	611	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,259	13,446	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 57.4 per thousand persons or 5.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1953–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1953–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

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number of persons per household was 5.83. These figures can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. The size of the average household for all of Taiwan was 5.5 persons (Statistical Abstract of Republic of China, 1955:27).

In Hsin Hsing village households have practically no outsiders, either relatives outside the immediate family or servants of any kind.

TABLE 5

SEX RATIO, HSIN HSING VILLAGE
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	299	305	302	312	320	
Female	305	309	339	332	337	
Sex Ratio	94.8	98.1	89.1 *	94.0	95.0	94.2

* There is no apparent reason for this drop in 1956. It may possibly be a result of a statistical error in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office records.

TABLE 6

SEX RATIO, PU YEN HSIANG
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	12,508	12,946	13,299	13,441	13,572	
Female	12,581	13,014	13,466	13,784	13,909	
Sex Ratio	99.4	99.5	98.8	97.5	97.6	98.8

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	594	612	611	644	657
Number of households	109	112	115	115	115
Average number of persons per household	5.45	5.46	5.57	5.60	5.71

There are relatively few families of what is commonly called the joint type, composed of parents, unmarried children, and more than one married son with his wife and children. There are a number of the so-called stem type, generally composed of a parent or parents, the unmarried children, and only one married son with his wife and children. Most households in Hsin Hsing are the nuclear type, composed

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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[10] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

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According to the April 1957, official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

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311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at 571 the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[10] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the most educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

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practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

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VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1950's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

207 There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

205 The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

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[423] [242] [167] [621] [628] [602] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T 175 161 241 433 464 [434] In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T 241 312 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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Tn 243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin of tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

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events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 23; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)

"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)

"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)

"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)

"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)

"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	30	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or [612] friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in* [602] *ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *han-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *han-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *han-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *han-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *han-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the items together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	961
Ducks	572
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to buy two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsiang usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble. 231 435

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner. 231 782 796 [594]

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats. 235 [262]

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called. [136] [232]

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the [462]

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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

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Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

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Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite so-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

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Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

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One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

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way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

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Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

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The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

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There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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to be only one, or possibly two, farmers with enough extra cash to take advantage of it. A cement drying area built with the help of this public money quickly becomes a semipublic area. The actual owner has first claim on its use, but if he is not using it, any other villager may do so without asking his permission. On the other hand, a drying area which is not cemented is definitely considered private property, and before a villager may use it he must gain the permission of the owner.

Moneylending (Rural Credit)

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A major problem which still confronts the Taiwanese farmer, just as it did the mainland farmers under the Nationalists, is the difficulty in obtaining low-interest loans. The little progress made thus far in easing this problem in the Hsin Hsing area has been through the efforts of the local Farmers' Association. The association in Pu Yen has used its own available funds, together with the financial and organizational help of JCRR, to offer low-interest loans to small farmers. Other loans which have been made available by the provincial Food Bureau and the Land Bank have been of little help in easing the credit situation of the small farmer, since such loans require too much security or else are mainly for business purposes. The result is that most farmers still resort to high-interest private moneylenders or to moneylending clubs.

The Farmers' Association, under the Shih Fan Tai K'uan, "Model Money Lending" system, makes cash loans which are to be repaid in cash, to small farmers. The rules for the granting of these loans are made by each district Farmers' Association, but they must be approved by JCRR. The loans can be made only to regular members of the Farmers' Association, to help them purchase farm implements necessary to increase their production. The maximum loan made by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association in 1958 was NT $3,000. This was lent for a maximum period of two years, and payments on the loan were due every six months. The actual time permitted for repayment of the loan depends upon the amount of money borrowed. The interest rate charged by the Farmers' Association is 1.5 percent per month.

The only security demanded of the borrower is the guarantee of two other members of the Farmers' Association. A committee of the association decides if the borrower is a good risk by examining the amount of land he operates (owned and rented). According to the Extension Head of the Farmers' Association, the most important consideration is that the man can be trusted and also that he have good guarantors. Thus, if his reasons for wanting the loan are accepted, even a man who owns only a small piece of land may be able to borrow the maximum amount of money for the full two-year term. At the Pu Yen association

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474 426 probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

474 426 654 In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

426 [652] The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small [602] sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

452 426 Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

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Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

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As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association, almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

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241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

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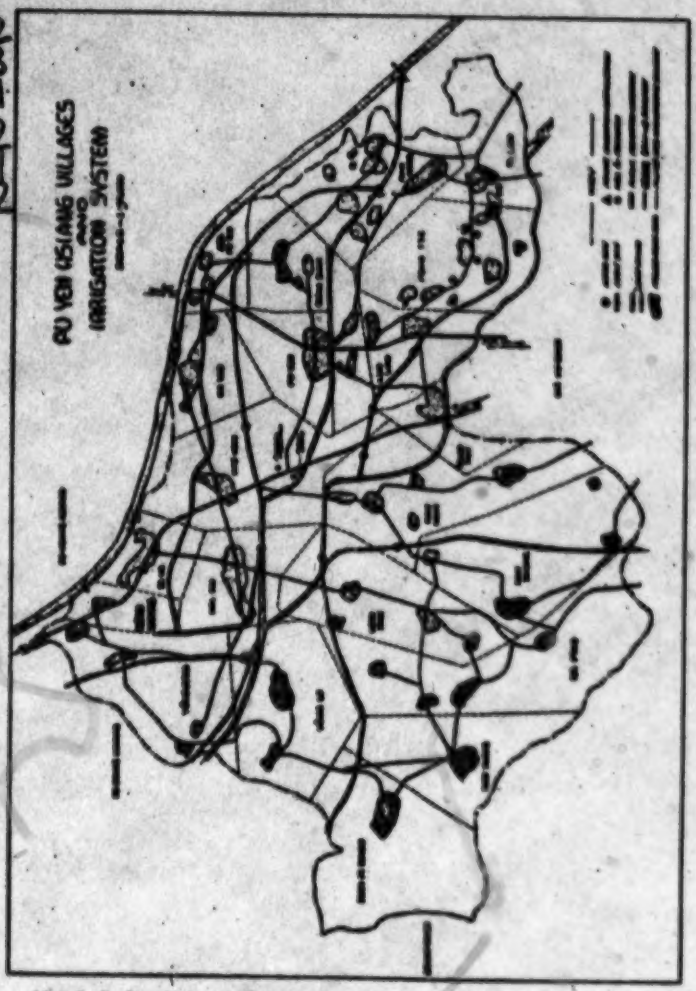

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members. 312 653

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elec.s a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?" 312 653 554 [565]

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of this money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however, 312

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If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *han-sh'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

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Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

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However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

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This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

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While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

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In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pump was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

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Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is 578 sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no [627] solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. [692] (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 312 474 433 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 571 628 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

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Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

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The traditional (Ch'ing) land tenure system in Taiwan has undergone a number of modifications over the years. Each was instituted with the advent of a new regime, and marked the inception of major changes in other aspects of rural life. As we have seen, the colonial administration policies of the Japanese were instrumental in producing the first significant involvement of the Taiwanese peasant in the market economy. Nevertheless, it was not until the restoration of Chinese rule, when the population growth began to exert noticeable pressures and the Nationalist Chinese sponsored the Land Reform Program, that major changes took place in the economy which reached directly into most of the areas of Taiwanese rural life.

The system of land tenure in Taiwan has always been a controlling factor in the lives of the agricultural population, and to understand Taiwanese life fully it is necessary to understand the land tenure system and its history. From the late nineteenth century onwards the rural villagers suffered the results of the concentration of landownership into too few hands. This situation culminated finally in the Land Reform Program of 1949–1953, which, for the first time, secured the Taiwanese tenants' rights to the land they tilled through firm rental contracts, reductions in rent, and the Land-to-the-Tiller Program.

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Putting untilled land under cultivation became a great concern of the government at the time of the Manchu conquest of Taiwan in 1683, according to T'ang (1954:25–27). Under the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty, any person applying for rights to occupy uncultivated land was considered the owner as long as he kept his acres under proper cultivation. Not surprisingly, this program led to a situation in which people with enough capital, "a relatively small number of great families" (Ginsburg, 1953:52), obtained rights to large amounts of land

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and then hired other people, usually immigrants from the mainland, to cultivate the land for them as their tenants.

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As the population increased in the later years of the Ch'ing administration there was increasing pressure on the land, and many tenants began to sublease part of the land to others. These subtenants became the lowest rank in a three-stage hierarchal structure of land tenure (Ginsburg, 1953:26–27, 32–33; Grajdanzev, 1942:72–84; T'ang, 1954: 23–27).

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In 1904, nine years after taking control of Taiwan, the Japanese government altered this hierarchal system of land tenure by buying out the original landowner and conferring the rights of ownership on the tenant. When, in 1923, the Japanese applied the Japanese Civil Code to Taiwan, full legal rights were given to the new owner (the former tenant), who was now officially known as "landlord."

This move benefited the original tenant who was given full ownership rights, but it did nothing to improve the lot of the mass of actual cultivators (now tenants instead of subtenants) whose land rent was no lower than before. As a result, "tenancy disputes" became more numerous beginning in 1927. In that year the Japanese authorities encouraged the formation of local associations of landowners and tenants which were charged with the responsibilities of promoting better relations between landlord and tenant, preventing tenancy disputes, and fostering agricultural production (T'ang, 1954:28). Although many such associations were formed, "the question of farm rents was entirely outside of the jurisdiction of these associations. It [the rent question] was not only left unsolved, but there was even a marked tendency for farm rents to keep on increasing" (T'ang, 1954:28).

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In 1939, in the midst of the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese government issued a rent control law which was applicable to Taiwan and Japan alike. This law had little effect in Taiwan because it did nothing to reduce rents; it only stabilized the situation. (See Grajdanzev, 1942:72–84, especially p. 82 for a discussion of the Japanese attempts to deal with Taiwanese land tenure problems.)

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Although the farm tenancy system continued, after 1945 the Japanese rent control law of 1939 was no longer enforced when Taiwan reverted to Chinese rule. With the increase in the rural population and the general upset of the island's economy, farm rents began to rise, and demands increasing security and rent deposits were made. Worst of all, in many cases tenants were arbitrarily evicted (T'ang, 1954:25–28).

Tenancy had been a great problem in Taiwan under both the Japanese and the Chinese since landownership was concentrated in the hands of relatively few owners (Klein, 1958:53; see also his Tables 17 and 18). "The high rate of tenancy reflects the great scarcity of cultivable land in Taiwan in relation to the demand for it. Land-

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ownership became even more concentrated in the postwar period than in the pre-war period" (Klein, 1958:55). Large numbers of tenants and would-be tenants were in continuing competition for the land they needed to support their families. The competition, unfortunately, tended to put the tenants at the landlords' mercy and helped perpetuate the already unsatisfactory land tenure system.

Klein also points out that the "increased demand for food by urban dwellers and for rural land by farmers, resulted in the many abuses practiced by rural landowners becoming qualitatively worse and quantitatively more numerous than before. One of the notorious abuses was that of charging oppressively heavy rents" (1958:55). From "1945 through 1947, rents of 60 per cent and 70 per cent (of the annual main crop) became not uncommon in the more fertile and densely populated areas. In some areas the rent was 'ironclad' which meant that in the event of crop disaster or failure, the rent, determined as a percentage of the normal or expected yield was to be paid in full anyway" (Klein, 1958:55–84).

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The high rental rates in the moderately fertile Hsin Hsing village area seem to have been standardized according to the type and quality (grade) of the land being rented, and were, in addition, influenced by the relationship between the particular landlord and tenant. Hsin Hsing villagers imply that land rents before the Land Reform Reduction Law were no higher than they are today. Their most vivid memory is one of insecurity on the land rather than excessive rents. Many seem to have forgotten how bad the rent situation really was. Former landlords, however, admit almost nostalgically that land rents in this area were as high as 60 percent of the annual main crop. But the landlord paid all the taxes, and he and the tenant shared the expense of the fertilizer. The tenant paid all the labor costs.

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Everyone agrees that rent was generally paid in kind, seldom in money, and "the landlord, as a rule, charged the tenant a fixed amount of rice for paddy land regardless of how small a crop the tenant might raise or what crop he planted" (Chang, 1954:10–11). Nevertheless, if the tenant, through his own efforts, increased the production of his rented land, he usually had to pay a larger rent. There is no question that this greatly stifled the tenants' incentive to increase production. The payment of rent in kind—in rice for paddy land—meant that "In case the tenant planted crops other than rice, he had to sell his crops and buy rice from [the] market to meet the charge. The buying and selling of crops meant extra losses to the tenant" (Chang, 1954:11).

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There is no indication before 1949 in the Hsin Hsing area that the landlord collected rent in advance. Usually, he took 60 percent of the rent immediately after the first crop was harvested and the remaining

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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427 entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would
571 have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

427 A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the [731] villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

427 The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered
571 the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

427 I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immedi-
571 ate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of
626 explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little [464] that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm labor- [178] ers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to land reform—his wife and sons were not concerned with continuing these good relations. Whenever the opportunity arose for securing higher rents from a new tenant, the wife and sons threw the former tenant off the land. Most of the villagers felt hostile towards this family for its greediness and betrayal of the formerly good *kan-ch'ing*.

Ironically, in the postwar period, it was the constant fear and uncertainty which prevented the active growth of any movement or demand among the tenant farmers in this area for some kind of land reform. Such activity would immediately endanger a tenant's relationship with the landlord, esperially the local ones, and his tenure on the land would be jeopardized. Even to complain about the situation was dangerous. Other farmers, desperately in need of additional land, might inform the landlord that the tenant was criticizing his treatment or perhaps abusing or neglecting the land. Then, after planting the seed of distrust, the informer might offer to rent the land himself. The tenant's fear of such competitive tactics and his insecure relations with his landlord ensured his continued submission to the system.

LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In mainland China, land reform in the form of a rent reduction program had been attempted as early as 1929 by the Chekiang provincial government (Chang, 1954:16). The program and others, which were intended eventually to transfer landownership from landlord to tenant, were attempted by other provincial governments also, as well as by the Nationalist government in various provinces such as Fukien, Szechwan, and Kwangsi up to the time of the Communist take-over in 1949 (Chang, 1954:16–19; T'ang, 1954:89–95). However, while some of the programs were successful, they were all very limited and at best effective only in localized areas of the mainland.

After the Nationalist government took over in Taiwan, a large-scale Land Reform Program was successfully carried out on the island. This was a "Three Step Program" instituted officially by the National government in 1951 and completed in 1953. Chang (1954:20) wrote: "The first phase, also the mildest reform, seeks improvement of the tenant's living without overthrowing the tenancy system or changing the tenant's status. The second phase, the converting of a fraction of tenants into owner-farmers by selling public land to them, may be taken as a trial or transitional stage. The third phase, Land-to-the-Tiller, aims at turning all tenants into owner-farmers . . . the last and final goal of land reform."

The program was based on a law known as the "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province," promulgated by the provincial government of Taiwan on April 10, 1949.

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423 427 671 The law provided for a ceiling on farm rental of 37.5 percent of a predetermined estimated yield, regardless of any production above that figure. In the event of a crop failure, the law stipulated that "the lessee and the lessor may make arrangements between themselves for the reduction of rent in accordance with local custom. . . . If the total yield is less than 20 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:222). It guaranteed, through landlord-tenant contracts, that the rights and welfare of the tenant farmer would be safeguarded. However, there was still "no adequate provision for the protection of tenant's rights owing to the restrictions imposed by certain articles of the Land Law and the Civil Code. Hence there occurred, after the enforcement of farm rent reductions, many cases in which some landlords tried to take back their leased land from their tenants by resorting either to compulsion or promises of material benefit" (T'ang, 1954:32).

T 423 427 Loopholes in the law made it possible for landlords to make up for having to reduce the land rent by charging house rent and other new charges. In 1949 there were several cases of landlords who successfully convinced their gullible, or perhaps trusting, Hsin Hsing village tenants that there was no reason to draw up a land contract, since their verbal agreement had always been adequate in the past. On this basis, the landlord promised, the tenant "could consider that his family would be able to work the land forever on the same basis of mutual trust and good *kan-ch'ing* which had always existed between them." The rent would, of course, be the legal 37.5 percent paid by other tenants.

In several instances in Hsin Hsing and in other villages—according to an informant who works in the Public Office and used to have a position in the Land Office—uneducated tenants were persuaded not to report themselves as tenants. In these cases, since there was no one claiming tenancy rights, the landlord would say that he himself tilled this land. If later the rightful tenant should dispute the matter (and there have been a number of such cases), the landlord would officially claim that the tenant was not a tenant at all but only a hired laborer. In this way, the landlord, who realized there was to be a transfer of land to the tenants, felt he had a better chance to retain ownership of his land. In Hsin Hsing village, there are still a few small plots of land covered by such a verbal agreement between a landlord and his tenant.

Farm Rent Reduction Act of 1951

Tn 423 671 The many instances of landlords' abuses of tenants plus the weak enforcement of the 1949 provincial law led to a need for the "Farm Rent Reduction to 37.5 Percent Act." This national act was passed by

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 427 671 money in advance was also illegal, and the landlords' penalties were just as severe for any other infringement of the law.

At this point some landlords chose to sell much of their land, simply because the rent reduction cut too deeply into their profits. Many others, aware that there was ultimately to be a land expropriation law, felt it was wiser to sell large portions of their land before the expropriating act became effective. Consequently, in many cases the landlord threatened that if the tenant did not buy the land he would sell it to someone else. Even tenants who could scarcely afford it were virtually forced to purchase. Under the 1951 act, Article 15 (T'ang, 1954:226), a landlord wishing to sell his land was required to give first preference to his tenant. "If the lessee makes no written reply to the said offer within fifteen days, he shall be deemed to have waived his preferential right." However, the prices of land under such circumstances were usually rather low, since many of the landlords were eager to sell quickly. Many of these same landlords later expressed regret that they had been so hasty.

On the whole, these early sales by landlords proved to be very much to the advantage of the tenants, who got the land at a price often much lower than the price later set by the government in the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act. If the tenant had not purchased the land after the 1951 act, he might never have obtained the land at all. In many cases the tenant could not gain ownership through the Land Reform of 1953 because the piece of land he leased fell within the three *chia* maximum limit of medium-grade paddy land which the law allowed a landlord to retain.

423 427 671 647 The 1951 act also established a land commission known in Taiwan as the Farm Tenancy Committees, a reorganized form of the Rent Reduction Committees established under the 1949 law. These committees generally assumed responsibility on the local level to supervise the rent reduction and to render assistance in carrying out the final reform—the Land-to-the-Tiller Program (Chang, 1954:32–37). (For further details see T'ang, 1954:224–228, translation of the "Farm Rent Reduction to 37.5 Percent Act" of 1951.)

423 *Regulations Governing the Sale of Public Farm Lands Act of 1951*

432 659 [427] In July, 1951, the government began the first of two major sales of nonirrigated public land. The first was the sale of national and provincial public land; the second, which began in January, 1952, was mainly a sale of the expropriated holdings of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation (Chang, 1954:54). Before the sales, tenants on the public land were paying 25 percent of the annual crop production as rent. After buying the land, the new owner's financial burden was much greater. The purchase price was paid in twenty semiannual install-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ments to the government; the amount of these payments did not exceed the 25 percent of the crop paid in rent, but as an owner, the farmer was responsible for taxes and other charges. The financial benefits of ownership would thus not accrue to the new owner until the entire purchase price was paid off in ten years. The sale was important and contributed to the landownership of a few former tenant families in Hsin Hsing. However, it was far less important and attracted less interest than the Land-to-the-Tiller Act which went into effect in 1953 (Chang, 1954: 60–61).

The Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953

Under the act, the government was given authority to expropriate the land of landlords and to create owner-farmers. Basically, it provided for government purchase of certain tenant-cultivated lands for the purpose of resale to the tenant-cultivators. In the Hsin Hsing village area, where most of the land is of medium grade, most landlords could retain a maximum of three *chia* (7.2 acres) of paddy land or six *chia* (14.4 acres) of dry (nonirrigated) land. The purchase price of the expropriated land was "fixed at 250 per cent of the total annual main crop yield (the standard volume of main crop as stated in the earlier 37.5 per cent rent contract). Of the purchase price, 70 per cent paid to the landlord is in land bonds and 30 per cent in government enterprise stockshares" (Chang, 1954:65).

The government's "resale price" of the land to the former tenant "is the same as the purchase price, plus a 4 per cent interest per annum and is to be amortized by the purchaser in ten equal annual installments" (Chang, 1954:65–66). Former tenants make a total of twenty semiannual payments, one after each harvest. The payments can be in rice for paddy land, or in cash for dry land, based on the current value of sweet potatoes. According to the law, "the average annual burden to be borne by the purchaser shall not exceed the burden on the same grade of land presently borne by the tenant farmer under the 37.5 per cent rent reduction program" (T'ang, 1954:190).

There was a general restriction written into the Land-to-the-Tiller Act to prevent the reaccumulation of land by large landholders or the manipulation and shifting of ownership of land reform land. It stipulates that "any purchaser who has acquired land under this Act shall not transfer the land to any other person before the purchase price is fully paid; transfer of land, after its purchase price is fully paid, shall be permitted only when the transferee can till the land himself or can use it for industrial purposes" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Law, Chapter IV, Article 28). This means that technically there is no limitation on the amount of land that may be purchased and accumulated, except that the purchaser must have the ability to cultivate it.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

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Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 13) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

	1949–1951		1957	
Land classification	Area *chia*	Number of families	Area *chia*	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	62
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1053 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[3]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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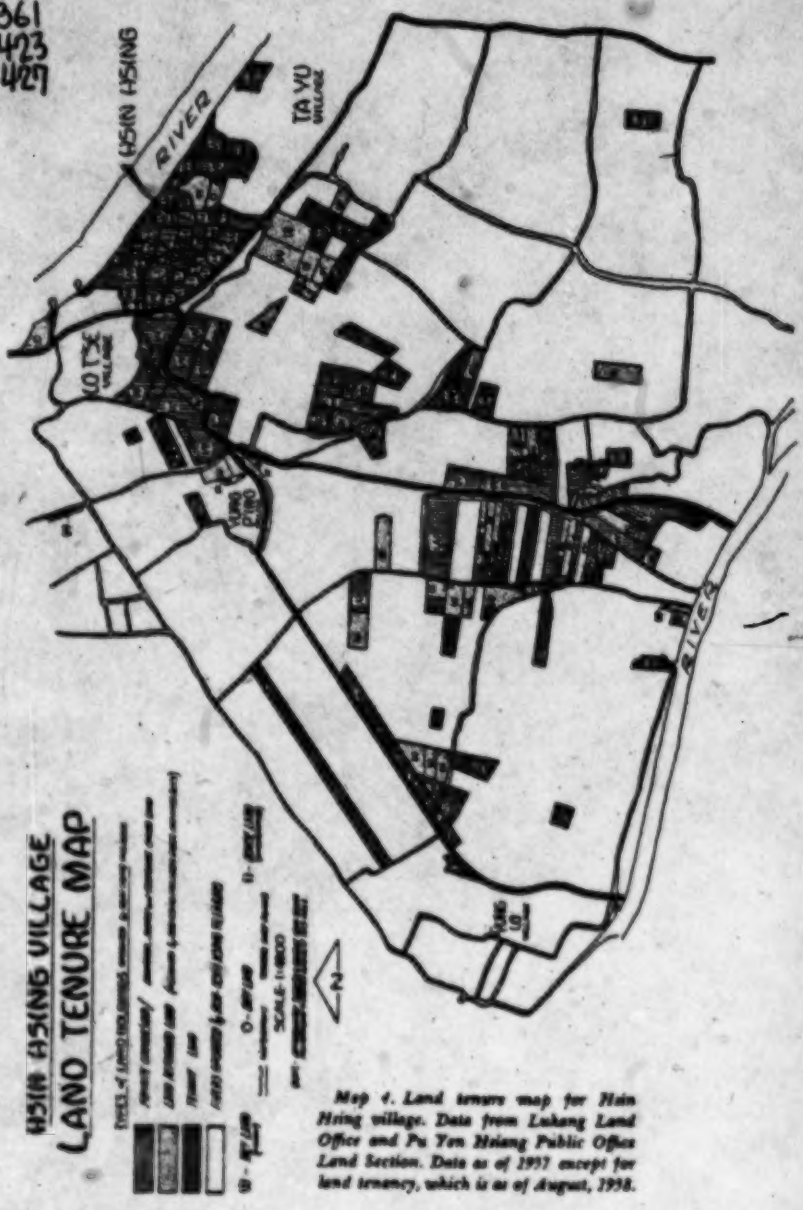

Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Lukang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

1:Gallin E-4.5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

25.8204 *chia* of cultivated land was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers under individual, joint, or corporate ownership. The largest part of all cultivated land was paddy land. (See Table 14.)

Most of the leased land in 1949 was owned by 25 different private landlords. A small part belonged to publicly owned enterprises. Of these twenty-five private landlords, only two were Hsin Hsing villagers; they owned about 5.2 *chia* of land or about 14.6 percent of the total leased land—almost all of which they rented out to fellow villagers. (See Table 15.) Of the remaining leaseholds, 28.5

TABLE 14

AREA AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 92 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS BEFORE LAND REFORM, 1951

Land type	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percentage (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	25.4967	0.3337	25.8204	41.9
Tenanted	31.9950	3.7426	35.7376	58.1
Totals	57.4817	4.0763	61.5580	100.0

TABLE 15

OWNERSHIP OF HSIN HSING VILLAGE TENANTED LAND, 1949–1951

	Total number of *chia* Hsin Hsing tenanted land	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by private outside landlords[a]	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by public enterprises
Amount of tenant land	35.7	5.2	28.5	2.0
Percent of tenant land	100.0	14.6	79.8	5.6
Number of private landlords	25.0	2.0	23.0	—

[a] Landlords living outside Hsin Hsing village as well as outside the area.

chia or 79.8 percent of the total was owned by 23 private outside landlords. Thirteen of them, owning over 19 *chia* of this land, lived in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing, Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. The other ten, owning 9 *chia*, lived in more distant villages or in the cities and had little direct contact with their Hsin Hsing tenants. The remaining two *chia* of tenant land was public land, owned by public enterprises such as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation.

By 1954, the three-step program of land reform had been completed, and the almost 36 *chia* of leased land that had been cultivated by Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect [3] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

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	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4753	—	1.4753	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

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TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.3	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.3–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 104 CHANGING LAND TENURE

427 owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were par-
178 tial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)
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TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Owns all land	Mixed owner-tenant: owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant: owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.5	12	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.5–0.5	11	5	7	5	20	22.2
0.5–1.0	10	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.0–1.5	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	52	20	9	9	90	—
Percent of families	57.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

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TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 35 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.5716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0113		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.3
[427] Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.9080	22.9
Paddy field	4.7965		—
Dry land	1.1115		—
Total area		25.9020	100.0
Paddy field	22.2154		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

423 The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.5716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 25.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.3716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as

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TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land		Area of farms cultivated (*chia*)			
	Number of families	Percent	Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.5–0.5	1	0.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.0–1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4374	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land		Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*)			
	Number of families	Percent	Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3369	0.0130	0.3499	1.8
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.3773	0.2900	1.6673	8.2
0.5–0.5	10	27.8	3.6438	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
0.5–1.0	15	36.1	7.7481	0.3918	8.1399	41.9
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	1	2.8	0.9218	1.2321	2.1539	10.8
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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T 423 the equivalent of owner operated land (and legally this is how it is considered), then it is notable that of the 61.2208 *chia* operated by the villagers in 1957 44.9283 *chia*, or 73.4 percent, was privately owned and the remaining 26.6 percent tenant operated.

T 423 178 Thirty-six families, about 40 percent of the Hsin Hsing village farming families, were benefited by the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Before the reform program, 19 of these 36 families owned no land at all, and their livelihood depended strictly on the land they rented and whatever outside income they had. However, the other 17 families, besides their rented land, owned only about 4.5 *chia* of land, most of which was paddy field. After the Land Reform Program, which affected almost 15.5 *chia* under the 1951–1953 acts, land that these 36 families cultivated as owners increased to 19.9 *chia*, of which about 17.5 *chia* was paddy. In 1957, 19 of these same 36 households continued to work a little below 6 *chia* of land as tenant farmers. (See Table 21.) This tenant land is cultivated under the strict enforcement of the 37.5 percent Rent Reduction Act.

The change in the landholding status of the 36 families directly affected by the reform program is shown in Table 22, Parts A and B. Before land reform only 3 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia* of land, but in the post-land reform period, 17 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia*. The average area purchased by Hsin Hsing tillers under the reform was 0.44 *chia*, usually in one and sometimes two plots of land per family. This means that in Hsin Hsing village, of the 54 plots of land sold to the tillers by the government, the size of the average plot sold was less than 0.3 *chia* of land.

Tn 423 427 178 Chang Yen-t'ien (1954:86) writes that in Taiwan about 46.44 percent of the total pre-reform tenants, including part-tenants, purchased land through the reform program. But he notes that "more than half of the former tenant families . . . are still entirely or partly under the influence of tenancy."

T 423 427 178 For Hsin Hsing village, the records show that 62 percent of the 58 pre-reform tenants purchased some land reform land, and the figure is probably this high because of the higher rate of tenancy in Hsin Hsing than in Taiwan as a whole. Thirty-six households, or 63.5 percent, of the 58 are still to some extent tenants, however. This is mainly because the land they rented happened to be part of the 3 *chia* of land the landlord could retain under the 1953 law. While this was true for landlords in all of Taiwan, the average land purchase figure may be larger for the whole of Taiwan than for Hsin Hsing because elsewhere in Taiwan there were large tracts of public land available for purchase and, in addition, at the time of the restoration there was little Japanese-cultivated land in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing for Hsin Hsing villagers to take over. These factors have gener-

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

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TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

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holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained
464 registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the
169 village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of
592 family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among
888 their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the
434 landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn
464 additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land
511 reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognise what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "it was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three; reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 206 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

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In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

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LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

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After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

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After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

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A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

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But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

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Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

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Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

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Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

/i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst/

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tzu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:65). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tui,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of those farmers are succes-

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178 fal, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change
167 their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living.
829 They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of
369 change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

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Family and Kinship

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The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the 571
village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship 177
system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we 178
now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and 128
kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is 618
known for the predominance of the large common descent groups 171
called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:97; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

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was the institution that perhaps four out of every five persons were members of an organized *tsu* (Lang, 1946:173).

Tsu organization performed many important activities and functions, as Hu Hsien-chin (1948:10) has pointed out:

> The *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes a community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values with the family and the *tsu*.
>
> These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood.

These activities and functions were performed by a highly structured and highly segmented organization with a population of two or three thousand people, as Freedman (1958:132) has noted. The membership is characterized by broad social differentiation including

> families of bureaucrats, . . . some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various segments. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land, ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back.

In fact, Hu (1948:10) notes that although the membership of the *tsu* may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated."

The *tsu* as Hu (1948) and Freedman (1958) describe it is elaborate in structure, function, and activity. Freedman, however, suggests that loosely structured organizations are still to be considered *tsu* and accordingly constructs a scale on which localized lineages may be placed, differentiating them in social status along a "continuum from A to Z" (1958:131), representing "models of the polar opposities of the scale" (1958:131). Thus, the *tsu* pictured above by Hu and Freedman would be the "Z" model while "A" model is

> small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from

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external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a plot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor. . . . Apart from domestic ancestor worship, which is conducted before the simplest instruments, and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of the lineage, there is no ancestor cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation (which is indicated by their personal names) and their ascription to one or the other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to co-operate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman, 1958: 131–132).

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The continuum can be even further extended to include the very small localized kinship organizations found in many villages in Taiwan (such as in the Hsin Hsing area) and probably also on the mainland of China. Before going on to a discussion of family 1 will attempt to demonstrate this. In both structure and function, these small localized kinship organizations go beyond what Freedman refers to as "inflated families" [1] and which he warns us not to confuse with lineages (1958:2). Such kinship organizations as exist in Hsin Hsing do not quite approach either the size or structural complexity even of Freedman's "A model" *tsu.* Nevertheless, these kinship organizations —on the basis of their activities and functions—are *tsu*, since they are more than simply patrilineally related families. They do operate as local organizations which are aligned on the basis of patrilineal kinship and attempt to wield sociopolitical influence in the village and area.

The Single-Tsu Village

The general social organization of a village made up exclusively of one *tsu* group is likely to be rather different from a village like Hsin Hsing, which contains a number of smaller *tsu* and unrelated family units. The village with a single large *tsu*, as has been pointed out (Hu, 1948:9–11), tends to have a unified organization which dominates most of the village's activities. No matter how many village "social associations" a villager belongs to, he finds that the members of each are all part of the same kinship group. While this does not necessarily eliminate interfamily or interfactional rivalry and friction within the village, such *tsu* organization nevertheless does tend to create an unusually firm basis for group solidarity. The *tsu*, in effect, is the village and is thus very easily able to present itself as a unified

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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

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by one *tsu*. The single-*tsu* village is known locally as "*yi hsing ts'un*" ("one surname village"), and in the literature is commonly called a "clan village."

The Multi-Tsu Village

Today, most of the villages in the Hsin Hsing area are populated by several *tsu* groups, plus a number of families not affiliated with any of the village *tsu;* these are called "*tsu hsing ts'un*" ("mixed surname villages") and are sometimes referred to in the literature as "multi-kin villages" or "segmented communities." In the Hsin Hsing area they are of the type with a marked tendency toward local exogamy. In these villages, unlike the single-*tsu* village, no individual *tsu*'s activities coincide with those of the village organization.

Hsin Hsing, a multi-kin village, was first settled by immigrants from Fukien who came to Taiwan in small groups of three or four men. After examining the area, these men finally founded the village of Hsin Hsing. Soon after this, and throughout the years that followed, people of other surnames came to this easily accessible plains area and settled down in the village. As time passed, the families of some of the earliest arrivals grew into what now comprise the several village *tsu* groups. Of these, the larger *tsu* are the ones which go back to the early period of the village founding and have therefore had the time as well as advantageous circumstances which have enabled them, relatively speaking, to increase their number of member families and population. Others with perhaps equally long village histories are still small because circumstances somehow prevented their expansion. Some of these have few members in a small number of related families; several are still in individual unrelated family units. The latter have simply produced too few surviving children, so that they have never expanded their numbers sufficiently to have more than a single male heir in a generation to carry on the male line. Others are of relatively recent origin in the village, some only three generations, not yet long enough to have expanded their membership and number of associated family units.

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However, in Hsin Hsing village even the relatively older and larger *tsu* are far simpler and less elaborated organizations than Freedman's (1958) somewhat less complex "type A" *tsu*. But as we shall see, they share many features of structure and function which differ primarily in degree rather than in kind. The *tsu* organization of Hsin Hsing, in this respect, is rather representative of the general area and more than likely of much of the mainland.

The lack of elaboration of the size and organization of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* can be attributed to two main causes. The relatively short history of both the village and of the *tsu* organizations has meant a

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lack of depth in generations and therefore a lack of breadth in collateral relatives. Then, economic pressures and the resulting rather high degree of out-migration, often of whole family units, has restricted the expansion of local *tsu;* in fact, the size of village *tsu* may have almost reached a point of relative stability.

Part of the lack of an elaborate *tsu* organization in Hsin Hsing can be seen in the absence of significant formal *tsu* segmentation, i.e., into *fang*—a sub-*tsu*—or *chih*—a *tsu* branch. The lack of formal segmentary organization is most likely a function of small size—even the largest *tsu* organization has a population of only over one hundred, and several others are considerably smaller. All village *tsu* embrace groups of families in several lines of descent (Freedman might call them "sub-lineages" since each traces its origins to a son of the *tsu* founder) within which are families of more closely related kinsmen, such as the families of brothers. However, these sub-lineages neither have nor attempt to exert sociopolitical influence in the village; they depend upon their *tsu* organization to do this in their behalf. Again, this is a result of their relatively small size; it has prevented the evolution within the *tsu* of broad social differentiation and thus of sub-lineages wealthy enough to form new or separate formal segments by setting aside or donating property as corporate lineage property or for an ancestral hall. The fact is, formal segmentation of *tsu* as small as those of Hsin Hsing would "reduce the groups below the minimal functional size" (Geddes, 1963:30).

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Before examining something of the activities of the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organizations, let us first turn to their composition. As noted earlier, there are twelve surnames among the ninety-nine family units in the village.[3] Four of these—Huang, Shih, K'ang, and Shen (in order of number of people)—make up 82 percent of the village population and 81 percent of the village households. Nearly every fourth villager is named Huang. Most of the Huangs belong to one *tsu*, tracing their common ancestry to one of the village founders. Aside from two small member households which live elsewhere in the village, the whole *tsu* membership lives in one large compound made up of two buildings, where each household has its own apartment. Three small Huang households do not belong to this *tsu* and live elsewhere in the village. (See Map 2.)

Each of the three other most common village surnames is found in at least two different kinship groups, some of large size and others of moderate size. But regardless of the number of member families, the members of such groups maintain themselves in some form of kinship organization and live in a compound together or in a small cluster of separate houses. Thus, the two kinship groupings with the surname Shih can be said to form two *tsu* organizations of an incipient form;

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit. [596]

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While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

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Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a coincidence.[9] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate. [632] [666]

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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 627 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

619 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 618 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwan[illegible]al area have been working against the likelihood of these unelab[illegible]d *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect [648] on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of [423] occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic conditions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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596 thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of 596 the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 per- 592 cent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint 592 families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 162 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

596 The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that:

[171] In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

[162] According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin [592] Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, al- [592] though perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. 421 Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general 596 household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property. 596

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife. 592 [562]

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*. 596

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum- 596 594

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem.

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them.

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal.

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige.

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 594 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 434 578 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many divisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [702] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[459] [167] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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596 593 [114] frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

[626] From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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new families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more casually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or *sub-tsu kung t'ing*. Consequently, however, *small* sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

[178] [423]

596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P. 148-A]

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ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.

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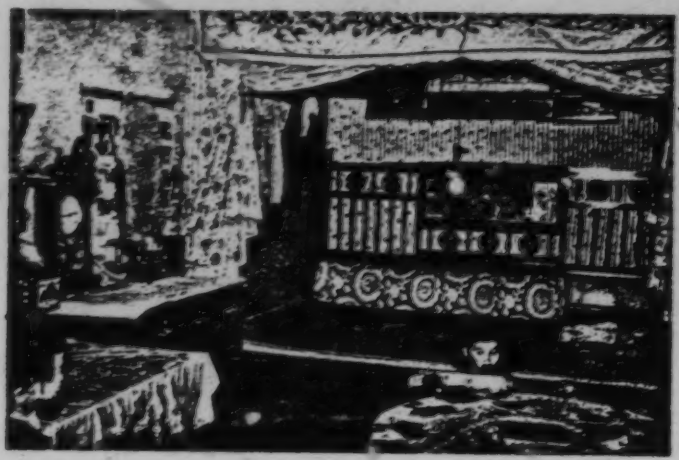

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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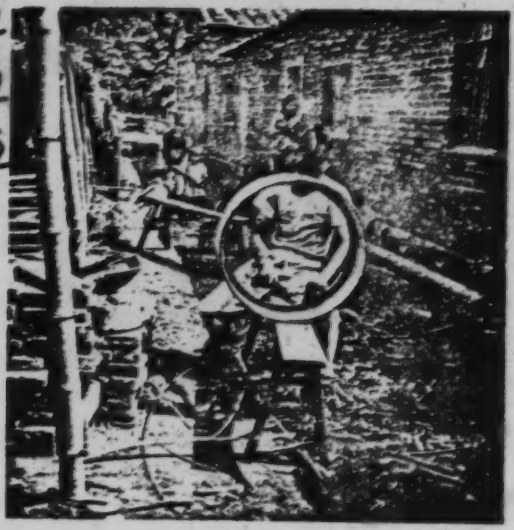

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

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[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P. 148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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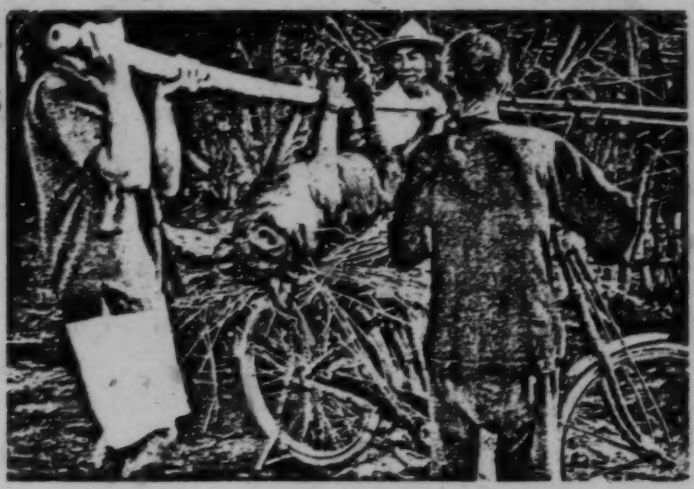

ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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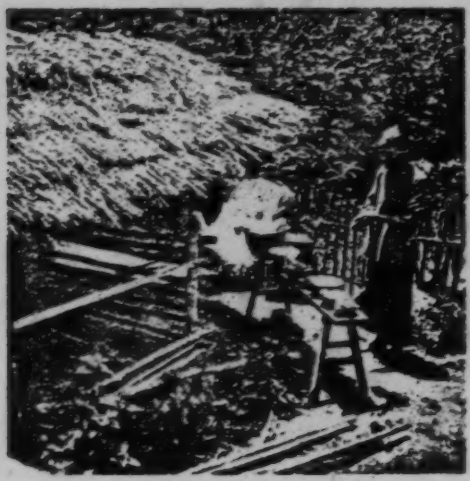

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations. In Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
582 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
612 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as
571 was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *han-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
62 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
829 ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsieng* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i*; the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [171] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Sisoiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

sisoiv system, *sisoiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *sisoiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *sisoiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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583 192 558 Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

583 558 Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

583 The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

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of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to
587 remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her
[178] deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sinsiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinosiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaoxiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

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families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 423 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 471 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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621 406 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 406 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 617 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[2] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 178 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

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[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

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[842] The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with
[764] others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally.

However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Othewise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

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846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

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593 854 857 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do. 861

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized. 867 [869]

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege. 855

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls. 872 171 872 [481] [494] [162]

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

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872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in
872 Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of
857 the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at
[464] least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who re-
871 fuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom
[554] are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Haing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Haing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

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T 873 an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

T Tn 873 668 575 It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

T 873 178 571 621 [369 573] A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
[243] plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town. [431] [764]

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*Ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility: men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[8]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation [584] may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. 584 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family 465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations [203] are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives [618] and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'ang t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow-villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkién AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1948 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's *or tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 (M8) In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. (656) Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to burry the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impresions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [795] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [792] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men.

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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 79 756 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

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We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

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this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng tzu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*ja shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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621 578 776 778 554 422 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned [775] Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a [753] bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the [621] supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. [777] It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner [756] to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

777 787 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

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793 two, or even three full days at a time when a funeral or some other ceremony must be performed. It would, of course, be impossible for a farmer to engage in activities which might call him away from the harvest or other such imperative activity. Furthermore, most farmers lack the modicum of literacy necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies.

The *tao shih* in Lukang received their training from older members of the priesthood. These men do not belong to an organized church, for there is none in Lukang. In fact, the priesthood itself is loosely organized and informal, although all its members in the area do wear a special signet ring. A man who wishes to become a *tao shih* declares his intention to an established priest and, with the latter's permission, joins his group as a novice. He is given instruction in the various ceremonies and learns how to use the special ritual instruments. As his training progresses, he accompanies other members of the group on their trips into the countryside and assists as they perform ceremonies. Eventually, he either becomes a member of the group in which he received his training or conducts ceremonies as a independent priest.

756 There are three *fa shih* and three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing village serving it and neighboring villages. Actually, these men seldom perform outside the village, and shamans from other villages are occasionally called into Hsin Hsing by people who were not helped by their village shaman or who, for personal reasons, prefer a shaman from another place. This is especially true in the case of a nonresident *fa shih*, an older man, who is considered more powerful than the ones in Hsin Hsing. However, such cases are infrequent, and most people find their own village shaman sufficiently able to meet their needs.

756 Too, most villagers find it economically advantageous to engage the
465 services of a local shaman rather than an outsider. When the *fa shih* or *t'iao t'ung* is a fellow villager, one is not expected to pay him any fee for his services, but need only feed him after he performs. The food is usually a simple noodle dish or rice and meat soup. Although it is prepared in large quantities in order to feed all the villagers who were present during the shaman's ritual, the cost to the host is small. But when a shaman is called from outside, he must be paid a fee in addition to being fed with the other participants. The money is normally wrapped in a packet of red paper and handed to the shaman. The villagers usually know how much they are expected to pay, and both parties assume that the amount will be adequate. If the family does not give the shaman enough money, the villagers note that "the shaman probably will say nothing, but will not return should he be called."

Most families make every effort to compensate the shaman amply

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and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

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makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hain Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural.

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself.

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes.

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the

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791 597 622 K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

771 789 All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

796 As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

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796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

[211] The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor.

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

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796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of
[525] the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[976] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
268 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[776] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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796 788 776 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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796 794 62 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 796 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

[782] [574]

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

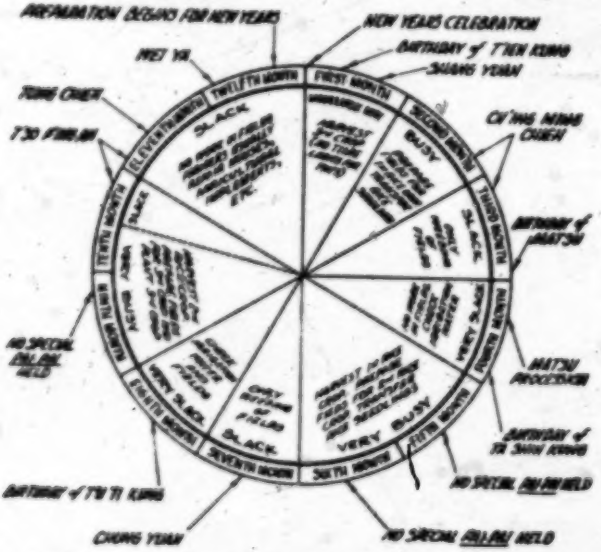

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

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796 769 *t'ing* with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

796 [782] [574] [464]

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

796 182

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

796 621 755 702 182

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

796 776 789 [182]

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

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753 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed
755 in supernatural methods—the shaman.

There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly
755 diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in
757 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers
177 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates
178 which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when
[553 another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming
852] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and
[761 then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

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75 Often the cause of the illness is not so easily discernible nor is its cure effected so simply. Even when a Western-style doctor is summoned, the anxiety of the patient's family may be so great that while the doctor is attempting to cure the illness, they may resort to supernatural techniques to discover its exact cause and necessary treatment. On occasion, a village family may either go to a fortune-teller in Lukang or consult one who happens to pass through at the time to learn the cause of the trouble. More frequently, however, they call in a *t'iao t'ung* to communicate directly with a god to learn what kind of supernatural being is involved and exactly how it may be successfully appeased or exorcised.

755 The *t'iao t'ung* goes to the family's ancestral-worship room and
756 there sits among the people who, out of interest in the session or concern for the sick person, have gathered to observe the ritual. As those around him sit and talk, the *t'iao t'ung* stares into space; gradually, his hands, feet, and body start to shake. Usually, in fifteen minutes he is in a trance and possessed by the god. At this point he becomes extremely agitated and starts to scream and chant. He springs high into the air and blindly staggers around the room. One or two men hold a special cloth apron he wears in order to prevent him from injuring himself or those around him while he is convulsed. Within minutes his paroxysm subsides, and he is brought to the altar where he begins to chant in the language of the gods. An assistant (a *fa shih*), sits at a table in front of the altar and asks the pertinent questions in the special language. Through the medium of the *t'iao t'ung*, the god gives his answers. These are recorded by the assistant, who in some cases is known to be illiterate. The assistant writes certain characters with a brush and ink on a special paper. Once the god's words have been recorded he is presumed to depart, and the *t'iao t'ung* comes out of his trance. He usually is wet with perspiration and sometimes bears injuries incurred while he was convulsed.

In some cases of illness, the instructions the god gives to effect a cure can be carried out immmediately by the family itself. The god tells the cause of the ailment and gives directions for the appeasement of the spirits, e.g., the family must burn a specific amount of paper money as an offering for them. In addition, the family may be directed to feed the patient some herbal medicine prescribed by the god to eliminate the fever caused by the presence of the demon.

[789] In some cases of illness, however, the god will inform the people that a cure can be effected only if the demon is not only appeased but also exorcised. In such an instance, it is necessary to call in a *fa shih* who has powerful means at his disposal to accomplish this feat, such as charms, a sword, and a whip with a handle shaped like a snake (symbolizing a mythical white snake which helps the gods fight the demons). In addition, the *fa shih* may make an agreement with the

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

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158 159 755 [756] [782] The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 621 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–73), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *han-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hain Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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T
558 280 VILLAGE IN CHANGE
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178 redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to
184 equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not
621 stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher
627 status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has
[556] clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

T
621 The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and
627 thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by
178 a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the
[558] conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

T
[433] Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village
[67] as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

T
178 Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life
621 and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement
628 beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now
[618] have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

Tm
PRC It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship
178 relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a
621 result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been
369 accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Com-
PRC munists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme break-
[668] down of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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than merely a consequence of the applications of the communist ideology to Chinese culture.

A similar although less drastic breakdown has been taking place in recent decades in Taiwan, where the process of culture change has not been under the influence of a communist or other new ideology. Here it appears to be a result of such developments as socioeconomic factors and improved communications which increasingly drew the rural areas into closer contact and relationship with the changing urban and industrial forms of life. Therefore, it appears that the Japanese and Nationalist Chinese rule in Taiwan and Chinese Communist rule on the mainland have acted only as catalysts in the process of accelerated change. With or without these particular governments, the village social organization and the whole socioeconomic systems of these two areas today would still be far different from the traditional and idealized Chinese system.

Tn 178 369 177 62 [648]

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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115 Just as my wife and I came to
123 be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter.
His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The vil-
123 lagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely
124 to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

124 On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview
126 does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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as a first character "I" (meaning wife's sister and mother's sister and found under the kinship chart and list numbers 41, 44, and so on).

Therefore, in order to categorize the Chinese system of kinship terminology for first cousins, we must consider the following: (1) the initial and most significant bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins and the other three types of cousins (the patrilateral parallel cousin is also the only one with whom marriage is, of course, strictly forbidden), and (2) the secondary bifurcation between the patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins and the matrilateral parallel cousins (a distinction apparently not found universally throughout China or even throughout Taiwan). This secondary bifurcation, which, terminologically, actually tends to separate matrilateral parallel cousins from both types of cross-cousins as well as from the patrilateral parallel cousins, is also indicated in the fact (as seen in the body of Chapter 5 and in an accompanying note) that while the villagers have these kinship terms for matrilateral parallel cousins, in actuality many of them do not apply the terms to their matrilateral parallel cousins. Rather, they think of them merely as *ch'in ch'i* (relatives), so that Hsin Hsing villagers say that marriage to a matrilateral parallel cousin is the closest one can come to marrying a stranger. Such is clearly not the case for any of the other three types of cousins.

Diagrammatically, the distinctions between reference terms for the four types of cousins can be briefly shown as follows:

Bifurcation { A–Patrilateral parallel cousins / Patrilateral cross-cousins ; B–Matrilateral cross-cousins / Matrilateral parallel cousins }

Bifurcation { 1–Patrilateral cross-cousins / Matrilateral cross-cousins ; 2–Matrilateral parallel cousins }

Examples

Patrilateral parallel cousins	FaBrSo	*Shu pe hsiung*
	FaBrDa	*Shu pe mei*
Patrilateral cross-cousins	FaSiSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	FaSiDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral cross-cousins	MoBrSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	MoBrDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral parallel cousins	MoSiSo	*I piao hsiung*
	MoSiDa	*I piao mei*

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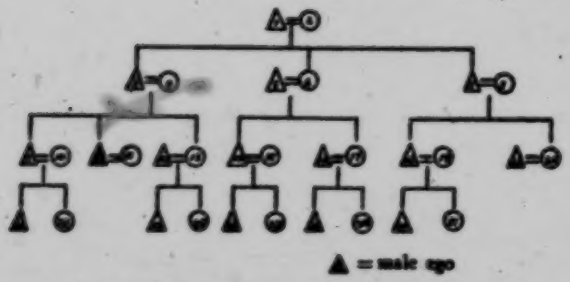
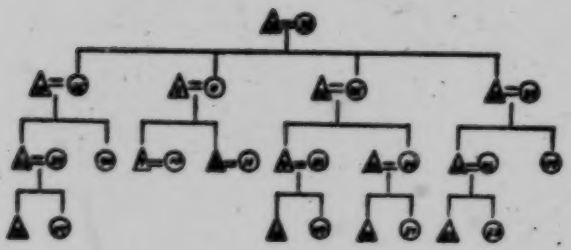


▲ = male ego

FIG. 4. Kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village: male ego's patrilineal and patrilateral kin.



▲ = male ego

FIG. 5. Male ego's matrilateral kin.

a) Terms of reference b) Terms of address	used by ego for his relatives *
1. a) *Tzu fu*	祖父
b) *A kung*	阿公
2. a) *Tzu mu*	祖母
b) *A ma*	阿媽

* Whenever the term of address is omitted, it usually means that ego addresses that particular person by his first name or else some other personal name.

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5. a) *Fu*	父
b) *A pa*	阿爸
4. a) *Mu*	母
b) *A ma*	阿媽
5. a) *Ku chang*	姑丈
b) *Ku chang*	姑丈
6. a) *Ku mu*	姑母
b) *A ku*	阿姑
7. a) *Shu fu*	叔父
b) *A shu*	阿叔
8. a) *Shen mu*	嬸母
b) *A shen*	阿嬸
9. a) *Hsiung*	兄
b) *A hsiung*	阿兄
10. a) *Hsiung sao*	兄嫂
b) *A sao*	阿嫂

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11. a) *Chi* 妻

b) —

12. a) *Mei fu (hsu)* 妹夫(婿)

b) —

13. a) *Mei* 妹

b) —

14. a) *Ku piao hsiung* 姑表兄

b) *A hsiung* 阿兄

15. a) *Ku piao hsiung sao* 姑表兄嫂

b) *A sao* 阿嫂

16. a) *Ku piao mei fu (hsu)* 姑表妹夫(婿)

b) —

17. a) *Ku piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

18. a) *Shu po ti* 叔伯弟

b) —

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19. a) *Shu po ti fu (hsiao shen)* 叔伯弟婦(小嬸) 601

b) —

20. a) *Shu po mei fu (hsu)* 叔伯妹夫(婿)

b) —

21. a) *Shu po mei* 叔伯妹

b) —

22. a) *Chih tzu* 姪子

b) —

23. a) *Chih nu* 姪女

b) —

24. a) *Sheng tzu (wai sheng)* 甥子(外甥)

b) —

25. a) *Sheng nu* 甥女

b) —

26. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

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27. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

28. a) *Ku piao shang tzu* 姑表甥子

b) —

29. a) *Ku piao shang nu* 姑表甥女

b) —

30. a) *Shu po chih tzu* 叔伯姪子

b) —

31. a) *Shu po chih nu* 叔伯姪女

b) —

32. a) *Wai tzu fu* 外祖父

b) *A kung* 阿公

33. a) *Wai tzu mu* 外祖母

b) *A ma* 阿媽

34. a) *I chang* 姨丈

b) *I chang* 姨丈

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35. a) *I mu*	姨母	
b) *A i*	阿姨	
36. a) *Chiu fu*	舅父	
b) *A chiu*	阿舅	
37. a) *Chiu mu*	舅母	
b) *A chin*	阿妗	
38. a) *I piao hsiung*	姨表兄	
b) *A hsiung*	阿兄	
39. a) *I piao hsiung sao*	姨表兄嫂	
b) *A sao*	阿嫂	
40. a) *I piao chieh*	姨表姊	
b) *A chieh*	阿姊	
41. a) *I piao ti*	姨表弟	
b) —		
42. a) *I piao ti fu*	姨表弟婦	
b) —		

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43. a) *I piao mei fu (hsi)* 姨表妹夫(婿)

b) —

44. a) *I piao mei* 姨表妹

b) —

45. a) *Ku piao ti* 姑表弟

b) —

46. a) *Ku piao ti fu* 姑表弟婦

b) —

47. a) *Ku piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

48. a) *I piao chih tzu* 姨表姪子

b) —

49. a) *I piao chih nu* 姨表姪女

b) —

50. a) *I piao sheng tzu* 姨表甥子

b) —

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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81. a) *I piao sheng nu* 姨表甥女

b) —

82. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

83. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS

A	阿	Prefix to names of people; used to show respect
Chang	丈	An elder
Ch'i	妻	Wife
Chieh	姊	Elder sister
Chih	姪	Nephew or niece; child of a brother
Chin	妗	Wife of a mother's brother
Chiu	舅	Maternal uncle
Fu	父	Father

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Fu	婦	Woman; wife
Hsiung	兄	Brother; elder brother; a senior
Hsu	婿	Son-in-law
I	姨	Wife's sister; mother's sister
Ku	姑	Girl; paternal aunt
Ku chang	姑丈	Husband of father's sister
Ku mu	姑母	Father's sisters; paternal aunts
Ma	媽	Mother; mama
Mei	妹	Younger sister
Mu	母	Mother
Pa	爸	Father
Po	伯	Father's elder brothers; uncle
Piao	表	Applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of the mother's brothers; "outside" (relative)

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Sao	嫂	Elder brother's wife
Shen	婶	Aunt; father's younger brother's wife
Sheng	甥	Children of a sister
Shu	叔	Father's younger brother
Tsu	祖	Ancestor; founder
Tzu	子	Son; a child
Wai	外	Outside; beyond

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] During the last six or seven years of their regime, the Japanese government attempted to strengthen support of the war effort amongst the Taiwanese population. To do this, they expanded the compulsory school system and put in force many new regulations, i.e., only the Japanese language was used in the schools, Shinto religious symbols such as the Shinto God's shelf (*kemidana*) and Japanese patriotic scrolls replaced the traditional Taoist gods' statues and scrolls, Japanese festivals were observed, and many Taiwanese had to take Japanese names. However, immediately after war's end, the Taiwanese reverted to their traditional Taiwanese (Chinese) customs.

Chapter 2: The Setting

[1] The amount and distribution of rainfall in the Hsin Hsing area is: January .79–1.97 inches, April 3.93–5.90 inches, July 7.86–11.80 inches, October .79 inches. The average annual rainfall in the Chang-hua Hsien area is 39.37–59.05 inches.

[2] A great many of the overseas Chinese living in the Southeast Asian countries also came from the Ch'uan Chou and Chang Chou areas near Amoy.

[3] The historical information gathered from older residents of the area was based mainly on their own experiences as children and on stories told to them by their elders.

Some of the numerous gazetteers available are listed in the section of the bibliography on Chinese and Japanese Language Sources. Chen Shao-hsing, Professor of Sociology and Demography at National Taiwan University, first warned me in 1957 that some problems exist in using these and other such materials in attempting to gain detailed information about Taiwan generally, or about local areas particularly. Although Chen notes in his recent book (1964:196–197) that some earlier Ch'ing dynasty chroniclers, e.g., Chen Meng-lin, author of *Chu Lo Hsien Chih* (1716), and Chen Wen-ta, compiler of the *Taiwan Hsien Chih* (1720), were reliable, he also points out that some later ones such as Yu Wen-i (1758), Wang Ying-ts'eng (1764), Hsieh Chin-luan (1807), and Chen Shu-chün (1852) were unreliable. Chen (1964:196–197) points out that these latter authors cited what was mentioned in the Chen Wen-ta (1720) book regardless of the actual change in customs through time. Apparently, then, they employed the practice of compiling at least some of their data from previously written gazetteers rather than going out into the countryside to obtain the necessary information. But even the reliable gazetteers usually still presented a composite

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.
127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[6] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[8] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

T
Tn [6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local sta-
127 tistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.
161 The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this
162 section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 5 on social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the Hsiang and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were
F the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown
Tn in social organization and family.
161 [7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

Tn [8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

161 [9] Based on a discussion in May, 1959, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, soci-
164 ologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the
702 social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1953. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.55 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*er shih ssu chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

000 [3] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

[1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

[2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed. Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

[4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[6] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land." 000

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security. T Tn 618 596 602

[2] These 99 had a population of 909 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yeh Hsiang and Taiwan were not available. T 618 551 16

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (687 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others. T 618 622 128

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do. T 592 596 217

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for 000

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:94), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao*." But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[5] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[6] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND WORDS*

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Chao fu	招夫	Adopted-in husband
Chao ti	招弟	To invite in a younger brother
Chen	鎮	A market-township area
Ch'eng szu	承嗣	A term referring to a person adopted for the purpose of "continuing the family line"
Chia	甲	A measure of land equal to about 2.99 acres
Chia chang	家長	Head of an economic family
Chieh	節	A festival
Chieh pai hsiung ti	結拜兄弟	Sworn brothers
Ch'in ch'i	親戚	M. trilateral and affinal relatives, or relatives through adoption
Ch'in t'ang	親堂	People bearing same surname, but not part of same *tsu* (lineage)
Ch'in tsu	親族	Members of the same *tsu* (lineage) or patrilineal kinship group
Ching	驚	A scare (a fright)
Ch'ing Ming Chieh	清明節	A festival for worshipping at graves
Chui hsü	贅婿	Adopted son-in-law

* For additional Chinese kinship terms, see Appendix 2.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Chu Wang Yeh	朱王爺	A minor Hsin Hsing village private god
Chung Yuan	中元	Seventh month, fifteenth day (lunar); festival for *hao hsiung-ti*
Ch'ung	冲	Hit into a bad thing (as a demon)
Er Shih Kung	二使公	A private god worshipped in Hsin Hsing village
Fa shih	法師	A powerful shaman who exorcises demons or negative spirits
Hao hsiung-ti	好兄弟	Unworshipped ancestors ("good brothers")
Hsiang	鄉	A district or sub-unit of a *hsien* (county)
Hsiang chang	鄉長	A *hsiang* (district) mayor
Hsien	縣	A county, several of which make up a *sheng* (province)
Hsien chang	縣長	County magistrate
Hsin ching	修驚	To fix a "scare" (a fright)
Hu	戶	A household registered as the administrative or tax unit
Je nao	熱鬧	Interesting; bustling; noisy; exciting
Kan-ch'ing	感情	The emotional feeling or relationship (good or bad) between people
Kuan Yin	觀音	Buddhist Goddess of Mercy
Kuei	鬼	Demon or evil spirit
Kung t'ing	公廳	Central room in a house; used for an-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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		central worship and other festive functions; often a kind of family room
Kuo-Yu	國語	Mandarin; the "national language"
Lin	鄰	A neighborhood; a village is divided into several lin
Lu chu	爐主	Pot master
Matsu	媽祖	A goddess in the Taoist hierarchy
Min-nan hua	閩南話	Taiwanese language; one of the Fukienese languages from the Amoy area
Pai-pai	拜拜	A ritual in which food and other sacrifices are offered to gods and spirits; to worship
Shang Yuan	上元	First month, fifteenth day (lunar); first full moon of year
Shen	神	A spirit, a god
Ta Shih Kung	大使公	Hsin Hsing village's main ambassador god
Tao shih	道士	A Taoist priest
T'iao t'ung	跳童	A shaman (in Taiwanese, called a *dang-ki*); one who is possessed by a god; a medium
T'ien Kung	天公	God of Heaven; highest of all gods; equivalent to Yu ti, the Jade God
Tso p'ing-an	做平安	A festival held sometime after the autumn harvest in thanksgiving

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Tsu	族	A patrilineal, patrilocal lineage organization with a demonstrated common ancestor
Ts'un	村	A village
Ts'un chang	村長	A village mayor
T'u Ti Kung Miao	土地公廟	The Earth God temple
Tung Chieh (chih)	冬節(至)	Winter solstice festival
Wei Ya	尾牙	Twelfth month, sixteenth day (lunar); last day of year for worshipping *hao hsiung-ti*
Yu Ying Kung Miao	有應公廟	Considered a "devil temple" but euphemistically referred to as "temple of responding gods"

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/For interpersonal relationships and cooperation between members of the ch'in tsu and ch'in ch'i respectively, see categories 618 and 612./

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/For information on membership in the Farmer's Association, see category 474./

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/Information on the ch'in ch'i -- matrilateral and affinal relatives--has been filed in category 612./

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A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

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Doctor of Philosophy

By

Arthur Paul Wolf

September 1964

[Title page]

[page i]

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Hsiachichou

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

114 Arthur P. Wolf was born in Santa Rosa, California, on March 2, 1932. After graduating from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1952, he was granted Preferment by the Telluride Association and transferred to Cornell University. He graduated from Cornell in 1953 with English literature as his major. The following fall he entered the Cornell Graduate School as a student in the Department of Anthropology, and held a Teaching Assistantship in that Department during the years 114 1954-56. In 1956 he was awarded a Foreign Area Training Fellowship for 122 a year of graduate study at Stanford University, and in the following year an Inter-University Fellowship for Field Training in Spoken Chinese. The period 1958-1961 was devoted to a field study of a Hokkien village in Northern Taiwan, again under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Program. The completion of his graduate study was supported by a Fels Fellowship for the academic 114 year 1961-62. He is at present a Lecturer in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, and for the past two years has held an appointment in these Departments as an Assistant Professor.

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NOTE

128 The informants' names given in the text are coded names. If some person now living in the village of Hsiachichou or its vicinity should bear a name appearing here, this should be regarded as an accidental association. The author has in no case used the actual name of any informant quoted in this work.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

121 In the great majority of human societies one finds that the family is a well defined social body with a definite membership, and in every human society in which such a body exists this membership varies over time. New members are added to the family roster as its women bear children, and the older members of the family die and thus surrender at least their active membership. Over these sources of variation in the composition of the family human societies exert only a very limited degree of control. In only a few societies do contraceptive techniques and infanticide provide any appreciable degree of control over the growth of the family, and in no human society are the members of the family able to regulate its diminuation by death. Such control of the composition of the family as can be exerted takes the form of rules governing the transfer of persons from one family unit to another. Here one finds an abundance of prescriptions and preferences. The timing of such transfers, the elegibility of persons to change their status, the future relationship between the two families, the status of the new member in the receiving family, the process by which such transfers are carried out: everywhere these are the subjects of more or less precise social codes, legal prescriptions, and both formal and informal customs.

When these rules are concerned with the transfer of rights in children we refer to them as adoption, and when their subject is the

121 creation of sexual and economic bonds between a man and woman we speak of them as marriage. Although they vary from one society to another in their application and in the means by which they are implemented, one can say that in any society the human family is to a large extent a product of these two sets of rules. Within the limits set by the natural forces of birth and death, the rules of marriage and adoption are largely responsible for the composition of the family. They state when it is that a man may take a wife or a woman a husband; they often prescribe where they shall live after they are married; and they also commonly decide the allocation of their children. Furthermore, the rules of marriage and adoption are also in large part responsible for governing the structure of the family. They define the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife; they regulate the relationship between the husband and his wife's parents on the one side and between the wife and her husband's parents on the other; and they also govern the duties and perogatives of those children who are transferred into the family. If what is meant by social structure is "any arrangement of persons in institutionalized relationships," it is primarily in terms of marriage and adoption that readjustments of the structure of a family can be made.[1] These rules govern the time at which such adjustments can be made, the nature of the social relations to be created, and they also spell out the ritual procedures for carrying out such adjustments.

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1 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Introduction," in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (eds.), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 43.

121 Since the very inception of anthropology as an academic discipline, one of the concerns of its practitioners has been the great variation in rules of marriage and adoption. Why do some societies have one set of rules, while other societies have very different and even contrary rules? Why in some societies is it prescribed that a newly married couple will live with the groom's parents, while in another society they are told to reside with the bride's parents or her mother's brother? Why is marriage with the mother's brother's daughter preferred in some societies, marriage with the father's sister's daughter in others? Why do some societies reward the man who is able to support several wives, and yet others punish anyone daring to attempt a plural marriage? Why do some societies allow the free and easy transfer of rights in children, while others create agencies to attend to the careful regulation of such transfers? Recognizing the importance of the family as the social context in which most human beings spend the majority of their lives, anthropologists have felt compelled to explain why the family varies from one society to another.

While we do not mean to imply that this attention has been misdirected, it has apparently been responsible for a lack of concern with a related problem. Although most societies prefer one form of marriage and adoption, these preferred forms are not always prescribed as the only way in which transfers between families may be made. In many societies one finds alternative forms of marriage and adoption which are also socially recognized and accepted. Before the great transformations of the last several decades, local customs in most

*[121] areas of China allowed several distinct forms of marriage. Aside from
*[121] what we will hereafter refer to as the preferred patrilocal marriage,
[191] in which an adult woman married and became a member of her husband's household, customs in most areas of the country also recognized some form of matrilocal marriage.[2] On the plains west of Kunming Fei and Chang found that families who had no sons, and sometimes even those who did have sons, could arrange for a daughter to "take a husband into her father's house, so that she may have children to perpetuate the family line." According to local custom, the man who entered into such a marriage "changes his surname and retains the name he receives from his father as the last word of his personal name." His first son would usually "take his mother's surname, but subsequent children are free to choose their father's original surname." "If they do so, however, they will not be entitled to inherit land from their mother's line."[3] Similarly, a family in North China might "adopt" a son-in-law for a daughter if they did not have male offspring of their own, and in at least some regions of the north a family whose married son died might arrange a matrilocal marriage for their daughter-in-law. Among the southern Chinese matrilocal institutions were even more common and more highly differentiated. Maurice Freedman finds that even today the Hokkien farmers of Singapore recognize at least three distinct

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[128][2] Since the use of the terms "patrilocal" and "matrilocal" is standard in anthropological writing on China, I have here preferred them to the more current terms "virilocal" and "uxorilocal."

3 Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), p. 113.

#121 M1 forms of matrilocal marriage. "One extreme category embraces husbands who, from a structural point off view, may be considered male brides." Such a husband is said "to boe toa-teng, to sell the great lantern, for he resigns his proper place under the house-lantern which bears his own surname and goes out to beget children who will take the surname of his father-in-law." At the other extreme is what is often referred to in Amoy-Hokkien as chin-tsoe, "a custom by which a man goes on marriage to live with his wife's people without any prejudice to his rights as a father." And, finally, "between these two extreme categories of matrilocal marriage lies another in which the husband, while, as in the case of the chuin-tsoe, having full rights over his children is committed to definite economic obligations towards his parents-in-law." A man who makes such a marriage "receives his bride on the understanding that he will live in her parents' household and support them as long as they live."[4]

Another common alternative to a formal bethrothal and wedding was the practice of taking prospective daughters-in-law into the home as small children. In the silk producing regions of the Yangtze plain, for example, Fei discovered that the parents of a male child often took a girl "as foster child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast..." In such cases, "all the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending

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4 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, (London: H.M.F.O., 1957), pp. 122-123.

[2] [1] of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed..."[5] Similarly, it was common in the Taihang Mountains of North China for a bride "to leave home as a child, immediately on betrothal, to live with her future husband's family." "The actual wedding ceremony, which would then be performed while the young couple were still in their teens, would be only a simple affair, with just a few close relatives invited to a meal."[6] Such marriages were also common in South China, and particularly among the Amoy-Hokkien speaking populations of Fukien and Taiwan. Ururu Okada's 1934-5 survey of 148 farm families living in a rural district near the present city of Taipei indicates that nearly a fourth of all the unmarried girls in the area were children who had been adopted as "little daughters-in-law."[7]

Everywhere in China one could also find a variety of forms of adoption, each possessed of a distinctive ritual and an appropriate nomenclature. Girls adopted as prospective daughters-in-law were everywhere distinguished from girls who were adopted as daughters. The prospective daughter-in-law was eligible to marry a son of her foster family and retained her status as a daughter of her natal family, while the girl adopted as a daughter broke all ties with her natal family and acquired the same status as a child born into her

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5 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939), p. 53.

6 Isabel and David Crook, Revolution in a Chinese Village (Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1959), p. 10.

7 Ururu Okada, Kiso Shaki, ("The foundations of society"), (Tokyo, Japan: Kobundo). See chart on page 8.

foster family. Local custom in most areas of the country also recognized two distinct forms of male adoption, the criterion in this case being the relationship between the child's foster family and his natal family. If the two families were agnates, the adoption fell into one category; while if they were not, it belonged to another. Generally speaking, the child's status in his foster family was much the same regardless of the form of the adoption, but the nature of the transaction itself was very different in the two cases. In the first case, the adopting family did not give more than token remuneration to the boy's parents, perhaps not more than a few dollars in a red envelope, while in the second the adopting family had to pay dearly for the child. The difference is reflected in the verbs used to denote the two acts of adoption. When a child was adopted from an agnate, the act of adoption was referred to with the term chī, a verb which is ordinarily rendered in English with some form of the verb "to adopt," whereas the act of obtaining a child from a non-agnate was more commonly spoken of in terms of the verb bûe, the most common meaning of which is simply "to buy."[8]

Such a variety of alternative forms of marriage and adoption created for most Chinese families a number of recurring decisions

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[8] Since the present study is concerned with an Amoy-Hokkien speaking community, all linguistic forms have been romanized following the Hokkien pronounciation. Place names, on the other hand, follow the post office spellings. For a description of the Hokkien transcription used here see Nicholas C. Bodman, Spoken Amoy Hokkien (Kuala Lampur, Federation of Malaya: Charles Grenier & Son Limited, 1955).

about their membership. If they had a son they could obtain a wife for him by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage, or they could choose to adopt a girl and raise her as his wife. A daughter might be married out of the family as a young adult; she might be used as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family; or the family might decide not to raise the girl at all. In this case, they could give her to a family which wanted to raise a girl as a daughter-in-law, or, if they preferred, they could give her to another family which wanted a daughter. A family so unfortunate as to not bear any children might choose to perpetuate their line in any one of a number of ways. They could adopt a daughter and later arrange a matrilocal marriage for her, or they could adopt a son and arrange some form of patrilocal marriage. This boy might either be purchased from a stranger, or he might be adopted from an agnate; and his wife might either be a girl obtained in the preferred way, or she might be adopted as a child and raised in the family. While a family would not encounter all of these alternatives in any one generation, they would over the course of several generations have to choose among most of them.

Why did some families choose to marry their daughter out of the family, while others preferred to arrange a matrilocal marriage? Why did some families adopt girls and raise them as wives for their sons, while others waited until their sons' maturity to select their wives? When we ask such questions as these we are inquiring into the origins of social structure. The decision of a Chinese family to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for one of their sons involved a choice between

two very different social arrangements. In the case of Kaihsienkung in Chekiang Province, for example, the affinal ties created by the preferred form of marriage were "very loose and in many cases entirely eliminated" in the "little daughter-in-law" or *siaosiv* form of marriage.[9] Moreover, the two forms of marriage resulted in very different domestic relations. In the case of the preferred form of marriage, conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was so common that "friction between them is taken as usual and harmony as worth special praise."[10] In the case of the *siaosiv* form of marriage, on the other hand, the girl was brought up by her future mother-in-law and became "very closely attached to the latter and feels towards her just like a daughter," the result being that "conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is often not so acute, even if not entirely avoided."[11]

In societies in which there are alternative forms of marriage and adoption the structure of the family is to some extent a product of those factors which make people likely to choose one or another of these alternatives. In at least this limited sense one may say that the study of these decisions is a study of the origins of social structure, but there is another way in which social structure may be said to be a product of such decisions. In any society the rules which

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9 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

#12 govern the transfer of persons between families must ultimately depend upon the frequency with which these rules are activated. Although such rules are absolute for most people most of the time, it is nonetheless true that no set of rules can long endure the absence of application. In the realm of human behavior, nothing kills like neglect. Also, despite the general conservatism of most societies, that which is not widely recognized and accepted will become so if it is widely practiced. Just as the gallant grammarian has been forced by practice to abandon his efforts to defend a distinction between the auxiliaries "will" and "shall," so he will undoubtedly lose his current fight to maintain the autonomy of "who" and "whom". The fact that any given practice is sanctioned by custom may help to insure its continued observance, but such sanctions are only one of the factors which decide the fate of a practice. If there are other considerations which operate to make some alternative practice more popular, it will inevitably replace its favored rival as the right and proper way of doing the thing. While it is true that the rules of a society regulate practice, it is also true that they are a recognition of practice.

We might say, then, that it is in decisions between alternative forms of marriage and adoption that the character of the family is molded. It is here that families choose between the various structures they might implement, and it is also here that the rules defining the alternatives themselves are accepted and rejected. One of the principal tasks of the social anthropologists ought, therefore, to be the study of these decisions, for it is at this point in the social process that

(2) the potential determinants of social structure compete for influence. To make our point in another way, what we are suggesting is that the question of why a society has a particular form of the family might best be asked in the form of why one alternative practice is more popular than another. The existing social structure of a particular community as well as the rules which govern this structure are ultimately the result of decisions about alternative practices, and it is therefore crucial to know what it is that makes any one choice more or less attractive than any other choice. While it may be too much to say that man chooses his social structure, it may nonetheless be true that his social structure is a product of his choices.

Our purpose in this essay will be to illustrate the value of this viewpoint by examining a situation in which a society does offer a choice among various forms of marriage and adoption. Our case will be the village of Hsiachichou, a small Hokkien community located near the city of Taipei in Northern Taiwan. Looking at the recent genealogical history of this village as a product of decisions about marriage and adoption, we will attempt to answer the question of why the members of this community chose to order their social relations in the way they did. Why did some families choose to raise their own daughters, while others gave them away in adoption? Why did some families allow their adult daughters to marry out of the family while their neighbors chose to arrange matrilocal marriages for theirs? Why did some childless families choose to adopt sons as a means of insuring the continuity of their line, while others decided to adopt

a daughter in the hope of later bringing a son-in-law into the family by means of a matrilocal marriage? Our suggestion is that the answer to these questions will be a large part of the answer to the question of what the social structure of this village will be forty years from now.

In attempting to discover why the people of this one community made the decisions they did, it will be worthwhile for us to keep several more general questions in mind. One of these is the extent to which the factors which enter into these decisions are amenable to generalization. Families differ in terms of the personalities of their individual members, and also in terms of their relations with the society at large. As some anthropologists would say, every family has its own culture. It may then be that every family makes its decisions in terms of a unique combination of considerations, none of these considerations playing a prominent role in the choices of a majority of all families. If this were the case, a search for generalizations would be in vain, for such a search assumes the existence of a small number of universal influences. While the possibility of unique causation is an anathema to those who have faith in the gradual creation of a body of knowledge worthy of the title of a social science, it would seem that this is what is suggested by certain historical points of view prevalent in American anthropology.

Another question which will concern us is the extent to which these decisions are conscious and calculated. When a family is faced with a choice between two alternative forms of marriage, do they make

121 their decisions by weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two arrangements, or do they simply act in blind response to cultural cues or internal promptings? Although they disagree about almost every other matter, the culturologist and the learning theorist share a view of man as a creature of his environment, while many other social scientists, and particularly the economists, assume that man has the ability to analyze his surroundings and act in terms of his own best interests. Without even hoping to do more than raise the question, we will ask which of these two views is more useful for an understanding of the alternatives in social structure.

Assuming for the moment that the view of man as a rational creature is the most appropriate for our realm of study, we might ask still another question of these decisions. Are the different social arrangements which the alternatives will create taken into account in deciding between them? If it is the case that one form of marriage typically creates a tense mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, is this fact seen as one of the disadvantages of this form of marriage, making it a less likely choice when other things are equal? The attempt of many social anthropologists to explain social behavior seems to be premised on the assumption that the members of a society do not ordinarily have any realistic appreciation of their own social arrangements. What the native of the society says about his kinship system is often interpreted as being worth nothing more than his explanations of the physical world. But is it not possible that the members of the society are at least as acute as analysts of their own social system

12] as a foreign anthropologist? And is it not also possible that their decisions about marriage and adoption are based upon an understanding of their social consequences? If this is the case, a second and equally interesting question might be asked. When a family does take into account the social consequences of a choice between alternative forms of marriage or adoption, are they primarily concerned with the resulting domestic relations or with the nature of the interfamilial ties? Although it is unlikely that any of the protagonists would agree with the way in which we have put the matter, it would seem to us that we have here the crux of the debate about the works of Claude Levi-Strauss.

One further question which will interest us here is the extent to which it is necessary to make use of psychological concepts and propositions in attempting to account for these decisions. One finds in the writings of many social anthropologists the dictum that one can account for much if not all social behavior without reference to psychology. "Kinship behavior and not kinship sentiment is the study of the anthropologists," says Firth, to which Meyer Fortes adds, "thus explicitly rejecting a psychological starting-point."[12] Even more explicit is Middleton and Winter's view of witchcraft beliefs: "These beliefs are social, not psychological, phenomena and must be so analyzed."[13]

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12 Meyer Fortes, "Malinowski and the Study of Kinship," in Raymond Firth (ed.), Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1957), p. 163.

13 John Middleton and E. H. Winter, "Introduction," in John Middleton and E. H. Winter (eds.), Witchcraft in East Africa, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963).

[12] While we cannot agree with their curious assumption that the term "psychological" labels a form of behavior rather than an interpretation of behavior, it is nonetheless interesting to see how far one can go towards an interpretation of decisions about marriage and adoption without reference to psychology. Are the concepts developed in structural studies entirely adequate to account for such decisions, or must one also refer to the needs of the individual as an organism and the dispositions formed by the experiences of a lifetime?

Our strategy in attempting to answer these and other questions which we will raise along the way will be to compare the decisions made by families of varying types. Do those families who choose to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for their son differ in any way from those who decide to marry their son in the preferred way? Are there any consistent differences between those families who marry their daughters matrilocally and those who do not? Do those girls who are raised by their natal families possess any characteristics which distinguish them from girls given in adoption? Unfortunately, we do not always know as much about these decisions as we would like to know. Many of them were made as long as seventy years ago, and the persons responsible were either dead or unavailable at the time of our study. [128] Although it would be ideal to have detailed information about the [126] situation of the family at the time each decision was made, we will ordinarily have to depend upon after the fact statements and such information as is contained in genealogies collected in 1960.

12 The population of the genealogies used in the study consists of a total of 843 persons. Some of these people were born in the village of Hsiachichou and died there; others lived in the village only before or after their marriage; still others were born in the village but given away in adoption within a year or two of birth. The entire population with which we will be concerned does, however, have at least two traits in common. At one time or another in their lives all were members of a family living in Hsiachichou, and if they were not living there themselves in 1960 they did have at least one primary relative living in the village at the time, a father or mother, a son or daughter, a brother or sister, or a husband or wife. Although our genealogies refer to a number of people who have moved away from the village or who have died so long ago as to have no surviving primary relative, we have excluded these cases from our analysis, assuming that such information as we have about them is untrustworthy. For various reasons we were unable to obtain the precise date of birth of a number of people included in our genealogies. Nonetheless, we are able to estimate within a year or two the birthdates of the great majority of our population, since we usually know the ages of their children and their spouse. According to these estimates, 20 of these 843 people were born in the years 1871-1880, 22 in 1881-1890, 56 in 1891-1900, 79 in 1901-1910, 80 in 1911-1920, 134 in 1921-1930, 133 in
[101] 1931-1940, 104 in 1941-1950, and 215 in the decade 1951-1960. The time period with which we will be concerned is therefore the ninety year period between 1870 and 1960, although it must be noted that by and

12 large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900
[101] will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

[b21] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

12 checked with various members of the village and then rechecked by a Chinese scholar who grew up in the community, we are confident that they are reasonably valid, but nonetheless some errors undoubtedly remain. The genealogical affairs of Hsiachichou are extraordinarily complex, so complex in fact that one of our informants suggested that we provide the village with a copy of our genealogies in order to help the natives of the place keep track of their own histories. When faced with conflicting reports from members of their own families, several village women admitted that they weren't really certain as to how many girls they had given in adoption. As one informant explained, "There were so many of them, and it was a long time ago. I know I I gave away the first three, and I may have given away the fourth, but then again she may be the one who died."

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei
101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the
133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou
178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui
487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the
178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place
487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan
496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half
[829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down
823 track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place
975 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

795 that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this
823 time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

175 Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao.
175 Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally
634 unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political
[829] status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lún) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

V15 private world and the larger impersonal world of society at large.
[634] When a resident of Hsiachichou says that he is going "outside," he means that he is going beyond the limits of Chichou. In order to understand why this is so, and what it means for a person to think of himself as a resident of Chichou, we must know something of the history of this community.

According to the best information now available, the district of Chichou was originally settled in the mid-1770's by two brothers surnamed Ong. Leaving their native Fukien village in the Tungan District of Chuanchou, they migrated first to the area of Hsinchu in north central Taiwan, and then within several years moved again to settle on the banks of the Tamsui River. What life was like for these men and their early descendants is now difficult to discover, for the genealogical records which they left contain no more than the simple facts of marriage, birth, and death. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. The lives and the property of these early settlers were in constant danger. Unlike the native peoples of many parts of the world, the dispossessed aborigines of the area reacted to the incursions of their more powerful neighbors with a fierce resistance, and until as late as the 1920's forced many communities on the island to take protective measures. Further dangers for the early inhabitants of Chichou were the result of the constant internecine warfare among the various groups of Chinese settlers. The history of the Chinese settlement of the Taipei basin might well be written in terms of the conflicts between Chinese of various mainland origins. The formation of the city of Taipei, for

example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chuanchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits. As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"[1]

Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

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1 George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lin villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

796 778 634 621 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's 799 796 634 authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his 776 634 authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen-minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

36 Beyond the Tu Ti Kung temple at the end of the arcade, the path to Hsichichou turns sharply to the right, narrows into a crooked little alley, and then suddenly opens out to the lush green countryside. From here one can see most of the district of Chichou. In the immediate foreground is a cluster of red brick houses which make up the village of Shalun; behind these are the green tile roofs of the Japanese built elementary school and police station; to the right is another cluster of poorer homes belonging to the village of Fantzupu; and in the distant foreground under a great tree is a small Tu Ti Kung temple behind which one can make out the roofs of Hsiachicou among the thickly leaved trees. After the cluttered dirty streets of the town, the scene is one of remarkable beauty. The carefully patterned paddy fields create a framework of order and coherence; the graceful concave roofs of the red brick farm houses bring life to the mass of green; and in the background the massive prominence of the central mountain range gives the whole vista a sense of dignity and proportion.

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342 As an introduction to life in Hsiachichou no aspect of the village is more revealing than the village houses. Embodied in the design of the houses and the living arrangements of their inhabitants are the essential dimensions of village life. As the variety of building materials reveals, the typical village house is an aggregate of structures dating from various periods. In most cases the original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into five parallel rooms. Almost without exception, the central room is the largest room in the house, and is entered by way of heavy double-leafed doors which face

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiⁿ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
778
342 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a new house the kōng-thiⁿ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiⁿ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiⁿ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
233 kōng-thiⁿ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
554 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiⁿ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [of] as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thîⁿ, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever
596 the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
* 592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[294] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

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The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

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Of the six houses constructed in the village during the past five years four were simply box like structures built side by side to save the expense of a wall. Since such construction precluded the possibility of later expansion, the builders of these houses had evidently given up the vision of a "great house of many generations and many branches."

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 3

THE PREFERRED MARRIAGE

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The institutions of the village of Hsiachichou are similar to those of China in general in that they allow a variety of means of marriage and adoption. A family with a son may adopt a female child and raise her as his wife, or they may wait until he is an adult and then look for a wife. A family with a daughter may give her away in adoption as a child, or they may raise her as a member of the family and later choose between a patrilocal or matrilocal marriage. The institutions of the community give scope for the formation of a great variety of genealogical patterns. Our task here will be to trace the genealogical history of Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years in an attempt to determine what some of the factors were which went into the formation of this particular pattern. Given the existence of institutions which encourage certain social arrangements and discourage others, and recognizing that the range of choice is partially determined by vagaries of human genetics, we will attempt to discover why the people of Hsiachichou chose to arrange their social world in the way they did.

Our first step in this direction willbe to describe the institutions of marriage and adoption as they existed in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. The genealogical decisions made by individual families arose as choices between alternative forms of marriage and adoption, and we will need to understand the nature of these institutions

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time, there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 582 648 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a mainlander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a mainlander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral, irresponsbile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous. As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is considered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

582 in such a situation tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may strain affinal ties, but their primary concern is the effect of such a situation upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship itself. They fear that the girl's having natural allies in the same community will exacerbate what is at best a relationship of restrained
583 hostility. Our genealogies include only four cases of preferred marriages
597 in which the man and wife were both residents of Hsiachichou prior to
582 their marriage, and these four cases are all exceptional in that the
613 partiswere members of families belonging to the same lineage. While ordinarily considered incestuous, such marriages are permissable in one situation. If a family adopts a daughter to marry to one of their sons and for some reason this marriage does not materialize, the girl is then eligible to marry into families belonging to the same lineage as her foster family. As to why village families are willing to contract endogamous marriages within their lineage but not outside it, we can only guess, having not seen the significance of the question while we were still in a position to collect pertinent data. Perhaps the strength of the prior agnatic ties effectively precludes the tensions which are apt to arise when marriages are contracted between families who are not close kinsmen and who do not belong to a common kinship organization.

584 Unlike the situation in many areas of China, preferred marriages in Hsiachichou seldom begin as infant betrothals. Occasionally, two women who are close friends will discuss the possibility of marrying an infant son and daughter, but such discussions are not ordinarily

#584 taken very seriously. It is usually not until a daughter is at least sixteen years old and a son at least eighteen that their families will begin to think seriously about their marriage. The stimulus is often a suggestion from some friend or relative who is interested in acting as go-between. Theoretically, the preferred patrilocal marriage is always initiated by the male's family, but in fact most marriages of this kind are initiated by a go-between. Almost every woman of forty years of age or more is a potential marriage broker, and many elderly women manage to turn the role of go-between into a fairly lucrative [435] business. The fee for arranging a marriage in Hsiachichou in 1960 was approximately NT$1000, something more than a good month's salary. The result is that as soon as a family has a child of marriageable age there begins what one informant described as "old ladies coming and going all day and talking about this and talking about that."

A well known Hokkien proverb declares that marriages are made by go-betweens, and there is a great deal of truth in this. It is impossible to have a marriage in Hsiachichou without a go-between. She is the match-maker and confidante; she is the honest broker who negotiates the bride price on one side and the dowry on the other; she is the master of ceremonies at the wedding; and after the wedding she becomes the disinterested but sympathetic third party who is always available to mediate marital conflicts. Even when the match is already decided upon the services of a go-between are required to effect the union. One young village man who was himself an orphan asked a young woman whom he had met at work to marry him, and when she agreed he then hired a go-between

584 to arrange the marriage. Someone was needed to negotiate the bride price and dowry with the girl's family, and someone was needed simply to play the role of go-between. The traditional ritual duties of the go-between are such that it is impossible to perform the engagement and wedding without someone playing this role. Although she may be damned in folklore and proverb as deceitful and conniving, the go-between is at the very least an indispensable evil.

But while it may be impossible to effect a marriage without a go-between, not any go-between will suffice. The first step towards a [582] satisfactory marriage is the choice of the right go-between. Since marriage with the same surname group is impossible because of the incest taboo, and since it is also felt that marriage within the same community is undesirable, a marriage will almost always involve a family's establishing social relations with someone with whom they are not intimately acquainted. For this reason it is extremely important to the family that they have a go-between they can trust, for most of the information they obtain about these potential kinsmen will be through her. A family will often respond to the suggestions of a go-between as much because of the qualities of the go-between as the qualities of the suggested match. The rule is simple and is almost universally observed, having, as we shall see later, a very strong effect upon the patterning of marriage alliances: no marriage is any better than the go-between who makes the arrangements.

When at last a family chooses a go-between in whom they have confidence, they then begin intensive inquiries about the other party to the

#584 match she is suggesting. The go-between is called in for consultation; relatives and friends are queried for any information they may be able to provide; and the other party's house and property are carefully surveyed for signs of prestige and prosperity. One informant told us jokingly that having a daughter reach marriageable age was like putting your house up for sale. Nor are more esoteric sources of information #584 neglected. The women of the family will always submit any marriage 787 proposal for the approval of the gods, and sometimes a family will hire a shaman in order to obtain a more reliable estimate of the advisability of a match. So sensitve are many families to the need for favorable supernatural signs that any unnatural or untoward event may result in the rejection of a particular marriage proposal. During the period we were living in Hsiachichou one woman rejected a proposed match for her daughter "because all of our chickens died suddenly and for no apparent reason. How can one expect a marriage to turn out well if the gods are not in its favor?"

Should both of the families turn out to be satisfied with their inquiries, the first public step toward the completion of the match will then be undertaken. This is the so-called "matching of the eight characters." Through the medium of the go-between the two families exchange slips of red paper on which are set out the time, day, month, and year of the bride's and of the groom's birth. These data are then submitted by each family to a fortune teller who interprets the information to determine whether or not the two parties to the marriage are compatible. Although a fortune teller will occasionally give a negative

584 answer to such an inquiry, a marriage will seldom founder at this
787 point. If one fortune taller gives an unfavorable response, a family will sacrifice to a god or to their ancestors, and then consult a second fortune teller; and the rules of the fortune teller's art are not so carefully defined as to preclude a favorable response. When a family is still undecided about the advisability of any particular match, magical considerations may deter them, but once they have decided that a match is good they are not likely to be dissuaded by supernatural indications. The "matching of the eight characters" is perhaps best understood as a public determination of what both families have already discovered to be the case in private.

584 After the exchange of the "eight characters" the marriage negotia-
583 tions enter their most difficult stage. The arrangement of the preferred patrilocal marriage in Hsiachichou involves the exchange of a variety of gifts. Some time prior to the engagement the groom's family must send to the future bride several pieces of gold jewelry, and at the time of the engagement they must provide her family with cakes to distribute to friends and relatives as a means of announcing the marriage. More importantly, the groom's family is required by custom to pay a bride price "to thank the girl's family for raising her," and the bride's family must respond by preparing a dowry to accompany their daughter to her new home. The negotiation of the values of these various gifts requires all the skills of the most gifted go-between, and it is on these shoals that the careers of the less adept founder and end in disaster. The typical villager sees both his fortune and

583 his face at stake in these negotiations. On the one hand, he is inter-
584 ested in giving little and receiving much, while, on the other, he is
concerned to preserve if not enhance his standing in the eyes of his
583 friends and neighbors. It is a generally accepted principle in these
584 negotiations that your face is at stake when you are "coming" and that
554 my face is at stake when I am "going", which is to say that we can both
558 gain face by giving generously. But, on the other hand, there is a
counter principle which says that an inappropriately small gift is an
insult, and since the object of any insult loses face, we must both be
as concerned about what we receive as about what we give. If I give a
bride price which is less than a person of your social standing might
expect from a person of my social standing, this is an insult and causes
you to lose face; while if you send your daughter with a dowry which is
less than I have a right to expect given our relative status, this is
an insult to me and may cause me to lose face. The dowry and bride
price must therefore be of approximately the same size; the values of
the two must be something we can both afford and are both willing to
pay; and yet we must both be able to satisfy whatever desire we may
have of enhancing our social standing with a display of generosity.
Considering that the value of a bride price and dowry are not easily
equated, and also that any two families will almost never agree as to
the relative importance of prestige and economy, one can easily under-
stand why these negotiations often last for months and try the patience
of the most hardened go-between.

And yet the bride price and the dowry must be settled in detail before the arrangements for the marriage can proceed any further. In one case we witnessed, an inexperienced go-between failed to complete these negotiations, and as a result the marriage very nearly miscarried. When the bride's family inquired about the bride price, the go-between answered, "That is no problem. They own two stores and are rich, and so they will naturally want to be generous." But while the groom's family did send a large number of cakes and a plentiful supply of fish and meat for the engagement party, they sent a bride price which was considerably less than the usual amount. The bride and her family were furious. "In this village the bride price is at least NT$6000. I never heard anyone say NT$2000." The bride told us that when she opened the envelope and saw that the bride price was so small she "almost had to sit down" because she "was so surprised and so angry." To make their irritation more than apparent the bride's parents put the meat and fish in an ice house in Hsulin, and the next day returned them to the groom's home in Taipei. To return at least a portion of this gift of food is in accordance with local etiquette, and so the groom's family naturally responded by returning the food to Hsiachichou. This gesture the bride's family thoroughly rejected by sending the than spoiled meat and fish back to the groom's family for the second time. Finally, mutual relatives intervened and a settlement was negotiated, but the incident left deep wounds and much ill will. Chinese families may indeed undertake marriages as a means of establishing useful and prestigeful alliances, just as many anthropologists suppose, but the

result of such marriages is more often irritation and disharmony than social solidarity. As one of the best known of all village proverbs observes, "Marriage is the means by which the worst of enemies become the closest of relatives."

When at last the question of the bride price and dowry has been settled to the satisfaction of both parties a date is set for the engagement. This event is in a sense the first formal step in the arrangement of the marriage, and its successful completion makes the arrangement binding. Should for some reason one of the two parties be unable to fulfill the conditions of the marriage after this point has once been reached, it is clear to all that they have failed to fulfill an obligation and that they are at the mercy of the other party. The point is nicely illustrated by the case of a village marriage which failed because the girl ran away with another man while her fiance was in the army. Knowing full well that this was the case, the groom's family went ahead with their arrangements for the wedding, and on the prearranged day hired taxis and went to the girl's village to claim the bride. When the girl's parents had to admit in the presence of their assembled and curious neighbors that there was no bride, the groom and his parents demanded compensation for their loss, including the bride price, the cost of the gold jewelry, the expense of the waiting wedding feast, and a sum of money to pay for such incidentals as the taxis. Since the groom's family had demonstrated their willingness to fulfill the marriage agreement, the girl's family had no choice but to meet their demands. The groom and his relatives were therefore

#584 able to completely recoup their financial loses and exonerate their family's reputation. They returned to Hsiachichou laughing and cheering, delighted with their complete victory, and all sat down to a "wedding" feast.

The engagement is always held in the home of the bride's family, and is typically attended by the bride and her close relatives, the go-between, the groom's father and mother, and perhaps the groom's father's brothers or his father's father. The groom himself is never present. There is always a feast at which many of the members of the two families meet for the first time, and there is therefore always much toasting and an exchange of formalized greetings. So far as the progress of the marriage itself is concerned, however, the core of the engagement consists of a simple ceremony in which the future mother-in-law pre-
#584 sents her son's bride with a gold ring. The bride sits with her back
606 to her family altar facing the door of the kōng-thiâ: a position which symbolizes her departure from the family, and her mother-in-law places the ring on the index finger of her right hand. The significance of the ceremony lies in the fact that it represents the commitment of the two families to the marriage, and that it is also taken to presage the future relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. According to popular tradition, if the mother-in-law manages to slip the ring past the younger woman's knuckle she will be able to dominate her daughter-in-law, while if she fails, the daughter-in-law will be able to maintain a certain independence in her new home. The morning before any engagement one will always hear a girl's mother and her paternal

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want
[594] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǐu-ziât, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǐu ziât, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 591 152 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how unattractive or incompetant her husband, she must make her life in their home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is 585 273 521 [604] the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

585 [293] [52] toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

*593 585 The formal marriage procedure is brought to completion three days after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother or her sisters serve her tea in the kòng-thia̍h as they might serve a respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact, referred to as cuè-khe̍q, "being a guest." After this first visit the the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 4

THE ALTERNATIVES

583 183 582 In the ideal Chinese world it would only be by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage that a person would exchange his status in one family for membership in another. Every family would bear sons who would marry and live with their parents, and every girl would leave her natal home as a young adult to become a daughter-in-law in her husband's family. Although we are very much inclined to doubt it, this ideal may have been realized in other parts of China. In Hsiachichou only a minority of the changes in family membership take place by means of the preferred marriage. Our genealogies include 167 cases of men and women who were born into village families which they later left by way of marriage or adoption, and 236 cases of men and women who were born elsewhere and later entered village families by marriage or adoption. Of these 167 persons leaving Hsiachichou 32 left by means of the preferred marriage, and of the 236 persons entering village families 74 came by way of the preferred marriage. Among those men and women who entered village families by way of adoption, 29 eventually married out of their foster families in the preferred way. We therefore find that of 196 persons leaving village families only 61 (31 percent) left by way of a preferred marriage, and of 236 persons entering village families only 74 (31 percent) came by way of a preferred marriage. While there can be no doubt that the preferred marriage was the ideal

583 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are
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582 other means which are just as important in practice.

584 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is
591 what we will hereafter refer to as the sǐm-pûà, or "little daughter-
583 in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sǐm-pûà enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sǐm-pûà adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sǐm-pûà marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou
554 have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, on the other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

there is no need to worry about the social status of her natal family, this being relevant only as an indication of the girl's personal habits.

By contrast with the preferred form of marriage, the procedure for arranging a sīm-pûa marriage is extraordinarily simple. Having once decided upon this form of marriage for a son, a family simply advertises this fact among their friends and relatives until they find a second family willing to give one of their female children in adoption. If they happen to have difficulty finding a family with a girl of the right age, and if they are also particularly anxious to arrange this form of marriage for their son, a family may ask the help of a professional go-between, but a go-between is not required as a matter of form. Indeed, very little is required by way of form in arranging the sīm-pûa marriage. Once they have located an eligible child the women of the adopting family will usually go see the girl to make sure that she is a healthy normal child, and if they are satisfied that this is the case the arrangements for the marriage (or adoption, as you please) can be completed almost immediately and with a minimum of formality. According to village informants, the only concern of the girl's parents will be to see that the family does indeed have a son of the right age "and that the mother-in-law has milk to nurse the child." As a matter of courtesy, the adopting family will usually send the girl's parents a "bride price," but this is never more than a token amount of three or four hundred dollars. There is therefore no occasion for the angry and prolonged bargaining which characterizes the negotiations of the bride price in the case of the preferred marriage.

*584 Such ceremony as is associated with the sim-pôà form of marriage
585 is likewise very simple. As was the case with all brides thirty or
*597 forty years ago, the girl will ordinarily be dressed in red the day her residence is transferred from her parental home to her future husband's home, and it is common for families in Hsiachichou to take the girl home "to be a guest" several days after the "wedding." But there are no feasts, no guests and no band, and often no go-between; in short, none of the activities that make a preferred marriage proper and successful. Later, when the girl is old enough to marry, it is necessary to perform a second ceremony to unite her with her husband, but this is likewise a very simple ceremony as compared with the preferred patrilocal marriage. When the parents feel that their son and their "daughter-in-law" are old enough to marry they will usually take the occasion of a New Years to present them to their ancestors and thus accomplish their union as husband and wife. Since there are always a number of guests in the house on the occasion of any New Years, there will always be a number of people to witness this presentation, but it is not necessary to invite guests particularly for this purpose. According to most informants, it is not even necessary for the girl's real parents to be present, this being what we might call an intra-family rather than an inter-family affair.

*584 The childhood status of the sim-pôà in her foster home is something
*597 of an enigma. Given the obvious ceremonial equation of her entry into
*593 her husband's home with that of a bride in the preferred form of marriage, one might assume that her adoption is equivalent to marriage, making

her a married daughter in the eyes of her parents and a daughter-in-law in her family of procreation. One might easily argue that this is the reason her parents do not need to be present at the ceremony which gives her the status of wife. And yet there is other evidence which seems to suggest that while the adoption does give the foster family certain rights in a child it does not mean that she is married in the usual sense. If an adult woman's husband dies, she ordinarily remains a daughter-in-law in her husband's family, but in the case of a sīm-pūa the child's parents may demand her return if her prospective husband should die before the second ceremony. It is also generally recognized that the parents have more interest in the welfare of a child who is a sīm-pūa than they do in the welfare of a daughter who is married. When an adult married woman dies, her mother's brother may show his displeasure at the treatment she has received in her husband's family by knocking several of the male members of the family on the head with his cane when he comes to inspect the coffin, it being expected of the husband's family that they will wait kneeling at the door of their house for the arrival of the deceased's consanguineal relatives. But, as we have already pointed out above, it never happens that a married woman's family will take her back into their household, and they certainly do not have the right to remove her from her place as a wife and daughter-in-law in her husband's family. In the case of the sīm-pūa, however, the girl's parental family does have the right to demand her removal if they feel that she is being mistreated, and this does in fact happen upon occasion, although it certainly is not

*584 at all common. All one can say, then, is that while a sīm-pû̍ is in
*593 some sense married as a child, she is not married in the same sense
*597 as the woman who has entered into a conjugal relationship. She becomes a married woman vis à vis her parental family only after the conclusion of the second ceremony makes her the wife of a male in her foster family as well as a daughter-in-law of her foster parents.

*584 But whatever the status of a sīm-pû̍ as a child, the relationship
*593 between her natal family and her foster family is ideally the same as
*597 that between the two parties to the preferred patrilocal marriage. The
602 two families are expected to use the usual affinal kinship terminology
[601] with regard to one another, and they are also expected to behave in terms of the roles associated with the use of this terminology. Such affinal ties are at best nominal, however, and in most cases they are not recognized at all. When she is still a child a sīm-pû̍ will sometimes be taken to visit her natal family, and on occasion her mother may visit her in her foster home, but these few contacts seldom create strong ties between the two families. Most sīm-pû̍ strongly resent their parent's having given them away in adoption, and as a result refuse to stay with their parents or sometimes even to talk to them. Moreover, those few girls who do establish some relationship with their parents do not ordinarily form attachments with their real siblings, so that once their parents die they are not inclined to continue a relationship with their parental family. A sīm-pû̍'s natal family and her foster family might, of course, pursue an affinal relationship regardless of the girl's involvement, but Chinese families apparently have much

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

*583 591 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way. *583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, *583 591 611 the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kc. In

583 611 591 such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

583 581 591 611 At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

*584 *583 We have already noted above that in the case of the preferred form of marriage the arrangements are initiated either by the boy's family or a go-between acting on their behalf. The more general rule is apparently that marriage arrangements are initiated by the family which stands to gain a member, for in the case of the matrilocal marriage the arrangements are almost invariably initiated by the female's family [581] or their representative. As a result, the first questions to be asked in the case of the matrilocal marriages are questions concerning the potential husband's character. Is he a good worker? Does he drink or spend money on prostitutes? Is he filial in his relations with his parents and capable in dealing with outsiders? When they find a man who has the requisite qualities in a reasonable degree, the girl's family will then attempt to negotiate a marriage which will bring him into the family. For their part, the potential husband and his parents will want to know what his status will be in his wife's family. Whose name are the children to take? If some are to take the wife's name, which ones? How long is he obliged to remain a member of his wife's family, and under what conditions might he leave before the end of such time? What property might he inherit, if any? Each of these rather difficult questions must be negotiated and agreed to in detail. Primarily this is because there are various sets of terms under which a matrilocal marriage may be arranged, but partially the need for clarity in these matters derives from the deviant character of matrilocal marriages. Being deviant, the terms of such a marriage must be negotiated, since one cannot depend upon generally recognized rules as guides for behavior.

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In upper class Taiwanese families the terms of a matrilocal marriage are usually set down in the form of a written contract which is legally binding on both parties. In the case of Hsiachichou, however, the more usual thing is for the arrangements to remain at the level of a verbal commitment, a practice which often creates difficulties in later years. The wife's family may think better of their earlier decision and claim that they did not promise the man a certain inheritance, or the husband may in later life re-evaluate the importance of having descendants and attempt to reclaim his children. In one case which caused a great deal of concern during our stay in Hsiachichou a man who was residing with his wife's family claimed that he was just living with them and that he had not agreed to marry into the family. As he put it to us, "You can see that I didn't marry into this family. Look at our registration book. If I had married in, the children would have her name, but they haven't. They all have my name." The wife and her parents, on the other hand, claimed that he had agreed to marry into the family, and that the only reason the children had his name was because "he sneaked down to the police station and got them to change the names." Since the wife's father was dead, the husband was supporting his wife's mother as well as his own family, but he claimed that he did this because he wanted to and not because he had to. As we shall see later, such disagreements are not at all uncommon, and they are undoubtedly one of the reasons for the unpopularity of matrilocal marriage.

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual.

[554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [195] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

583 581 554 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not 593 582 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sim-pûa married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. 582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 591 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms [606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. [551] [555] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one 178 583 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

*583 the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least
178 provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of
[581] their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

*597 The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

*597 The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct
192 forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred
602 to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kūe-páng-kia:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bŭe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

giving the child or the family who is receiving the child, the adopted child being termed a biēng-liēng-kiá:. Although no term with a social referent ever has an exact equivalent in a language spoken in another society, the verb chī is not too inappropriately translated with the English verb "to adopt." The adoption does not in any way alter the existing social relationship between the two families who are parties to the adoption, nor does it involve an exchange of gifts or compensation for the one family's loss of a member. As is the case with adoption in most English speaking countries, rights in the child are transferred freely and without further social implications. The difference is that whereas the English verb "to adopt" is appropriately used for any transaction involving the transfer of rights in a child, the use of the Hokkien term chī is limited to those cases in which the two families are agnatically related. When the parties to the adoption are not agnates the act of adoption is referred to with the verbs būe and bùe. The family who receives the child is said to have "bought" him (bùe), and the family who gives the child in adoption is said to have "sold" him (būe). As in the case of adoptions involving agnates, such transactions do not alter existing social relationships, but they do involve the payment of a considerable sum of money by the adopting family. The use of the verbs "to buy" and "to sell" is not metaphorical. Whereas a family adopting a child from an agnate is not required to give any compensation whatsoever, the family adopting a child from a non-agnate must ordinarily offer what for most families amounts to the equivalent of a year's income.

*597 602 The use of the term khe-páng-kiá: to refer to children adopted from agnates suggests that such adoptions usually involve families which are closely related, the literal translation of the term being "the child who crosses the house." Since it is usually only close agnates who live in the same house, a "child who crosses the house" must be the child of close agnates, and this is in fact commonly the case. The term is appropriately used to refer to any male child adopted from an agnate, but it is seldom that such adoptions involve families who are not related in the first or second degree. The implications of the term biēng-liēng-kiá: are somewhat more obscure. A biēng-liēng is apparently a flying insect the life cycle of which requires the participation of the earthworm. After laying its eggs, the insect deserts them, depending upon the worm to hatch the eggs and thus perpetuate the species. A biēng-liēng-kiá: is therefore a child of parents who are willing to see him given over to someone else's care, they themselves not caring whether or not he survives. As the term is used in Hsiachichou, it does not seem to imply any scorn of the child who is given away in such an adoption, but it does imply criticism of the parents who would be willing to surrender a male child. Considering the importance which is attached to the principle of continuity in the male line, such an attitude is not at all surprising, for the selling of a male child implies a lack of concern for one of the most highly regarded of all cultural values.

Among the wealthier landlord families of the Taipei basin a distinction is made betwen the status of an adopted son who is a biēng-

liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tuzuru Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Tuzuru Okada, Kiso Shuki, op. cit., p. 7.

*597 563 [835] and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps [587] best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

*597 601 In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lâng-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sîm-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as [184] cǐ-bô-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

family are both commonly referred to as sim-pûa, the term lông-lù being used only in its written form and only then for the purpose of registering adoptions with the police. If one needs to distinguish between the two categories, one can use the descriptive terms "ū thi-thâu" and "bŏu thi-thâu", "those who have counterparts" and "those who do not have counterparts," but this alternative set of terms is only employed when in the context of the conversation the girl's marriage status is of particular relevance.

This same tendency toward an amalgamation of the two categories is also apparent in the ritual of adoption as it is practiced in Hsiachichou. Regardless of whether or not the child is intended to marry a son of the adopting family, she is always dressed in red on the day she is introduced to her new home, and it is common usage to speak of the token compensation given to an adopted girl's parents as a bride price, ignoring the fact that in many cases the child is not a little bride. When a village prostitute adopted a female child as security against the possibility of her being unable to marry, she too dressed the child in red and spoke of the price she had to pay for the girl as a bride price. Since this woman did not have any sons at the time of the adoption, she was obviously not going to marry the girl to a son, but the adoption was nevertheless transacted as though it were a prelude to a marriage. The child was even taken to her natal family "to be a guest" three days after the adoption, the same as if she were an adult woman marrying in the preferred manner.

*597 *584 594 But while the sīm-pûà and the lông-lù forms of adoption are not distinguished in terminology or in ritual, there is an important difference in Hsiachichou regarding the villagers' attitude toward the two forms of adoption. To adopt a lông-lù is neither more nor less prestigious than to adopt a sīm-pûà. The two forms of adoption are simply not comparable from the point of view of the adopting family because they are not thought of as alternatives. But when there is a choice between the two forms of adoption, as there is in the case of the family giving the child in adoption, the sīm-pûà form is more socially acceptable. Giving a child in adoption as a sīm-pûà is always regarded as being more prestigious than giving her in adoption as a lông-lù. When asked whether they had given a daughter away as a lông-lù or as a sīm-pûà, many village informants were reluctant to admit that they had given a daughter to a family who did not intend to marry her to a son. One woman who had herself been given in adoption as a lông-lù told us that this had only happened because her foster parents had tricked her father. According to her own account, her natal family was a family of some social standing, and would never have willingly given a daughter away as a lông-lù.

> "My father's older brother was a very well known man and my family only gave daughters to a family who had a son for the girl to marry. My foster mother couldn't get along with her husband, and so she didn't have any children. His mother thought that it was best to get a child for them, hoping that they wouldn't fight anymore once they had a child, and so she gave away one of her own daughters and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted a child so badly that she told my parents that there was a son in the family, and then she borrowed someone else's son to show the go-between when she came. When my parents found out what had happened they were

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so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

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This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sīm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sīm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

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This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bô-kàn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sîn-pûa. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sîn-pûa, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cā-bó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sīm-pûà to lông-lù" (sīm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

*597 184 poor to adopt a child simply to aid with household chores, and in the post-war years government regulations have discouraged those few *597 128 families who might have considered such an adoption. Our concern here will therefore be primarily with four forms of adoption, two forms of male adoption and two forms of female adoption. Since English does not provide vocabulary adequate for labeling those institutions, we will have to employ the Chinese terminology in order to avoid long and clumsy paraphrasing. The adoption of a male child from an agnate, we will refer to as the kùe-páng-kià: form of adoption, and the adoption of a male child from a non-agnate, the biēng-liēng-kià: form of adoption. The form of adoption which makes a female child a potential wife of a son of the adopting family we will term the sīm-pûà form of adoption, or the sim-pua form of marriage, since it is both; and the form of adoption which gives a female child the same status she would have had if she had been born into the family we will refer to as the lông-lù form of adoption, although it must be remembered that in Hsiachichou adopted daughters of this kind are more commonly referred to as sīm-pûà and are treated ritually as though they were sīm-pûà.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 5

THE DECISION MAKERS

192 [191] In his description of marriage practices in Singapore Maurice Freedman points out that there are significant differences between the English and Hokkien usage of the verb "to marry."[1] Whereas the English verb takes as its subject only the man and woman who are parties to the marriage, the Hokkien equivalent, the verb chŭa, may take as its subject any person who is a member of the kê, his father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, even his brothers and sisters. The same observation can be made of English and Hokkien verbs denoting the act of adoption. In English the only persons who can speak of adopting a particular child are the child's foster parents. In Hokkien, however, any member of the foster parents' kê may use the verb chī or bŭe in speaking of an adoption. *[599]

*121 *592 *584 *597 The significance of these differences in usage for our present discussion lies in the fact that they reflect a difference in the social structure of the two societies. In most English speaking countries the primary responsibility for decisions regarding marriage and adoption lies with the future mates in the case of marriage and with the foster parents in the case of adoption. In most Chinese speaking areas, on the other hand, decisions about marriage and adoption are family matters

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1 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

*121 in which all of the members of the kê have a legitimate interest.
*592 Who actually makes these decisions depends upon the composition of the
*584 kê at the time the decision is made and who at that time is responsible
*597 for family policy. If a man's father and mother are members of the kê at the time his wife bears a child, and if they also occupy positions of authority in the family, the decision to give the child away may be their decision; but, on the other hand, if the man's parents are not members of his kê, or if the authority of the kê is at that time no longer in their hands, the decision may be made by the man or his wife. Both situations occur commonly in Hsiachichou.

This variation obviously complicates the analysis of the problem we set for ourselves. In attempting to analyze the factors which enter into decisions about marriage and adoption, we are asking what people's motives are for choosing between various institutionalized alternatives, and these are obviously going to vary with the identity of the decision makers. A man looking for a wife will probably consider different qualifications than will his mother looking for a daughter-in-law, and a mother thinking of giving away one of her children is likely to be influenced by very different considerations than her mother-in-law
*121 might be in deciding whether or not to give away a grandchild.
*592 Ideally, we would like to know who made each of the decisions with
128 which we are concerned. Unfortunately, this information is not available. Many of the decisions were made fifty or sixty years ago, so that even if they were willing to tell us, no one in Hsiachichou knows the answer. Furthermore, the original research from which these

data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we do not have complete information for even those recent dicisions which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kê and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate, they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives, but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally significant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the kê at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made. We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made because the composition of the kê varies over time in a cyclical manner. Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases, the joint family, the stem family, and the elemamentary family. In the joint family phase, the kê typically consists of a man and his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

596 twenties who have been married within the last four or five years. Unless the father is ill or in some other way incapacitated he will occupy the position of Kā-tiu:, or "head of household", and will manage most of the family's affairs, including their common purse. If his sons earn a cash wage, this money will be turned over to the father who will then redistribute it as he sees fit. In practice, a reasonably forceful and capable young man may exert a considerable influence in family affairs, but in theory at least all family decisions are the responsibility of the father in his role of Kā-tiu:. Unless the family is an exceptionally poor one, in which case one or all of the sons' wives may work, these women will share the burden of managing the kitchen, the most common arrangement being for them to rotate the responsibility. In actual practice, their husbands' mother will usually work side by side with them, but ideally her role is supervisory.

The arrangements of the joint family have very definite advantages for its members. It is difficult for a man with a plot of land the size of that held by most village families to earn a living for his wife and children. If he works his land he can usually feed the family with the produce of the land, but then he has no cash income to provide for the family's other needs; on the other hand, if he lets the land lie fallow to take a job as a laborer, the additional cash income seldom offsets the expense of buying food. A few village men try to do both, working in a factory or mine during the day and on their land in the evening, but this requires that a person possess exceptional energy. A much more efficient way of managing is for two or three men

596 men to pool their efforts, one of them farming their joint land holdings while the other provides the cash income, and this is, of course, the usual arrangement in the joint family. One of the men in the family, usually the father who is more experienced as a farmer, tills the family's fields, while his sons take jobs as miners or laborers. The family thus has not only all of its food provided but also a cash income to meet its other needs.

596 462 Not without its advantage to the joint family is the presence of several able-bodied adult woman. The amount of work required of women in the average village family is enormous. Aside from cooking for a large family and caring for their children, women must chop and cook the food for the family's pigs; feed and care for their ducks and chickens; salt and store seasonal vegetables; wash the family's clothes by hand in the river; clean and maintain the house and furniture; help with the winnowing of rice at harvest time; and so forth, almost endlessly. The advantage of the joint family is that these tasks can be shared and rotated. One woman assumes the responsibility for marketing and cooking for five or seven days, and is then free for an equal length of time during which she can sew, tend to the special needs of her children, and perhaps even pay a visit to her relatives. To have time to visit relatives is of particular importance to young married women who often have no friends in their husband's village and find a visit home their only recreation.

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While the arrangements in the joint family have real advantages they also work to create equally real difficulties. The concept and

precedent of filial piety is so strong that a father and son can usually manage to share a common income without serious quarrels, but the traditional value placed upon sibling solidarity is more an injunction than a reality. Put in a situation of having to share, adult brothers usually end up hating one another. Of the various cases of physical violence recorded in our field notes the majority of those involving adult males are cases of fights between brothers. One brother may resent the fact that the other contributes less to the family purse and takes out equally, or one may feel that the other is secretly withholding part of his income. The complaints expressed in the following interview are symptomatic of the tensions which characterize relations between the various units of the joint family.

"You have been living in our house this long now. I'm sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I really don't like to talk about family business. If I tell people outside the family they laugh and wonder how we can get along this badly. If you compare the amount of work our half of the family does with the amount my uncle's half does, who works the most? Just look. When my uncle sees that I am very busy he won't even ask his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze after school. This is work that the children of a farmer are expected to do, but he never tells his children to do it. I have so many things to do myself and then I have to take care of the buffalo too. There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to sit and take in money. If he wants the fields to grow up to grass, I can sit and receive, too.

The other day my wife kept asking me to let her buy a pair of new shoes but I told her she couldn't because I didn't want the other half of the family to talk about us. So what happened? Everytime my uncle's wife walked out of her room she had on a new pair of shoes. Where does all that money come from? Whenever it isn't my aunt's turn to cook she is off visiting

596 this one and that one. It is hard to believe that when you go out you don't have to spend any money. Does this money fall from the sky? When it is her turn to cook, my mother is always around helping her, but when it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt is far away and her children sit there and cry and yell. Never once, even when it wasn't her turn to cook, has my aunt chopped up sweet potato leaves to feed the pigs. It is always my wife or my mother who has to do that.

593 596 [178] As a result of these tensions the joint family phase of the family cycle is ordinarily short lived. Within a year or two of the time that the second brother marries most village families divide into two separate units. Although there were twenty men living in Hsiachichou in 1960 who had at least one married brother, there were only three k̂ which included married brothers. In ten cases two married brothers actually lived in the same house, sharing the same kōng-thî:, but each had his own stove and controlled his own purse, constituting a separate k̂. In most cases brothers did continue to cooperate in the worship of common ancestors, and in at least one case shared the use of a water buffalo, but relations were typically hostile and distant. The animosities which cause the k̂ to break up in the first place are often intensified by the haggling involved in the division of the family property with the result that even as elderly men many brothers barely speak to one another.

592 593 After the division of the k̂ the parents either live with one of their sons and his family or live alternately with each in turn. There have been no cases in the recent history of Hsiachichou in which a man and his wife established their own independent k̂ after their children divided the family. There are various reasons for this.

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By the time the division takes place a man and his wife are usually in their middle or late fifties and in many cases no longer able to support themselves. Since no one is able to save more than enough money to buy his coffin, the parents often have no choice but to live with one of their children. Moreover, even if they could afford to live alone few parents would choose to do so. The joy of an old person's life is to spend his declining years in the company of his children and grandchildren. Their progeny represent to most elderly villagers the most important and most satisfying accomplishment of their lives. To be separated from them would be unthinkable.

Which of the sons the parents live with after the division of the kê varies. In some cases they will live with the eldest son; in some cases with the second or third son; and in others they will alternate between two or three sons. In 1960 there were 33 people living in Hsiachichou who had at least one married son. Of these, 17 were living with their eldest and only married son; 3 were living with the eldest of several married sons; 5 were living with the second-born of several married sons; and 5 others were living alternately with two or more married sons. Which of these arrangements obtains often depends on where the sons live after the division of the family. Because of the scarcity of land in the village, it is common for one of a family's sons to leave the village after the division, and in this case the parents will usually live with whichever son remains. The old people are reluctant to leave their relatives and friends in the village for the strange environment of the city. Should more than one of their sons

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternately with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiù: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiù:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
599 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
178 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.
[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterized as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

593 point in its history, most of the members of the family have lived through all the phases of the family cycle. Nearly every man in his fifties has been both a son and a brother, and nearly every woman of
592 this age has been a daughter-in-law. In making the decision that will
593 initiate the next phase of the family cycle these people will have in mind their own experiences as members of such a family. We emphasize this point because of the impression given by various authors that simply because a third of the families in any sample at any one point in time are elementary families the people in these families have never had the experience of living in stem and joint families. Given the relative frequency of the types of families at any one period in time, one can infer the relative length of each phase in the family cycle, but one cannot infer that particular individuals have not had the experience of living in each kind of family.

592 There are, of course, deviations from the normal cyclical development of the family as we have described it here. In the case of one village family, a strong-willed father prevented his sons from dividing the family, so that when he died he left a kè composed of his eldest son's widow, her married son and his two children, and a younger son and his wife and six children. In another instance, two married brothers did not divide their parental family simply because they were amiable, quiet men who did not fall into the usual irreconcilable conflicts. More common than such extensions of the joint family phase of the cycle are cases in which the joint family does not appear at all. Many families were not so fortunate as to have two sons reach

*592 marriageable age, particularly in the early decades of this century, and a few were so unfortunate as to not produce any sons at all. Those families with no sons either adopted a son or arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, but in either case there was usually only one marriage in the second generation, so that the joint family did not appear in the cycle. In a few instances families without sons were forced to send their daughters to work as prostitutes. These girls were often unable to marry but did produce children, the result being that the family was perpetuated without any marriage at all. In one particularly unusual case a village family managed to perpetuate itself for three generations without male offspring and without a marriage. But while such deviations have occurred, the history of most village families has followed the cycle we have outlined. It is only during the early decades of the period with which we are concerned that frequent exceptions occur, and these are all of one type. As a result of a high infant mortality rate, relatively few families of that time had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that the joint family phase of the cycle was not common.

*592 *597 We are now in a position to describe the composition of the kê when decisions about marriage and adoption take place. Let us take the question of adoptions first. As we shall see later, most adoptions take place within the first ten years of the foster parents' married life, the great majority within the first five years. Most decisions about adoption must therefore be made in the context of a joint family or a stem family, for we have seen that the elementary

family does not appear in the cycle in Hsiachichou until the second generation is over forty years of age. The only exceptions would be those few cases in which a second son remained in the village without sharing the responsibility for his parents' care, and the occasional case in which both members of the senior generation died before the age of fifty. The timing of decisions concerning marriage depends upon the nature of the decision and the type of marriage. The decision which the family must make as to whether or not to bring a sīm-pûà into the family must be made when their son is a small child, and so, like adoption, these determinations will usually take place in the joint or stem family. Choices between the matrilocal and patrilocal form of marriage, the type of matrilocal marriage, the particular girl in the patrilocal marriage, will, for the first born son, almost invariably take place in the elementary family. With the exception of a few rare infant bethrothals, such decisions are not made until the children reach a marriageable age, and by this time their father will have divided the kê with his brother and his parents will have died. The only difference in the case of a second born son is that by the time decisions concerning his marriage are made the family will have been expanded by his older brother's marriage.

While there are thus differences in the type of family in which these various decisions take place, all decisions concerning marriage and adoption take place in a context which has one general feature in common. All include at least two adult generations who have an interest in the decision. In the case of adoption and the sīm-pûà form of

marriage, the two generations are the potential foster parents and either the foster father's or foster mother's parents; in the case of the preferred patrilocal marriage and the matrilocal marriage, the two generations are the young people to be married and one of their sets of parents. Our next task, then, is to establish which of these two generations was responsible for the decisions with which we are concerned. When we speak of the motives for adopting a child, are we speaking of the motives of the foster parents or of the foster grandparents? When we ask why a family decided upon a particular form of marriage, are we asking why the couple chose to marry in this way, or why their parents chose to arrange this kind of marriage for them? The answer depends on when during the past sixty years the decision took place. As a result of the various social and economic changes which have occurred in the past thirty years or so, the locus of authority for making decisions about marriage and adoption has undergone a basic change.

Forty years ago both the kind of marriage a young person made and the particular person he married were chosen by his parents. Except in the occasional family in which the young women were needed to work in the fields, unmarried women were not allowed out of the house except in the company of their mothers or grandmothers, and even then they did not often venture out of the seclusion of the family home. To do so would be something less than proper. One old woman gave us the following account of a young woman's life in Hsiachichou around the turn of the century.

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"Before women didn't go out of the house unless something really happened. One of our relatives who used to live here had a daughter and everyone knew they had a daughter, but no one had seen her. When there was that big flood and everyone was running for their lives, her older brother wrapped her in a blanket and carried her out. Even then they wouldn't let anyone see her. At that time buying and everything was done by the men. It wasn't like now when the women are the ones who take care of guests and do the marketing. The men who worked for the family were not allowed to go anywhere in the house. When they came back from work they had to go to their own rooms and stay there. If it was a big family there would be a separate room for them to eat in and to wash in. If they wanted water from the kitchen to take a bath in then it would be the men of the family who would come and get it for them. They couldn't come into kitchen. The women only did the housework and cooked. When it was about time to eat they would get all the food on the table and then go stay in the bedroom until all the men had finished eating. It wasn't very easy to even see a woman then. The only women you could see were old ladies."

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There was clearly little opportunity for romantic attachments to form, and even on those rare occasions when they did there was little chance for the young people to marry unless their preference happened to be their parents' preference as well. The authority of the parents over their sons and daughters was as nearly absolute when they were twenty as when they were two or three. The terms of filial piety provided a moral justification for unquestioned parental authority, and the importance of land in the economy gave parents the power to enforce this authority. There could be no prodigal sons because there was no place for the disaffected son to go. To earn a living one had to have access to land, and it was only through inheritance that such access could be achieved. It was the happy position of the parents of this time to have both morality and the economy on their side, and it was the unhappy fate of the young to be nothing more than sons and daughters,

#584 1978 In the case of the normal patrilocal marriage, the usual way to arrange a marriage was for the parents of a boy of marriageable age to enlist the services of a go-between. The go-between would make enquiries of relatives and friends until she found a girl whom the family might consider suitable. If, through indirect enquiries, she felt there was a chance of approval on the part of the girl's parents, she would propose the match to the parents of the boy. If both sets of parents showed sufficient interest, a long period of negotiation would commence to settle the content of the dowry, the amount of the bride price, and the number of cakes to be distributed. When, after much debate, these questions were settled, usually to the complete dissatisfaction of both families, a date would be set for the engagement. Even after the engagement the boy and girl were not allowed to meet, and in many cases had no idea at all of whom they were marrying. One old man told us jokingly that after he was engaged he went with a group of his friends to a festival at the temple to try and discover which of the women who came was his future wife. As he put it, "I didn't know whether she was going to be a bear or a tiger." One might say that the bride and groom did not become parties to the marriage until they were actually man and wife.

#599 1978 The parents played an equally important role in decisions concerning adoption. If within a few years after marriage a young woman did not bear a child it was usually her mother-in-law who would initiate the procedure for adopting a child, and if for some reason it was necessary for the family to consider giving a child away in adoption

#547 178 it was usually the head of the family and his wife who made the final decision. We could cite numerous instances in which young women were provided with adopted children they did not want, and still more instances in which young mothers were forced to give in adoption children whom they would have kept.

#584 178 The years between 1920 and 1940 brought about some changes in the marriage customs of the village. The gradual breaking down of the traditional values gave young men and women the opportunity to meet, and the romantic attachments occasionally formed sometimes influenced parental decisions. What is perhaps more important, the growing opportunity for wage work made young men more independent of their fathers. As a result, many parents conceded to their sons the theoretical right to approve or disapprove a proposed match. It became the custom for the go-between to arrange a tea at which the parties to the marriage, including the principals now, were brought together for a social meeting. In some cases a young man might make strong objections and overrule parental plans, but for the most part the young people were so embarrassed by the situation that they left the choice up to their parents. When a woman who had been married in 1933 told us that her marriage had been arranged by her parents, we asked if she met her husband before the ceremonies. She answered, "Oh yes, but we were so embarrassed that we didn't even look at each other, and left it all up to our parents." Another woman told us that when she was trying to arrange a marriage for her son he refused to go with her to meet the girl and her family. "He said the girl's family would all be waiting

* 584 to look him over as though he were a pig up for sale. He told me, 'I 178 don't care if she is blind or without legs. If she is willing, that's fine; if she isn't willing, that's fine too. But, I won't go to look at her.'"

*584 Of the 55 marriages in Hsiachichou made by couples now over forty years of age, 51 (93 percent) were arranged by their parents. It is interesting to note that at least three of the four exceptions resulted from the untimely death of parents, and that the young people in question sent a go-between to negotiate the terms of the marriage as though it were being arranged in the conventional manner. It would seem that one of the elements which made the young people submit to an arranged marriage was the fact that any other kind of marriage had so little prestige in the village. But while most of the marriages were in fact arranged by their parents, it is not true that most of the young people were satisfied with this state of affairs. They submitted to their parents will because that was the way things were done and because there were really no alternatives open to them. When we asked some of the older people in the village if they thought that their lives would have been happier had they been free to choose their own spouse, the majority agreed that they would have been much better off if they had had this freedom. The only positive thing said about the arranged marriage was the remark made by one woman, "If you arrange your own marriage you can't say anything when things go wrong, but if you let your parents arrange it you can at least go home from time to time and scold them for getting you such a bad husband."

593 584 198 It was inevitable that once the younger people gained some authority in the family they would revolt against their parents in the matter of marriage. As we have already seen, this process began in the early 1920 but it was not until the 1930 that the younger generation began to assert their independence in any degree. By this time the majority of the families in the village were dependent to some extent on a wage income, and since it was easier for a younger person to get a job, their voices were heard more and more often in family affairs. Even those families who were still primarily farm families could not answer the challenge of a son who threatened to leave the kê and support himself if the parents did not consent to his choice of a marriage partner. The high value which the older generation placed upon genealogical continuity and the realistic fear which they felt in facing old age without children began to work against them. The loss of an adult son was an irreparable loss, and parents were reluctant to risk it by opposing their children in the matter of marriage.

198 882 Perhaps of as much influence on the changing marriage patterns is the very fact that the freedom the young people gain by their wage work also gives them new opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex. Young men and women work together in the same factories, travel back and forth together on trains to their jobs without the company of their parents, and have some opportunity to meet together in private. There is, however, still nothing like the Western notion of freedom of contact between the sexes. A young woman seen talking to a strange man in public will be very much gossiped about, and only a few years ago

178 the local hooligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen
882 walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations, however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walking together toward the local market town. Some of the young people from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without completely destroying their good names.

*584 In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding
*593 marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match
128 is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940 have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51 marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abrogation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the
128 marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more
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detail when in later chapters we turn to the effect of these changes upon the marriage patterns.

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To summarize, then, we may say that at the time at which most of the decisions which interest us here are made the Mf includes at least two adult generations. In the case of marriage they are the parents and their adult children, and in the case of adoption they are the foster parents and the foster grandparents. When we ask which of these people made the decision we must specify the period of time at which the decision was made. By and large, the decisions about marriage and adoptions that were made before 1930 were made by the senior generations, while after 1930 these decisions were made by the younger people in the family. We shall see later that this change has had an important effect upon the kinds of decisions which are made and upon the kinds of considerations which enter into these decisions.

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CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line 181 is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity 182 is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge 59 to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

182 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alter-
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181 natives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity
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[181] and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves,
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[421] is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished,
[242] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out
[463] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably.
[342] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy
[209] tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number
[216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts
[454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a
[926] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

511 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local
426 wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a posi[redacted] fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter
602 how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable
888 to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

*593 602 888 [189] the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 181 842 888 When asked the most important reason for having children, several villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

769 adults who died as members of the family. If two brothers of a previous
602 generation did not divide their parental household during their lifetime, one may find the head of the household's brother or his father's brother represented among the family tablets, or, if at one time there was a matrilocal marriage in the family, one may find among the tablets the names of the head of the household's father's sister and his father's sister's husband. In one unusual case we found hanging next to the family's altar a small red packet which was devoted to a man who had lived for a long time with a woman of the family after her husband had died. The family included this person's name among their tablets because he "had no family of his own and because he had been a member of our kê for a long time." The only deceased members of a family who are not represented among the tablets are those persons who died before they reached marriageable age. A person who dies as a child can only be included among the family's tablets after his own father and mother have died. If the family should happen to suffer some misfortune after their deaths, a shaman may suggest that this is because some previous member of the family who died as a child is angry, and it may then be necessary to add his name to the altar as a means of placating him. By this time, the person is always of a senior generation relative to the living members of the family, and so as a father's brother or a grandfather's brother it is only proper that he be honored as an ancestor. He cannot be so honored during his parent's lifetime because he is then of a junior generation, and also "because he was so unfilial as to die before his parents."

769 The ancestors are not considered gods, or, as one villagers
775 expressed it, "If they are gods, they are just little gods." Although they are thought of as having somewhat more influence over the course of events than the living, they are, like the elderly head of a kē, dependent upon the younger, stronger members of their family. Without descendants to make offerings of food and spirit money the ancestors are no better off than a man who has no sons to care for him in his old age. They are doomed to an existence as "hungry ghosts" who are vividly imagined as congregating outside temples where they beg for a living like destitute humans. A few villagers assured us that the ancestors "don't really eat those things," and that the offerings
769 are more "to show them that we remember them and respect them." But
[778] while such a conception of ancestral sacrifice has been common among the elite of China since Confucius, it is not the general conception
[774] of the majority of the population of Hsiachichou. Sacrifices made to a god are thought of as "gifts," or gestures of respect, but the sacrifices to the ancestors are generally considered a form of sustenance. The difference is nicely illustrated in the form of the two types of sacrifices. The sacrifices presented to a god never include rice or spices, only cooked but unchopped slabs of pork or a whole chicken or duck, but offerings to the ancestors are always presented in the form of a meal, the meat in various sauces, rice and rice bowls on the table, chopsticks, relishes, everything the same as it might be served to guests. Just how literally some of the villagers think of the offerings as meals is evident in the pains to which they

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of

769 placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors,

602 577 the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

769 fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect 769 and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relation- 842 ship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important 795 for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a [753] result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be sur- [784] prised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," 842 begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hŏu mĭ̄: and pâi mĭ̄:, "good fortune"

842 and "bad fortune," or "good name" and "bad name", many illustrated their answers by pointing to a man with many sons as an example of hǒu miā: and one with no sons as an example of pâi miā:.

593 842 6060 Although the ultimate responsibility for providing descendants belongs to the male members of the family, the immediate responsibility rests with those women who are their wives. The fertility symbols with which the marriage ritual is embossed serve to remind the bride that her primary duty to her husband's family is to bear children. Until she has fulfilled this duty she must "walk quietly" in her husband's house. Because of the high cost of marriage, few families in Hsiachichou would even consider repudiating a barren daughter-in-law, but neither would they forgive the daughter-in-law who failed to bear them grandchildren. The mother-in-law will usually take every opportunity to remind her of her failure. To her, the girl's failure is a terrible disappointment, casting a shadow over what were to be the joyous years of her old age. Something of the bitterness which arises in such a situation is apparent in a comment we overheard while talking to a woman whose three children were all adopted. During the course of our conversation, the natural born daughter of the woman's sister-in-law interrupted and was told to go away and "stop being a useless girl." Our informant's mother-in-law happened to be sitting in the same room and took this opportunity to comment, "It doesn't matter very much whether children are boys or girls. What really matters is whether or not a woman bears children."

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Aside from her responsibility to her husband's family, a woman has more personal reasons for wanting to bear children. For one thing, barrenness is the most indelible of all stigmas. Old women who are quarreling will often accuse one another of being barren. It implies not only an abnormal physical state, but also something of a failure of character. To bear children is so important that those who fail to do so must lack some essential moral quality. For another, it is only through her children that a woman can realize her position as a wife. The only common ground between a husband and wife in the early years of their marriage is their children. Often they marry as almost total strangers, and etiquette demands that they remain distant to one another. As the village women express it, the children "give you something to talk to each other about." Finally, a woman's having any sense of security in her husband's home depends on her having children. Although the average village woman realizes that her husband's parents cannot afford to repudiate her, she also knows that they will never accept her until she provides them with grandchildren. It is by virtue of her children that a woman secures her status as a member of her husband's family. She herself may never become a full fledged member of the family until she dies, but as the mother of the family's male descendants she secures a position of respect. It is nothing to be a wife or a daughter-in-law, but it is a matter of pride to be a mother.

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Beyond those reasons we have already discussed, there are more general, less easily exemplified reasons for having children. One has

only to observe the excited anticipation of the older villagers, both men and women, when the birth of a child is imminent to realize that children have an intrinsic value. An old woman whose sons had not as yet given her grandchildren told us sadly of how quiet her house was, how lacking in noise and bustle. There is no life without children in the house. One also senses living in the village that children give a man a sense of fulfillment, of involvement in something larger than the narrow circle of the present. The young men who say that they will give up ancestor worship "when the old people die," nevertheless think of the family as an unbroken chain that began long ago and that will continue long after they are gone. Not to have children would be to take responsibility for breaking this chain, and, perhaps more important, without children the achievements of this life would lose much of their meaning. If by means of a lifetime of hard work and self denial, a man adds a small plot of land to his family's possessions, it does not appreciably raise his own standard of living, but when the value of the land is multiplied by its benefits to the untold generations that will follow, a man has reason for satisfaction. It is partially for this reason that a person must have children to inherit the property of his fathers. His father calculated the value of the land he acquired in terms of its benefits to his descendants, and if there are no descendants it is then worth no more than the few catties of rice it will yield before the present generation dies. As one of our thoughtful informants put it,

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

illegitimate offspring, but in one way or another the goal is achieved, indeed, must be achieved. It is therefore obvious that we need not consider as real alternatives any set of choices that would lead to family extinction. Whatever else their goals may be with regard to marriage and adoption, a family must make decisions which will lead to the perpetuation of their line.

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Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

178 less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at
511 all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some
463 [427] percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, [464] Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employ- [346] ment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work 178 there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low 511 standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of 342 333 village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. C. the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

*599 Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed
511 by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in
435 Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a bíng-líng-kiá. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

*597 511 435 nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

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*597 *562 842 181 While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

family is to have any security in either this life or the next, they must have children who are obliged to them as heirs and descendants. As a result, male children have an absolute value, their worth to their family being something which cannot be estimated in monetary terms. A family may be forced by extreme poverty to sell one or more of their children in order to support themselves and their remaining children, but they would never sell a male as a means of adding to their material possessions. To trade a male child for property would simply not make sense to most people in Hsiachichou, for it is with reference to sons and grandsons that property acquires much of its value. As one of our village informants put it when we asked him why so few people sell their sons, "There is no point in having money or land if you don't have children. Who will inherit these things if you have no sons or grandsons? And who will you have to carry on your family name when you are dead?"

Of 110 male children born into Hsiachichou before 1930 only 8 (7 percent) were sold as biēng-liāng-kiàⁿ, and in every case the family selling the child was poor by local standards. We know that not one of these families owned land other than their own house site, and so far as their neighbors remember none had any income from a business or trade. Four of the eight children sold were sons of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-a whose family was probably the poorest in the village. According to Ong Chun-a, "We had to sell those children. We were starving then, and they offered a very good price. Besides, I had to sell my milk to make money." It is interesting to note that

It is interesting to note that Ong Chun-a's husband was the second of two sons, and that the older brother had several male children who were not sold. Ong Chun-a's husband's parents could afford to sell their second son's male children because they had other grandchildren to carry on their family line. If Ong Chun-a and her husband had been in a position of authority in the family, they probably would not have sold all four of their sons. When asked how she felt about selling her four children, Ong Chun-a answered, "In those days we did what our parents told us." We do not know for certain who made the decisions in the other four families who sold male offspring, but the position of the children in the family indicates that it was probably their grandparents. Three of the four were the children of later born sons, and in all three of these cases the father's older brother had male children at the time the sale took place.

It was thus only the very poor who ever sold any of their male children, and they only did so after the continuity of the family line was assured. What then of the khe-páng-kià: form of adoption? How frequently did families give male children in adoption to an agnate? The question is an interesting one because the considerations which enter into the decision are entirely different. The khe-páng-kià: form of adoption does not require the adopting parents to compensate the child's parents, and so there is no question of material gain in giving a child to an agnate. The family which relinquishes one of their male children to an agnate does so because they feel obliged to help their kinsmen, or because they hope that by helping their kinsmen they will create obligations which will later be of use to them. The decision thus

597 602 involves weighing the relative importance of lineal and collateral kinship ties. The family which gives a child to an agnate naturally strengthens their ties with the adopting family, but they do so by sacrificing a potential tie with the descending generations of their own line. The question which a family must put to itself is this: Are strengthened ties with one's agnates worth the price of an heir and descendant? The answer is no. The frequency of such adoptions in Hsiachichou indicates a clear preference for lineal ties as the more [178] dependable and more significant. Although every family living in Hsiachichou has had agnatic kinsmen who did not produce sons in one generation or another, we find that not one of the 110 males born into the village before 1930 was given out as a kue-pâng-kiâ:. The only two such adoptions of which we have any record occurred after 1930, and neither of these are really exceptions to the preference for lineal ties. In both instances a child's grandparents decided to give a childless son one of his brother's male children. These two adoptions were thus made from lineal rather than from a collateral perspective, and did not invole a sacrifice of lineal ties for the sake of collateral ties.

562 842 In speaking of a male infant a village mother will sometimes refer to the child as her pó͘u-pó͘e, her "treasure." The term is never used with reference to female infants, nor is there any female counterpart of the term. The term which one hears repeatedly with reference to female children is the term lia̍u-ci-hu̍e, "something to lose money on." Male children are "treasures" because it is through its male offspring

562 that a family achieves its most important goal, the perpetuation of its
842 line. Female children, on the other hand, are "something to lose money on" because the money invested in raising a female child is lost when she marries. Her children become heirs and descendants of her husband's family, and her labor and skills a contribution to the welfare of her husband and his relatives. Whereas a son will remain with his parents and support them in their old age, the most that can be expected of a daughter is that she will mourn her parents when they die. As a result, most villagers feel that it is imperative to have male children and see little point in raising their female children. As one of our more outspoken informants put it, "There is no point in having daughters if you have sons. Daughters are just things you waste money on. You feed them and take care of them when they are small, and then when they are old enough to help you they marry and belong to someone else."

583 The family which chooses to raise their female children does, of course, receive a bride price when they marry, "to thank them for raising the girl." While this is often a considerable sum of money, it does not really compensate a family for the expenses incurred in the girl's upbringing. The bride price is usually barely adequate to cover the expenses of the girl's engagement and marriage, and often a family finds that the marriage of a daughter actually costs them money. A marriage in a family invariably involves a number of dinners and teas, and when these are held in the bride's home they are the responsibility of her family. The family must also provide themselves with new clothes to attend the various festivities, and when they visit the groom's home they

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are expected to bring small gifts of fruit or perhaps tea. The major expense, however, is the dowry. At the very minimum a respectable dowry must include a complete wardrobe for the bride; a suit, hat, shoes, and shirt and tie for the groom; a bed, chairs, a wardrobe and other furnishings for the couple's bedroom; quilts and other bedding for the bridal couch; several yards of three or four woolen and cotton materials; a pair of candleholders and perhaps other decorations for the groom's family altar; such kitchen utensils as the bride will need for her personal use; a respectable supply of canned goods, tea, and other luxury foodstuffs; several rings, a necklace, and other jewelry for the bride's personal adornment; and at least a thousand dollars in cash. As the bride's relatives are often heard to comment on the occasion of a wedding, "A daughter's getting married is like a thief's getting into the house."

On occasion, a very poor family will demand a large bride price and send only a small dowry in return, thereby managing to recoup some of the costs of raising the girl. This does not occur often, however, and for very good reasons. For one thing, the family which sends a daughter in marriage without a respectable dowry places her in a difficult position in her husband's home. The husband's family expects a dowry of approximately the same worth as the bride price, and if they are disappointed in this expectation the bride will find her parents-in-law "waiting with angry faces." For another, the family which sends a daughter without an adequate dowry risks the loss of their own face. Custom demands that a dowry be delivered to the groom's home on open

583 554 hand-drawn carts, the contents laid out on sheets of red paper for all to see. The children of the bride's family often spend an entire morning pinning ten dollar bills onto the sheets of red paper to make the usual gift of a thousand dollars cash as impressive as possible. Such a colorful procession naturally collects crowds of curious housewives all along its route, and their shrewd estimates often serve to fix the family's social standing for years to come. As a result, few families attempt to economize on a dowry, if not for their daughter's sake, then at least for their own sake.

593 562 842 We might therefore say that while male children are valued as heirs and descendants, female children are regarded as something on which one stands to lose either money or face. Parents and grandparents may be as personally fond of their female children as they are of their male children, but it is simply not sensible for them to raise a number of 593 their own daughters. If a family is going to raise any female children 597 562 [584] at all, it is better for them to adopt sīm-pûa than to raise their own daughters. A sīm-pûa can marry a son of the family and bear children who will belong to the family, while a daughter is forbidden by the incest taboo from ever playing such a role. She can only remain a member of her natal family by making a matrilocal marriage, and such [178] [556] marriages are pointless if a family has sons of their own. A wealthy family can, of course, choose to raise both their sons and daughters, but in the years before 1930 people in Hsiachichou were too poor for such luxuries. The cost of raising a daughter might make it difficult for a family to provide for their male children, and it would be

impossible for the family which wanted to adopt girls as wives for their sons. Thus, we find in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 a rate of adoption for female children that is much higher than the rate of male adoption. Whereas only 8 (7 percent) of the 110 males born in the village before 1930 were given in adoption, more than half of the females born in this period were sent out in adoption. Of a total 103 girls born into the village before 1930 we find that 67 (65 percent) were given in adoption. As striking as this figure may seem, the rate of adoption was apparently even higher in Hsiachichou in the past. Of 45 girls who were born before 1910 a total of 32 (71 percent) were given out in adoption.[1]

According to our informants in Hsiachichou, landlord families living in the market towns almost never gave their female children away in adoption. They were wealthy enough that the expense of raising a girl was not a matter of concern, and so were able to spare their female children the often unhappy fate of the adopted daughter. Some parents who were particularly fond of a daughter even went so far as to arrange a matrilocal marriage as a means of keeping her in the family. By contrast with these exceptionally well to do families, there have always been some poor families living in the area who have had to sell all of their daughters. These were the really impoverished who could not afford to raise their sons let alone their daughters. The contrast is one to which a friend living in Hsulin often referred to illustrate

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1 These figures and those which follow exclude the female children of a number of women who were prostitutes. Since the circumstances are so different from the case of the normal family, we will analyze these decisions separately.

*597 *593 *562 556 what he considered the inordinate importance of material wealth in Chinese society. "Whether or not a girl is going to become an adopted daughter," he would argue, "depends entirely upon whether she is born into a rich family or a poor family. If her father is a landlord who eats his rice out of the middle of the pan, then there is no chance of her being given away in adoption; but if her family is poor and eats nothing but sweet potatoes, then she will almost certainly end up as an adopted daughter. A persons fate here depends entirely on how much money he has. As people say, 'Even the ghosts move stones for the wealthy.'"

As applied to a female child's chances of being given out in adoption, this argument contains a good deal of truth. Very wealthy families seldom give their female children in adoption, and the very poor usually had no choice but to give away their female children. On the other hand, the illustration is also exaggerated, for the fate of most female children was not a simple function of the income of their natal families. This was true only for those girls born to the very wealthy or the very poor. In a community such as Hsiachichou the wealthiest family was poor as compared with the landlords living in the market town, and only a few families were so impoverished as to have *597 *562 182 to sell their male children. Here a family's decision about raising a female child depended more upon their needs for the girl than upon their financial ability. The wealthiest family in the village was not so affluent as to be able to raise several daughters if they did not have need for them, and few families were so poor as to have to give

*597 *562 182 away a child if they did have a use for her. Of 10 girls born into families who were clearly among the wealthiest in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 we find that 6 were given away in adoption, and of 18 girls born into families who were definitely poor at that time 5 were raised as members of their natal families. Most families with female children kept at least one of their girls, and almost all families with more than one female child gave at least one girl away in adoption. Of 57 women who bore at least one female child 39 (68 percent) raised at least one of these children, and of 30 mothers who bore two or more female children 28 (93 percent) gave away at least one of these children.

*597 *583 *562 591 182 As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, a family can achieve the goal of social continuity in several ways. They can arrange one of the two forms of patrilocal marriage for a son or an adopted son or they can arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter or an adopted daughter. A patrilocal marriage is always preferred over a matrilocal marriage when a family has a choice, but when they have no sons most families will gladly arrange a matrilocal match for a daughter. The perpetuation of the family is the goal, the forms of marriage only the means. We therefore find that one of the considerations which often enters into a family's decision about giving away a female child is their estimate of the possibility that the family may need to resort to a matrilocal marriage. If a family sees some possibility of this, they will usually be reluctant to give away their female children; while if they see little possibility of needing to resort to such a marriage,

*597 they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of
*562 raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly,
*583 saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a
591 man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money
182 on and you might as well give her away."

*597 A second consideration which often enters into these decisions
*562 concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not
462 ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until
182 very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking
*597 for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this
957 work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is
462 a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as
182 she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsi-
*597 bility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child
*562 for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done
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*597 *562 182 and the number of people available to do it. A family with a number of daughters does not need and often cannot afford to keep still another female child, and will therefore usually give the child away in adoption. A family with no female children, on the other hand, may need the services of a daughter and decide to keep the girl even though reluctant "to raise a child for someone else." The crucial factor in all decisions about adoption is the needs of the family at the time of the decision, and the extent to which the child may be able to fulfilll these needs.

*597 *592 *562 182 If these arguments are right, the likelihood of any particular child's being given away in adoption should be a function of the composition of the family into which she is born. A girl who is born into a childless family should almost always be retained as a member of her parents' kê. She would be of potential value to them as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and she would also be valued for her ability to help with household chores. The girl who is born into a family with only male children should also be an unlikely candidate for adoption although her chances of remaining in her natal family should be somewhat lower than in the case of a girl born into a childless family. She would be valued for her labor, but there would be no need to keep her as insurance against the possibility of the family's not having sons. If we are right in arguing that female children are valued primarily for their labor and as a means of acquiring a son-in-law, the most likely candidates for adoption should be those girls who are born into families with female children or both male and female

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children. Such a family would not need another girl as insurance, nor would they be likely to want to retain a second girl for her labor. Our general hypothesis is that the composition of the family determines the value of a female child, and that it is primarily in terms of her value to the family that a girl's status is decided.

Considering the complexity of the phenomena with which we are dealing, we regard the following test of this hypothesis as strong support for our line of argument. Of 18 girls who were born to childless families before 1930 only 4 (22 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 13 girls born to families with male children but no female children only 4 (31 percent) were given in adoption. As compared with these relatively low rates of adoption among girls born to childless families and families with only male children, we find an extraordinarily high rate of adoption among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. Of 46 girls born to families of this type a total of 37 (81 percent) were given in adoption. Perhaps we have here one of the reasons why Hokkien women are so much more likely to attribute the character of their lives to fate than are Hokkien men. By contrast with the man whose life is not determined by anything so simple as his sibling order, a woman's life is largely a product of the composition of the family into which she is born.

These results would seem to indicate that decisions about female adoption were both rational and impersonal. A family decided in favor of keeping a child if they judged that they might need her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or if they had no other female

182 children and thought they could use her help with household chores. If
*597 they could see that they would not have to resort to a matrilocal
*592 marriage, and if they also had as much female labor as they could use
*562 and afford, they decided to give the child away as a means of conserving family resources. Personal attachment and other particularistic considerations apparently played little part in these decisions. This was probably due at least in part to the fact that it was the child's grandparents rather than her parents who made the decisions. They were naturally not as personally involved with the child as her own parents and were able to make the decision which was most consistent with the family's needs and goals. A second and probably more important reason was the press of circumstances and the tremendous importance of genealogical continuity. A family could not afford to give away a female child [735] if they had no sons because they could not risk dying without descendants, and yet most families were so poor that they could not afford to keep a child who did not have any real value to the family. A family was so constrained by their goals and by their limited means that they must of necessity think of female children as counters of varying value. The head of a family might feel that girls were something to lose money on and prefer to give them away in adoption, but if he did not have any other grandchildren he could not risk such a decision. On the other hand, a parent might become very attached to a second or third born daughter and want to keep her, but if he already had several children he could not afford to do so without straining the family's finances. There was little room for personal or idiosyncratic considerations, and

the conditions of the decision were so clear as to make mistaken judgements unlikely.

One might assume that a mother would be particularly reluctant to give away her first born child and a grandparent his first born grandchild, and yet even first born daughters were given away if they did not have value in terms of the family's larger needs. For reasons which we will dicuss later, many women in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter during the early years of marriage, and when they did they were just as likely to give away the first child born to them as they were the second. We find six cases in which a first born child is a girl who was born into a family with an adopted daughter, and in only one case do we find that the family did not give the child out as an adopted daughter. The fact that a female child might have had a special emotional significance as a first born child did not save her from being given in adoption if she did not have value to the family as domestic labor or as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. The general goals of the kʰ apparently always took precedence over the personal concerns of any of its members.

We have seen above that the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was not primarily a function of her family's financial ability, suggesting that this was a result of the relatively little variation in the income of village families. The wealthiest families in the village could not be unconcerned about raising a child for whom they had no use, and all but the very poorest families could manage to raise a daughter if she was needed. Nonetheless, there was some

636 some variation in the financial capacities of village families, and such
*599 variation as did exist accounts for the fact that a few families gave
*562 away an only daughter while a few kept more than one daughter. Seven
182 of those 9 families who kept more than one female child seem to have been among the wealthiest families in the village at that time, and such information as we have seems to indicate that all but one of the eight families who gave away an only daughter were among the poorest families in the village. We know that in two cases the head of the family had been unemployed for some time when the girl was born, and in another case the family was so poor that they later had to sell one of their male children. It is also interesting to note that 8 of those 9 families who kept more than one daughter also gave away at least one of their later born female children. While they may have been somewhat better off than most of their neighbors, they were not so affluent as to be able to raise all their female children.

*599 The decision of eight families to give away an only female child
*562 was probably also influenced by the position of these children in their
*593 generation of the family. We know the sibling order of the fathers of six of these eight children, and in five of these six cases the father was a later born son. It therefore seems likely that these children were given away because the grandparents did not see any point in keeping so many granddaughters. Their older son's daughters provided the family with all the female labor needed, and from the grandparent's point of view the older son's children assured the continuity of the family line. There is also one other kind of consideration which may have influenced the decisions of several families who opted to keep mi

*597 more than one of their female children. We know that in three of these
*562 nine cases several children in the family had died shortly before the
*593 second daughter was born. Since families in which children have recently died often see the birth of their next child as a sign of a change in their fortunes, it is possible that these three girls were kept because of their significance in terms of the family's previous losses. At least this was suggested to us by the mother of one of these girls who told us that her family had decided not to give away the second girl "because we had been having such bad luck with our children. Three of them died before she was born, and we were so glad that she didn't die that we couldn't give her away."

*597 As we have already mentioned in describing the various forms of
554 marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou, the sīm-pûà form of adoption is generally viewed as more prestigeful than the lông-lù form of adoption. Several village women said that they didn't like the idea of giving a child away as a lông-lù "because people would talk about it." The compensating advantage of a lông-lù adoption is that the bride price is
[435] usually somewhat larger than in the case of a sīm-pûà adoption. The bride price for a sīm-pûà is a nominal seventy or eighty dollars, but a family can often ask as much as five or six hundred dollars for a lông-lù. We might therefore expect to find some relationship between a family's income and the likelihood of their giving out their daughters as lông-lù
*597 or sīm-pûà. Having money and the status which money creates, wealthy
556 families should be less concerned about the size of the bride price and more concerned about face. As a result, they should be more likely to

*597 556 give their daughters out as sīm-pûà. The villagers themselves assume that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sīm-pûà and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

*599 *562 *121 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any particular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adoption. But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. The general preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

[735] [611] 582 [842]

*597 *562 *121 their female children. A first born daughter in a childless family was of value because she might be needed to substitute for a male, but when there were male children a daughter's value in her natal home was very much qualified. We therefore find that while very few later born males were given away in adoption, the great majority of later born female children were given away in adoption. Of 79 later born male children only 7 (9 percent) were given away, as compared with 41 (70 percent) of 59 later born female children. The only important exceptions were those female children born into families with male children but no female children. Although such girls were not valued for their potential of bringing a son-in-law into the family, they were often needed to help with household chores and child care with the result that they were not given in adoption as frequently as other later born females.

When asked why they gave female children in adoption villagers will occasionally mention what seems to be impractical and sometimes personal considerations. One woman told us that she gave away one of her girls "because she was such a difficult child," and another woman said that she had given away two of her daughters "because everyone was teasing [m7] me for running a girl's club." There were also several villagers who told us that they had given away a female child because the girl "was sick all the time and must have had a sǐm-pûa mĭa:" it being a common belief that a child with an "adopted daughter fate" will become ill if her fortune is not recognized. But while these and other such reasons are mentioned, one is much more impressed by the pragmatic way in which

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most villagers account for their motives. The most common reasons given for deciding to give a daughter in adoption are just those reasons which we have already described in our analysis. When asked why she gave away all but one of her four daughters, a village mother answered, "Why should I want all of those daughters? I exchanged them for two adopted daughters. Your own daughters are of no use if you have sons." Another informant told us that she had given away all of her later born daughters as a means of saving the family the expense of feeding them. "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. We'd just have to give them away when they grew up, and so when someone asked for them we gave them away. Think of all the rice we saved." While we hope the reader will have found something new in our analyses, it must be admitted that to the people of Hsiachichou there is nothing here which is not obvious and commonplace.

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CHAPTER 8

DECISIONS BY PARENTS

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The popular image of the adopted daughter in Taiwan is not unlike that of the stepchild so familiar to readers of European children's literature of the last century. The adopted daughter is invariably represented in folk songs and folk tales as the most miserable of human creatures, rejected by her parents, mistreated by her foster parents, an object of pity for the kind and scorn for the cruel. The situation of the sīm-pûa has, in fact, become symbolic of the innocent bitter victim of fate. To complain of your lot when you feel there is no recourse one need only say, "What a sīm-pûa am I!", and to convey an impression of a person who is both dejected and resentful it is enough to note that he has "a sīm-pûa face." So vivid is this image in the popular imagination that even small children are only too well aware of what it means to be an adopted daughter. A crying child never mistakes her mother's meaning when she tells her "to stop acting like a sīm-pûa," and even the most recalcitrant child bends to parental will when threatened with the prospect of adoption. As one of the most popular of Taiwanese proverbs has it, "It is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter."

Partially at least, this image of the adopted daughter is a popular stereotype, a representation which earns its way in the language and literature by its metaphorical value. Nonetheless, there is more

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than a modicum of truth in the picture, at least in so far as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned. Regardless of the form of adoption, an adopted daughter must work harder and longer than her foster parents' own female children; she is much less likely to be given an opportunity to attend school regularly; and when there is tension in the family it is the adopted daughter who is most likely to become the scapegoat. As one of our informants expressed it, "No matter what it is, an adopted daughter is always lower." There are, of course, exceptions. If the foster parents have no children of their own they are more likely to treat an adopted daughter much as they might treat a daughter, and occasionally even a girl adopted by a family with children can win her parents' affection. One girl who was adopted in the hope that "she would lead a boy into the family" told us that when her mother did bear a son within the year "she was so happy that she treated me just like a boy." But while such fortunate exceptions do occur, they are rare. We were told by a number of women who had been adopted daughters that the experience had taught them "to be careful" and "to watch other people's faces." While it would be too much to say that the following account is typical of the life of an adopted daughter, similar accounts from other women indicate that it is not exceptional.

> "When I was adopted my foster mother had to take a milk child to make money, and so I could only have the milk that was left over. There naturally wasn't enough and so I had to drink powdered milk and water off the rice. My foster sister tells me that the neighbors used to call her the fourteen year old mother because she was just like my mother. You know that when a baby doesn't get enough to eat it cries all the time. My foster mother would get angry when I cried, and just throw me on the bed. Then my sister

would run and pick me up and heat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my mīa: was so bad."

Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

*591 626 village foster parents claim that they have to treat their adopted daughters better than their own children to avoid criticism, but in their franker moments most of the villagers admit this is not the case. After several village mothers told us that they were afraid to punish their adopted daughters as severely as they punished their own children, we innocently asked one of our more reliable informants if this were generally true. She answered, "You walk around here all day talking to people. Can't you see? Haven't you heard people say that it is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter?"

*597 562 As one might expect, this situation causes no little concern to the parent who is thinking of giving a child away in adoption. Although they are always more interested in their male children than in their female children, village parents are nonetheless fond of their daughters, and the expectation that a child will be mistreated by her foster parents naturally makes them reluctant to give her away in adoption. After recounting her own unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one village mother told us that she "would rather starve than give one of my girls away in adoption," and another informant confided the thought that it might be better to drown a female child than to commit her to a life as a sim-pôa. We also know of several cases in recent years in which parents who had considered giving a girl in adoption did not do so for fear that the child would be mistreated by her foster parents. For example, early in our stay in Hsiachichou we heard of a village family which was planning to give one of their daughters to a neighbor who was also a distant relative, but when we later inquired

*597 *562 as to the details of the adoption we were told that the family had changed their mind "because they were afraid of what might happen to the girl." As the child's mother herself explained, "We were worried that we might give her to someone who didn't like children, and then we would have to ask them to give her back. That would make everyone talk about us and say that we weren't good relatives. But what else could we do if they didn't like her? We couldn't just stand by and watch them beat her."

Although this particular case is of recent occurrence, village parents have probably always experienced similar misgivings when faced with the prospect of giving a child in adoption. It is obvious from the data reported in the last chapter, however, that in the years before 1930 such parental concern did not significantly influence decisions about female adoption. With very few exceptions girls were given away if the family already had female children and retained only if the family did not as yet have any daughters, a pattern of adoption which was clearly a product of decisions made in terms of the child's utility rather than a concern for the child's welfare. But why should this be the case? If we are right in arguing that many parents were concerned with their children's fate as adopted daughters, why did these concerns have so little influence on the family's decisions? Although it is difficult to identify the crucial factor among the infinity of conditions present, it would seem that there were two conditions which were primarily responsible for the situation.

*597 *592 178 [511] In the first place, as we have already suggested earlier, most families living in Hsiachichou at this time were so poor that they could not afford to be unconcerned about the costs of raising a female child, for this expense might make it difficult for them to realize other and more important goals. A family had to think first of providing for their heirs and descendants, their sons and grandsons, and this often meant adopting girls to raise as their wives, a role which a family's own daughters could not fulfill. Except in the case in which a family did not have male children, it was a luxury for them to raise a daughter "for someone else," and most families could not afford luxuries. Secondly, there was the fact that those persons who would naturally feel most strongly about the welfare of the children, their parents, were not in a position of authority with regard to decisions concerning adoption. In the years before 1930 the authority for making such decisions rested with the head of the family, and in the course of the typical family cycle the head of a child's family was usually her grandparents rather than her own parents. While they were undoubtedly not entirely unconcerned about the welfare of their female grandchildren, most grandparents were probably not as concerned as the child's own parents. More importantly perhaps, their age and experience, as well as their position of responsibility, gave the grandparents a different perspective. The parents of a child were likely to look at the decision concerning her adoption in terms of the child's welfare and their personal concern; the grandparents were likely to look at the decision from the point of view of the family's

*597 ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most
*592 female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this
178 committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

*597 In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably.
511 For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away
178 their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been
[427] greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years
[463] ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most
[342] strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs
[333] and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kê. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tíu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now don't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

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They'll do it if they want to, but if they don't want to they won't."

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The inevitable result has been a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. As we have seen in the last chapter, a total of 67 (65 percent) of those 103 girls born in Hsiachichou before 1930 were given away in adoption. By comparison, we find that only 43 (26 percent) of 163 girls born after 1930 were given out in adoption, a drop in the overall rate of adoption of nearly forty percent. By way of qualification, it is important to note that this decline was not entirely due to more favorable economic conditions and changes in family structure. For reasons which we will discuss later, the decline in the number of adoptions has been accompanied by a lessening demand for adopted daughters. As a result, there have been some families who would have liked to give away a daughter but who have not been able to find anyone interested in adopting a child. We knew of at least two women in Hsiachichou in 1960 who said that they wanted to give away one of their daughters if they could find someone who wanted them, and there were probably others who would have happily relinquished a daughter had they been presented with the opportunity. Just how many more girls would have been given away during the last thirty years had it not been for the decrease in demand is difficult to say, but it is our impression that it would not have been more than five or ten percent. While we heard of several families who would have given away a daughter if they could have found a family to adopt her, we know of many cases of families who were asked for one of their daughters and refused.

*597 *562 *592 858 178 182 The past thirty years in Hsiachichou have thus seen a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. Partially this is due to a decreased demand for adopted daughters, but primarily it is a result of changes in the economy and the structure of the kê. But is this the limit of the effect of these changes upon decisions concerning female adoption? We have seen in the last chapter that in the pre-1930 period the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was a function of her utility to her natal family. Those girls born into families who might need them to bring a son-in-law into the family or for their labor were retained, and those born into families with sons of their own and adequate domestic labor were given out in adoption. Do these same considerations enter into decisions about adoptions in the years after 1930? The question is an interesting one because of the very fact that the authority for these decisions has shifted from the older to the younger generations of the family. In asking whether or not the same considerations are relevant in the two cases we are asking whether or not the younger and the older generations of the family share the same values with regard to the nature and purpose of the family.

Despite the generally impoverished conditions of most families in Hsiachichou prior to 1930, very few families ever chose to give away in adoption a girl who was born before they had any other children. With no sons as yet the family had to face the possibility that they might not have male heirs, and so they chose to keep their daughter as a possible means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Of 18

girls born into childless families only 4 (22 percent) were given out in adoption, and in at least 3 of these 4 cases the family was so poor as to be unable to afford such insurance. This same tendency is also found in the case of those decisions made after 1930. Of 35 female children born into childless families during this later period only 2 (6 percent) were given out in adoption, and in one of these cases the child's parents did not have any choice in the matter. Adopted by a village family as a sīm-pûa, the child's mother objected to marrying her foster brother, and was then allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give them her first born child in adoption.

In the years before 1930 the rate of adoption among those girls born into families with male but no female children was also relatively low, although somewhat higher than among those girls born into childless families. While not needed as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, girls born into families with no other daughters were valued for their labor, and hence were not commonly given out in adoption. Of 13 girls born into families with at least one son but no daughter only 4 (31 percent) were given away, and in several of these cases the child would probably have not been given away if it had not been that her grandparents already had other granddaughters. Again we find the same tendency for those decisions made after 1930. Of 17 girls born into families with sons but no daughters only 3 (18 percent) were given away, a rate of adoption which is higher than that found among girls born into childless families but still somewhat

597 592 562 858 178 182 lower than the overall rate for girls born after 1930. It is interesting to note that in two of those three cases in which a family reclaimed a daughter given away in adoption the girl was an only daughter of a family with several male children. These families apparently did value their only daughter to some extent even though they had given her away in adoption, and when offered the opportunity they were not too reluctant to take the child back.

The highest rate of adoption in the pre-1930 period was among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. These families already had all the female labor they could afford as well as the means of perpetuating their lines, and so they gave away their later born daughters to save the expense of raising them. Of the 47 girls born into such families 37 (81 percent) were given out in adoption, a rate substantially higher than that for girls born into families without female children. The same is true of those decisions made after 1930. Although the absolute rate of adoption among girls born into families with female children or both male and female children is much lower than in the pre-1930 period, it is much higher than among those girls born into families with no female children in the post-1930 period. Whereas only 5 (10 percent) of those 52 girls born into families without female children were given out in adoption, a total of 32 (31 percent) of those 103 girls born into families with female children were given in adoption.

We thus find much the same pattern of adoption in the years since 1930 as in the years prior to 1930, a correspondence which suggests

*597 *592 *562 858 178 182 that all of these decisions were made in much the same terms. It would therefore seem that there is a close agreement among the generations of the family with regard to certain values concerning the goals of the family. Having more resources available to them and being more concerned about the personal welfare of their children, parents gave away fewer of their female offspring than did the grandparents when they held primary responsibility for these decisions. When circumstances did force the parents to give away one of their children, however, they generally made their decisions as to which child in much the same terms as had the grandparents. They gave away those girls who had little value as labor or as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and they retained those girls who could be useful as domestic labor and who might be needed as a means of insuring continuity in the family line. Although we shall see later that the shift in authority from the older to the younger generations of the family has affected some decisions about marriage and adoption, it apparently did not alter the kinds of considerations which go into a decision about female adoption.

Another comparison between the adoption patterns of the two periods adds further weight to this argument. In the years before 1930 families almost always gave away girls born after a female but before a male as well as those girls born after the family had both a son and a daughter. Of those 13 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 11 (85 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 33 girls born into families with both sons and daughters

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26 (79 percent) were given in adoption. This is what one would expect if most families were so poor that they could not afford to raise their female children. When a family which did not have any sons as yet produced a daughter they would keep her as insurance against the possibility of not bearing sons, but they would tend to give away all of their later born girls whether or not they had borne a son in the meantime. They simply could not afford to keep two female children as insurance. If a family was not so pressed by their limited financial means, however, we might expect to find a very different attitude towards raising a second daughter when they had no sons. Until a family actually bore a male child who could act as an heir and descendant, they might very well want to keep more than one daughter as a potential means of bringing a man into the family. Just as it is considered wise to have more than one son "because you can't tell how one of them might treat you," it is also wise to have more than one daughter in case one of them rebels against the prospect of a matrilocal marriage. We might therefore expect to find a very different rate of adoption among girls born into families with daughters but no sons in the years after 1930. Living in a generally more favorable economy, most families could afford more insurance, and so we might expect them to keep all of their daughters until they actually produced a son, giving away their girls only if they were assured of continuity through a male heir. This is just what we do find. After 1930 girls born into families with a daughter but no sons were retained as members of the family nearly as often as those girls born into

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan. In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a year's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 118 boys born into the village before

*597 1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of
*562 the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The
*592 only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years
858 have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was trans-
178 ferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other
182 changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious
that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

*597 In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular
*562 girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large
556 degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families
178 in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably
undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not
needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reason-
ably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female
child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a
girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her
natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition
of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the
village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their
female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely
to give away their daughters than another family. In the language
of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case
[933] in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed
during the course of the last three or four decades, some families
have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

less fortunate neighbors as residents of the decaying Hsiachou. This imbalance of wealth between the two areas is reflected in the adoption rates. Of the 93 girls born into Hsiachou 32 (34 percent) were given out in adoption as compared with only 9 (14 percent) of the 66 girls born into Shangchou. Were our information detailed enough to permit a comparison of individual families, we would undoubtedly find that relative wealth is an even more important variable, but gross as it is, even this comparison clearly makes the point that her family's ability to raise her has become an important determinant of a girl's chance of remaining in her natal home.

We must therefore take into account two sets of factors rather than one in order to calculate the likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption in the post-1930 period. We must consider the composition of the family into which she was born, and we must also take into account the relative economic status of her natal family. When both sets of factors are considered a clear pattern of adoption emerges, with girls born into some situations being much more likely to become adopted daughters than girls born under other circumstances. The daughters of wealthy families who are born before the family has either sons or daughters are almost never given in adoption, and those born into families with both male and female children are only occasionally given in adoption. Of 39 girls born in Shangchou to families of the first type only 2 (5 percent) were given in adoption, and of 24 girls born into Shangchou families of the second type only 5 (21 percent) were given in adoption. The composition of the family into which a girl

*597 *592 *562 178 556 621

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

*597 *562 *592 182

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*597 *562 *592 182 but there are also other factors which may make any given decision more or less likely. The generation which has the authority for making the decisions in the family determines the fate of many children, and the family's economic status determines the fate of a good many more.

[556] Children whose fates are decided by their parents are somewhat less likely to be given away than those whose fates are determined by their grandparents, and children born into poor families are somewhat more likely to be given in adoption than those born into wealthy families.

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CHAPTER 9

MARRIAGE BY ADOPTION

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The first decision the family of a new born male child must make is whether they are going to raise the child as a member of their own kê or give him in adoption; and, if they decide to retain him as a member, they must then make some decision about his marriage. Since very few families need consider seriously the possibility of giving a male child in adoption, it is usually the decision about the boy's marriage which is most pressing. As we shall see later, a number of men who were born into Hsiachichou made matrilocal marriages, but this is not a possibility ordinarily envisioned by a boy's parents when he is still a child. The assumption is always that every male not given in adoption will marry patrilocally and become an heir in his father's line of descent. Matrilocal marriages only occur as a result of unusual circumstances which cannot ordinarily be foreseen by a child's parents. Thus, the decision for a family with a male child is usually seen as involving a choice between the sim-pûa form of marriage and the preferred patrilocal marriage. Should a female child be adopted and raised as the boy's wife, or should the family wait and obtain a bride for him in the preferred way? The question is a complex one which may have a crucial influence on the family's fortunes, and most families make their decision only after the most careful deliberations.

*593 581 858 181 Decisions about the sīm-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, [171] they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to *593 768 insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

593 to punish him for being so unfilial. As one of our informants in
166 Hsiachichou explained,

> "When you have a child you want him to take care of you when you are old and bury you when you die, but it is just the opposite if you have to bury him. It is because you are mad at him for failing you that you beat him."

583 What, then, are the considerations which make a family more or
182 less likely to adopt a sīm-pûa rather than marrying their son in the
554 preferred way? Certainly one of the most important is that the preferred form of marriage is by definition the proper way for a man to marry. The sīm-pûa form of marriage is not disgraceful but neither is it as right, as natural, as the preferred form. The difference between the two is analogous to the difference between speaking a language with an accent and speaking without an accent. Both will do, but one is right. The very fact that it is the right form of marriage also makes the preferred marriage the more prestigious. It is favored for the same reason that a church wedding is preferred over a civil wedding in the United States. It is the socially correct way of marrying. Moreover, like a church wedding in the United States, it gives a family an opportunity for social display and conspicious consumption. Being able to pay a large bride price, receiving an ostentatious dowry, entertaining hundreds of friends and relatives, displaying to your neighbors and fellow villagers the extent of your social ties -- all of these give a family face. One might say that the preferred marriage is better than the sīm-pûa form of marriage for the same reason that a terazzo floor is better than a simple concrete floor.

583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advantages of the sīm-pûà marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sīm-pûà, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage.

When asked why they adopted a sīm-pûà for a son, villagers usually begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûn, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

*583 offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of
585 the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives
431 usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's
[604] brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest.
[434] Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

*583 There are, of course, various ways in which a family can econo-
*584 mize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the
591 bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy
558 the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sǐm-pûa than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sǐm-pûa marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social position. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day, but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common. In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned the sīm-pūa marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should therefore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīm-pūa form of marriage. Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou. We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930 period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

*583 only a very few sīm-pûà adoptions took place. These do all happen to
*584 be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so
559 small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relation-
558 ship. Until such time as datta is collected in other communities which
128 are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago,
we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the
relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which
they took into account in making their decisions.

*583 One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that eco-
*584 nomic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two
556 forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which
entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pûà
marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless
many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family
which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou
adopted a sīm-pûà for one of their sons, and the three families with
the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted
sīm-pûà for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no ques-
tion that these families could have afforded the more prestigious pre-
ferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less
prestigious sīm-pûà marriage. We also know of several cases of truly
wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pûà for one
or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest land-
owner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the
preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

be concerned about social approval and propriety, these decisions clearly involved other considerations.

One of these would seem to be the type of family created by the two different forms of marriage. Tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is characteristic of the preferred form of marriage from the very inception of the relationship. At the engagement when the mother-in-law attempts to push the engagement ring past her daughter-in-law's knuckle, the assumption of hostility between the two women is symbolically expressed, and this hostility tends to become more intense and more open as the relationship matures. During the early years of the marriage, when the mother-in-law is still an active woman, and before her daughter-in-law has secured her position in the family, the older woman will usually be the dominant member of the pair, a position which she seldom hesitates to exploit, taking advantage of every opportunity to harass and embarass her son's wife. A stranger in her husband's village as well as in his home, the untried and insecure bride has no choice but to swallow her resentment, but this early attitude of restraint does not last. The birth of her own children gives the young woman as much of a claim to a place in her husband's family as the mother-in-law herself, and in time the young woman also finds friends and confidantes among her husband's relatives and neighbors. Resentful of her mother-in-law's treatment of her, and often seeing the dissolution of the family as being to her advantage, the daughter-in-law then begins to respond to her mother-in-law's abuse in kind. The result is an active and

606 open conflict which threatens the harmony, and indeed the very existence of the extended family. Although obviously biased in favor of the speaker's point of view, the following excerpt from a village conversation indicates something of the intensity of the conflict between [961] the two women. The conversation refers to a recent death which a shaman interpreted as the result of a death bed curse.

> "You didn't know my mother-in-law, did you? My mother-in-law was terrible at cursing people. She used every kind of curse. But I was very good to her just the same. I took her food to her when it was time to eat no matter how far away from the house she was. So when she died my husband's father said to me, 'All right, she is dead now. It doesn't matter how much she cursed you. You were so good to her that from now on you will certainly have good fortune and live very well.' The mother-in-law of that woman who died could really curse people, and so I think that what the god said is right. That woman really didn't treat her mother-in-law at all well. Her mother-in-law was blind and bedridden, and she seldom went to look after her or feed her. She wasn't filial to her mother-in-law, and so naturally what her mother-in-law said came true. I think that if you are filial to your mother-in-law it doesn't matter how much she may curse you."

An occasional good-tempered daughter-in-law will ignore her mother-in-law's provocations, and not all mothers-in-law are sharp tongued and unreasonable curmudgeons. Exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Our field notes include references to bitter quarrels or complaints involving nearly every mother-in-law and daughter-in-law living in the village during the period of our study. So nearly universal is the tension between the two women that the villagers themselves regard a peaceful relationship as extraordinary. When one village woman let it be known that she thought that her new daughter-in-law was both considerate and hard-working the situation became a

606 matter of general village attention and the topic so widely discussed that references to it appear in our field notes again and again over a period of several months. At first the tone of the village response was that of knowing amusement, everyone confidently implying that it wouldn't last more than a few weeks. When the usual change of heart did not take place quite as soon as expected, this attitude gradually gave way to resentment and even irritation. A number of village women seemed to feel that the woman was causing them trouble by praising her daughter-in-law. As one of them put it to us, "She just goes around telling everyone how good her daughter-in-law is, and this just makes a lot of trouble. It makes other people mad at their own daughters-in-law just to hear it." The eventual deterioration of the relationship was greeted by the family's neighbors with satisfaction and a sense of relief. To the best of our knowledge, the only cordial relationship of the kind in the village involved an elderly woman and the wife of her younger son, the wife of the elder son being a woman with a village-wide reputation of being a "hot pepper". It seems from what the family's neighbors told us that the older woman had been forced to come to terms with her younger daughter-in-law in order to hold her position vis-à-vis her elder son's wife. While this may not be that rare exception which proves the rule, it does serve to underscore our more general point.

606 *584 This tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is at least in part a product of the process by which the preferred form of marriage is arranged. It is usually the groom's mother who takes

606 primary responsibility for negotiating the details of the marriage,
*[584] and she is the person who is most likely to become angry as a result of the inevitable haggling involved in these negotiations. Irritated by the size of the bride price she has had to pay and resentful over what she considers an inadequate dowry, she awaits her daughter-in-law's arrival "with an angry face." Given, then, a situation in which the mother-in-law must supervise her daughter-in-law's work, a situation very much exacerbated by the fact that the mother-in-law often has good reason to be dissatisfied with her daughter-in-law's performance, it is almost inevitable that tensions will develop between the two women. The girl is bound to make mistakes as a result of being unacquainted with the routine of the household, and often she has not been properly trained in much of the work expected of a married woman. One woman told us that she was so worried about this that she did not sleep or eat for three days before her marriage.

> "Nobody could have been more worried than I was before I got married. I never used to go out of the house, not even for a walk. Daughters don't learn to cook or to take care of a house. I was so worried that I couldn't eat or sleep for three or four days, and I was so tired the day of the wedding that I could hardly walk."

A sympathetic mother-in-law may remember her own experience as a bride, but more often than not this is only a distant memory given no relevance to the present situation. What is usually foremost in the older woman's mind is that with a daughter-in-law she will have someone to shoulder the burden of the household chores. A few minutes after describing her own anxiety as a bride, this same woman told us

606 that she was so happy her son was marrying soon "because now I will have somebody to help me cook and take care of this large family." She was naturally very much disappointed when her daughter-in-law turned out to be no better prepared than she herself had been, and as a result she was constantly complaining that her daughter-in-law was a "useless girl who doesn't know how to do anything but eat rice."

Listening to the daily bickering among the women of the household, one gets the impression that the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is primarily a matter of conflict over household routine. The mother-in-law complains that her son's wife "doesn't know how to do anything," that "she is lazy and stupid," that "she doesn't know the worth of money," and so forth. For her part, the daughter-in-law accuses the older woman of "really being able to scold," of not giving her son "enough money to buy anything," and of being generally demanding and bad tempered. But while these daily encounters over matters of household management and the domestic division of labor do add to the tensions between the two women, they are more the topics of the conflict than the real cause of the tension.

593 The origins of the tension between the two women would seem rather to
606 be a competition for the loyalty of the young man who is the older
152 woman's son and the younger woman's husband. A woman proves herself as a woman and secures her position as a wife by bearing male children. It is through her sons and by means of her sons that a woman finds a place in life. Moreover, given the ideal of an expressionless and unemotional relationship between husband and wife, a woman's male

593 children are often the only appropriate objects for her affections.
606 It is not surprising then that she is jealous of the woman who enters
152 her son's life and threatens to replace her in his sympathies, and this jealousy finds expression in an exaggerated reaction to the irritations of life in the kitchen. For her part, the daughter-in-law soon learns that her husband is the only potential ally she has in her new home. Although her father-in-law may sympathize with her predicament, the expectation of avoidance prevents him from ever playing a protective role, and the inevitable conflicts between brothers effectively precludes any possibility of a sympathetic relationship with her husband's sisters-in-law. The young woman therefore turns to her husband as her confidant and her resource, hoping that she will be able to talk him into leaving the larger family, thus freeing herself forever of the tyranny of her mother-in-law. This tactic naturally serves to confirm the worst of her mother-in-law's fears, and her irritation and resentment of the daughter-in-law is increased proportionately. The result is a conflagration that feeds on its own flames. The more resentful and jealous the mother-in-law, the more she tyrannizes her son's wife; and the more she is victimized, the greater the daughter-in-law's efforts to pry her husband out of his natal family, this effort serving to confirm the older woman's suspicions and intensify her resentment.

This more basic cause of the conflict between the two women is often laid bare in times of crisis. In their daily encounters both women express themselves in the rhetoric of the kitchen, but when these

*593 606 152 minor encounters boil up into a crisis the real cause of their differences comes to the fore. When a village mother who was having great difficulty with her daughter-in-law seemed to be losing control of the situation, her complaint was not that the daughter-in-law was lazy or incompetent, but rather that her daughter-in-law "is trying to steal my son from me." She told her son, "I'll go kill myself, and then the two of you can be alone and not be bothered with a mother." In this particular case the son responded in terms of the ideal role for a son, assuring his mother that he would send his wife away rather than cause his mother pain. In his own words, "How can I let you do that? If she isn't good to you, then I'll send her back to her family. How can I let you kill yourself?" Such a response naturally encourages a mother and temporarily calms her fears, but there is always the worrisome possibility that someday her daughter-in-law will alienate her from her son. To bear sons is a woman's first great trial in life; to maintain their loyalty and affection is the second and more difficult trial. As a well known proverb tells, "You can bear a son's body, but you can never know a son's heart." In sympathizing with a neighbor who was having trouble with her son's wife, a village woman expressed what is probably the most basic fear of every mother with a married son.

> "You raise your children, and then when they grow up they are always someone else's. Your daughter belongs to your son-in-law, and your son belongs to his wife. Especially those men who always listen to what their wives say. If you say two words to your daughter-in-law, then they'll get mad and move out of the family."

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very different in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage. The girl who is adopted as a child and raised as a daughter in the family does not ordinarily become involved in the conflict that occupies the girl who enters her husband's family as a young adult. There are several reasons for this difference. For one thing, the sīm-pûà is socialized in terms of the routine of her husband's household, and so there is less occasion for conflict with her husband's mother over household matters. Nothing is demanded of the girl at the time of her marriage which she has not already learned as a daughter of the family. For another, the girl does not have a natal home to which she feels she can turn in desperation, nor does she have any other experience which might cause her to make unfavorable comparisons with her life in her husband's family. The only family life she has ever experienced is that of her husband's family. She knows of no other way of doing things and has no other standard. More importantly, the sīm-pûà marriage creates a family in which a girl's mother-in-law is also her mother, a woman's daughter-in-law also her daughter. A girl's husband's mother is the same woman who nursed her and cared for her when she was a child; and a woman's daughter-in-law is a child whom she herself raised and educated. The inevitable tensions of life as members of the same household are offset by a natural affection arising from a prolonged and intimate association. Moreover, there is also the possibility that this early association of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law precludes the development of the intense competition over the son and husband which is at

*597 60% the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential ally, and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sīm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis- [601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sīm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sīm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

#597 #593 152 for mistreating them. After relating at some length her unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one young village woman then went on to describe her relationship with her two sets of parents as follows:

> "I used to get so mad at my parents because they gave me away. Even now I sometimes feel that it is all their fault. If they hadn't given me away, I probably would have had a very happy life. I'm sure that it wouldn't have been like this. I can still remember when I was a little girl. My parents and my foster parents were good friends, and so my parents used to often come here. I remember once when I was playing out in the yard with a mat. I saw my mother coming down the road, and so I rolled up in the mat and hid. I didn't want to see her... If my parents had just opened their eyes and looked before they gave me away, it wouldn't have been so bad. If they had given me to a family that didn't have any children they would have liked me, but they gave me to a family that didn't need children, and wanted me to marry one of their sons. When I wouldn't do it, my foster mother tried to get my real mother to come and talk me into it, but there was nothing that she could do. I hated her much more than I hated my foster parents. I could never get used to the idea of having two mothers. I used to think, 'Everyone else has only one mother. Why should I have two mothers.' I knew that she was my real mother, but I would make myself think, 'This is my mother (her foster mother. She isn't my mother.'"

This tendency for adopted daughters to lay the greater blame on their biological parents was also affirmed by the mothers of several adopted daughters. A village woman who had given one of her daughters to a family living on the other side of the village told us that the girl "seems to hate me."

> "Whenever I bring her home to visit she doesn't want to stay here and when I go to get her she gives me a hateful look and turns her head away. I don't know why this is. Usually at that age they don't understand. I don't know whether she is mad because I gave her away or what. She just doesn't like me. She plays with her brothers and sisters fine, but she just doesn't like me. Whenever someone asks her about me, she tells them that I'm not her real mother, but her other sister's real mother."

597 152 155 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who hates her foster parents. At the beginning of the last chapter we quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

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> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīn-pûa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīn-pûa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīn-pûa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīn-pûa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīn-pûa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīm-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
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183 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
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183 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
606 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words." When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

*583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
*593 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
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183 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
606 other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

*583 The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage
*597 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
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556 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
182 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
183 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīn-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīn-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīn-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 10

MARRIAGE AND INCEST

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In the early decades of this century decisions about marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou were the perogative of the senior generations of the family. When they decided to adopt a sīm-pûà and raise her as a wife for a son this decision committed the boy to a particular kind of marriage. He had little more to say about marrying the girl when he reached the appropriate age than he had had to say about her adoption when he was a child. Only the parents could reverse their original decision and that they would change their minds was very unlikely. The investment was too great. To arrange a preferred marriage with its tremendous expense after having already spent the money to raise a sīm-pûà would be to invite disaster for some families and a painful economic waste for all families. As a result, the great majority of sīm-pûà adoptions made in the early part of the century led to marriages. Of the 22 sim-pua adoptions which took place before 1910 all but 6 culminated in a marriage, and in 4 of these 6 cases the failure of the arrangement was due to the death of either the sīm-pûà or her foster brother. The two exceptions involved one case in which the boy's mother "decided that she didn't like the girl and sent her back to her natal family," and one unusual case in which the son was able to dissuade his parents from their original plans.

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the k<u>e</u> had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

*584 *593 *597 We have already seen earlier that the shift in the authority structure of the family did not change the viewpoint of the family towards decisions about female adoption. Although a girl's parents tended to be somewhat more concerned about Her fate than her grandparents, the two generations usually made their decisions about which children to give away in much the same terms. They kept those girls who were of most value in terms of the goal of genealogical continuity, and they gave away those girls who were the least value with reference to this goal. How then did this change in authority effect decisions concerning the sim-puà form of adoption? Do the younger members of family approach such a marriage in the same terms as their parents and grandparents, or do they look at the question of their own marriage from a different point of view. Do they choose to marry a sim-puà when they see the possibility of a choice, or do they more often refuse to make such a marriage even though their parents have raised a girl with such a marriage in mind? The answer is unequivocal. During the years 1910-1930 the senior generations continued to adopt sim-puà for their male offspring at about the same rate as they had in the years before 1910, but in only two instances did these adoptions culminate in a marriage when the children reached the appropriate age. In two cases either the boy or the girl died before reaching marriageable age, and in 15 cases one or both of them refused to go through with the marriage. Although the young adults of the family may agree with their parents as to the terms in which female children should be evaluated, it seems clear that they do not agree with them as to the

desirability of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, at least not when it is a question of their own marriage.

In view of the findings of studies of juvenile behavior in the United States, one is tempted to interpret this rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage as one symptom of a more general rejection of parental authority. From this perspective one might argue that there was nothing undesirable about such marriages other than the fact that they represented an extreme case of the imposition of parental will. But while such a general motivation may account for a part of the younger people's resistance, it is not an adequate explanation of their complete rejection of this form of marriage. If the revolt against the sīm-pûà marriage were just one aspect of a more general revolt against parental authority, we should expect to find a general resistance to all forms of arranged marriages, but such information as we have seems to indicate that this is not the case. At least 9 of the 15 men who refused to marry their sīm-pûà did allow their parents to choose a bride and make all of the arrangements to marry them in the preferred way, and in only 2 or possibly 3 of the cases did the young man insist upon marrying a particular girl against his parents' will. It would therefore seem that what the young were resisting was the specific form of marriage rather than simply the imposition of parental authority.

Another possible explanation of the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it is the result of what most foreigners are pleased to call "modernization." Since this form of marriage is

*584 regarded by foreigners as one of the more unusual Taiwanese customs,
MR it might easily become identified for the younger generation as
197 symbolic of the traditional society. Young people might therefore be particularly reluctant to make such marriages because of their association with the "old" as contrasted with the "new". Such a line of argument undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth. As Japanese and Western influence became strong on Taiwan and the younger generation was attracted by what was identified for them as "modern" and "new," the sīm-pûà marriage did tend to be tagged as "traditional" and "the old way of doing things." Again, however, this cannot be the whole picture, for resistance to the sīm-pûà form of marriage is not a new phenomenon. There is evidence which seems to indicate that even before foreign influences had any appreciable effect on Taiwan the sīm-pûà marriage was generally regarded as an unhappy fate by
*584 those who had to make such a marriage. While many of our older informants in the village would argue that the sīm-pûà form of marriage was a good thing, this was always from the point of view of their status as parents or grandparents. When asked if they themselves had been happy to make such a marriage they were generally as opposed
[585] to the idea ah their children. It is also relevant here to note the use of the term sàng-cùe-tûi to refer to the brief New Year's ceremony which unites a man and his foster sister as husband and wife. The term is best translated simply "pushing them together," and is usually explained with a rough pushing movement of both hands. Since the phrase is traditional as well as common usage, it would seem to

*584 suggest a long standing reluctance to the sīm-pûà marriage on the part of those facing the prospect of such a marriage.

*584 *593 626 Before looking further for the source of the younger generation's distaste for the sīm-pûà form of marriage, we should note that whatever their reasons are they must be very good ones. The consequences for a young man or young woman who refuses to make such a marriage are often far from pleasant. The parents are almost certain to be angry with a son who refuses to participate in their plans, and they may even go so far as to disinherit him. We knew of one young man whose father drove him out of the house when he refused to marry his sīm-pûà, and though they were later reconciled the father made his more obedient younger son the head of the household. At the very least the young man who refuses to marry a sīm-pûà will become the object of a good deal of unfavorable public comment. The primary duty of a male in this life is to obey and provide for his parents, and he is almost certain to be branded "unfilial" if he appears to come in conflict with his parents over the matter of his marriage. If there is the possibility that the parents can yield gracefully, as in the case of the preferred marriage where the crucial question is usually the choice of the particular girl, a son can resist his parents without appearing to come into conflict with them. The difficulty in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage is that the parents are always very much committed to their prior decision because they have raised the girl, and as a result the young man who is opposed to making such a marriage will usually be forced to extreme measures which will make the conflict apparent to all.

*584 *597 *593 *562 626 But whatever the consequences for the son of the family they are seldom as severe as for the sīm-pûà who resists marrying her foster brother. The girl's position in the family is a weaker one, and as a result she must pay a higher price for her intransigence. Most parents cannot afford to alienate one of their sons permanently, but there is no point in retaining the loyalty of an adopted daughter if she refuses to play the role for which she was adopted. Parents are therefore ready to apply whatever pressures are necessary in order to make the girl acquiesce to their plans. As a result, when it is the girl who takes the lead in opposing the marriage she must often go to extreme lengths to overcome her parents' determination. One [548] [464] village girl ran away to her natal home rather than marry her foster brother, and we know of at least three cases in which sīm-pûà left their foster homes to become prostitutes. They were either unwilling or unable to return to their natal families, and this was the only way in which they could manage to support themselves independently.

A girl's refusing to marry her foster brother also makes it difficult for her to marry out of the family. Her foster parents may refuse to arrange another marriage as a means of punishing her, and even if they do call in a go-between it may be difficult to find a family willing to take a former sīm-pûà as a daughter-in-law. Prospective in-laws suspect that the foster parents may have decided to allow her to marry out of the family because of "an unmanageable temper" or other hidden faults. Although most sīm-pûà do eventually marry despite these difficulties, we know of at least one girl in

*584 Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls
*593 do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma.
*591 A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as
*562 a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes
626 her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family,
she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same
disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village
woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered
"Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say,
'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

*584 We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has
*597 several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It
183 is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more
835 conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people
refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in
the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred
prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the
parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?"
When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a
way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage per-
sonally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that
marrying one's foster brother was bōu Ī-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;"
and a number of bthers indicated that they felt that such a marriage
was kiàn-siáu, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is
culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

*584 *597 183 835 given by many villagers was that they privately regard it as something very like incest. While we were told that marriage with a distant clan mate is regarded as incest, none of our informants seemed to display any personal revulsion in their attitudes toward such a union. In the case of the sīm-pûà marriage, on the other hand, it was agreed that no one could criticize a person for making such a marriage, but at the same time most people seem to feel uncomfortable about the idea of making such a marriage themselves. The discrepancy between social and private attitudes to the sīm-pûà marriage is perhaps most apparent in the behavior of those young people who refused to make such a marriage. They realize that the marriage is proper and feel guilty about not acquiescing in their parents' plans, but still they say that they could not submit to the marriage "because it was embarrassing."

Because of this embarrassment we were unable to get most of the villagers to discuss their feelings about the sīm-pûà marriage in any detail. Questions about the subject usually elicited the same kind of response as questions about personal sexual habits. One of the few exceptions was a young woman who talked to us at some length about her reason for refusing to marry her foster brother. While we do not have the information necessary to say that her reactions are typical, they do at least seem congruent with the less specific reactions of other informants.

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"My father was so mad at me when I didn't want to marry my brother, but there was nothing he could do. I just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away either. There

#584 #593 #599 835 183 was nothing he could do. They couldn't just kick me out of the house. He used to get so mad at me that he wouldn't even talk to me, but now he seems to have gotten over that. Now he understands me better, and is nice to me."

Did he try to make you marry your brother?

"Of course. Everyone here tried very hard. He didn't say anything to me himself; he had my mother talk to me. All the neighbors helped, too. He also sent for my real mother to talk to me but she can't argue very well. When I said something to her she didn't know what to say next. The neighbors would say something to her, and she would get mad and come and scold me. I told her, 'I'm going to be very filial. It's not that I'm not filial. I just don't want to marry him. I will treat you even better later than I treat you now.' I tried very hard to be filial to her, but when I asked her to come and go to a movie or something, she would say, 'Oh, let's wait until he (the informant's foster brother) gets married.' But then she died just after he married. I tried very hard to be filial to her but I just didn't get the chance. Even now that I'm not married I don't feel bad about what I did. My brother and his wife are happy. If I had given in and married him, I am sure that we would dislike each other very much by now."

But don't lots of people who marry in this way get along pretty well?

"Well, those who really get along are very few. You can say that none of them like it. Really, it is meaningless to marry your foster brother. I really think it is meaningless. One day after I refused a friend of mine who married a mainlander invited me to dinner at her house and my real father was there. After we had had dinner he began to scold me, telling me that I ought to marry my brother. I was so mad. I didn't like him in the first place, and when he did this I just felt that he was trying to lose my face and let everyone know that I wasn't filial. I got so mad my hands were cold, and I almost passed out. My mother was the one who bore me so she understood more, and she finally made him stop talking. But I was really mad. When I went home for a visit after my brother was married my father said to me, 'I don't see how you can stand it. How can you go on living in that house? I would have thought that you would have run away a long time ago.' When you think about it, it is meaningless for me to go on living here, but I felt like telling him, 'How can you think that I could come back here and get used to living with all of you again? From the time

*584 *593 *597 I was a child I hated you for giving me away, so how could I live with you now?' But I didn't dare say this because they were my real parents."

835 183 Why did your father say that you should be embarrassed to go on living here?

"After I had done this there was no point in my living here anymore. My foster mother was the only one who really liked me, and she was already dead then. There just wasn't any point to it anymore. But I just couldn't make myself think of going to live with my real parents. Not even now that I am older and understand it all. And I really don't see how my foster father could have tried to make me marry my brother. When he married his foster sister she ran away after two days and never came back again. I'm sure he must remember that, and so I don't see how he could want me to make such a marriage. His foster sister lives in Taipei now, and she lives very well. The one time I met her though she was very embarrassed. After she ran away she married again, and she now has a very good life."

Why didn't she run away before she was married?

"I don't know. I guess she was just better behaved than I am. But then after she married the more she thought about it the more meaningless it was, and so the only thing she could do was to run away. And I think that was the best thing for her to do."

Why do you say that it would have been meaningless for you to marry your foster brother?

"I don't know. I just couldn't do it. I felt embarrassed about it. At that time I thought to myself, 'It is just because I'm young and don't want to get married yet.' And I didn't want to get married but that wasn't the real reason. I think that it was because he was my brother. Marrying your brother! I felt embarrassed about it. I don't even talk to him now unless I have to. I don't know why it is, but I just feel embarrassed about it."

*584 *597 *593 The parties to the preferred marriage or the matrilocal marriage do not ordinarily meet until they are biologically mature, but the man and woman who become husband and wife in the sim-pûa marriage are associated with one another from early childhood. A woman with male

*584 children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà
*593 in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own
*597 daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like
[561] that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as
[513] brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

*584 Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into
*597 the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our
*593 suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily
*121 the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood asso-
153 ciation. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which
835 they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

brother and sister to marry. The effect of their childhood association is to create conditions which result in a generalization of the incest taboo. Another possible interpretation is that the very fact of their intimate childhood association is itself directly responsible for this feeling of aversion. As Edward Westermarck suggested some eighty years ago, it may be that the incest taboo is a consequence of "intimate and prolonged childhood association." In Westermarck's words, "the fundamental cause of exogamous prohibitions seems to be the remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood, leading to a positive feeling of aversion when the act is thought of."[1] The first hypothesis suggests that foster siblings are averse to the idea of their sexual union because they consider themselves brother and sister, while the second hypothesis suggests that they reject the idea of their union because they have lived together as brother and sister.

Which of these two interpretations is correct must unfortunately remain a moot question so far as these data are concerned. The two crucial variables are experimentally confounded. The parties to the sim-pûh marriage grow up in conditions which identify them as brother and sister, and they also experience a prolonged and intimate association from early childhood. But regardless of whether the crucial antecedent condition is their sibling identification or their early and prolonged contact, it seems clear that most of the parties to the sim-pûh marriage do experience a real aversion to the idea of their sexual union. Aside from the reports of many villagers that such marriages

[1] Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1921), Vol. II, p. vi.

marriages[1]

Aside from the reports of many villagers that such
584 are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that
597 there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have
593 made a sīm-pûà marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages
837 are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people
831 who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to marry a sīm-pûà arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors, "He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a night at home."

837 As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital
548 relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou. Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as
583 frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here
837 is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these opportunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record

[1] [i.e., sīm-pûà marriages -- Analyst]

*583 839 all village gossip and other information which would allow us to estimate in a rough way the frequency with which the men in our genealogies had sought extra-marital sexual relations. The striking conclusion from these data is that men who had made sīm-pûà marriages were more likely to engage in frequent extra-marital affairs than men who had married matrilocally or in the preferred way. Whereas we have evidence of frequent extra-marital relations for 14 (15 percent) of the 96 men who made either preferred or matrilocal marriages, we find a high frequency of infidelity among 11 (48 percent) of the 23 men who were forced to make a sīm-pûà marriage. While these data are certainly not entirely accurate, for the obvious reason, there is no reason to believe that there is a bias inflating the count for men who married sīm-pûà. There is no stereotype of the husband in the sīm-pûà form of marriage which might elicit biased responses, and we were unaware of the relevance of our data at the time they were being collected.

*583 *593 839 What is perhaps more significant than this tendency for men who marry sīm-pûà to seek sexual satisfaction elsewhere is that this often involves their avoiding sexual relations with their wives. Most men who have established a relationship with another woman visit her occasionally as they have the inclination, but men who are married to a sīm-pûà typically spend all of their nights with their mistresses, avoiding sexual relations with their wives several years at a time. If the man's parental family is a farming family, and if he is needed to help with the work in the fields, he will usually return home during the day to work with his father, eating his meals and otherwise

*583 participating in the family on a daily basis. If he is a coal miner
*593 or laborer whose job is in another town or in the mountains, he may
837 spend several weeks at a time away from the village, living almost exclusively with his mistress but sending money home to help support his parents. A case typical of such arrangements is that described by a forty year old woman whose husband and former brother has spent most of the twenty years of their married life living with another woman.

> "We were married when I was eighteen years old, but my husband didn't live here very long after we were married. When my daugher was about four years old and my son about three, my husband went away to live with another woman. I thought of going back to my natal home, but then I thought that these things are all decided by fortune. Also, I was very fond of my foster mother, and she took care of the children while I went to work gathering rocks to help support the family. That first woman my husband lived with has been dead now for about ten years, but before she died they adopted two daughters. (One of these girls is now married to the informant's son.) Now my husband is living in Nankang with another woman, but they have no children of their own, only one adopted daughter. Most of the year my husband works in a coal mine, but during the harvest season he goes from farm to farm buying rice stalks which he sells to a factory in Shihlin. He makes about NT$900 a month, and sends about NT$200 or NT$300 home. He didn't use to send any money home at all except when he had a very good job or when he was in a good mood, but now he sends some money almost every month."

<u>If your mother liked you so well, why did she let her son go out and live with another woman?</u>

> "Oh, he is her only son and so she didn't like to reprimand him. Besides he wouldn't listen to her anyway."

*583 Men who marry matrilocally or in the preferred way also occasionally
837 take a mistress, and this sometimes leads to similar separations. What leads us to argue that the conditions of the <u>sim-pôa</u> marriage

produce a definite sexual averaion is that such separations are much more common among men who have married sīm-pûa than among men who married in other ways. Of those 119 men whose life histories we know in some detail at least 13 spent two or more years of their married lives living away from their parental home with a woman other than their wife. These 13 men included 3 (4 percent) of 70 men who had married in the preferred way, 2 (8 percent) of the 26 men who had married matrilocally and 8 (35 percent) of 23 men who married a sīm-pûa . There thus appears to be a striking difference between the sexual behavior of those men whose association with their wives began in childhood and those who did not come into contact with their wives until adulthood.

While it is expected that men who can afford to will upon occasion visit prostitutes or professional wine house girls, it is strictly forbidden for a married woman to engage in any kind of extra-marital relations. A young unmarried woman whose family is poor and does not have sons to depend upon may work as a prostitute without arousing unfavorable public opinion, but for a married woman to form any kind of liaison is generally regarded as a serious breach of morality. The not very surprising result is that extra-marital relations are much more common among men than among woman. What is somewhat more interesting is thatthe majority of those women who do commit adultery are women who have been forced to marry a foster brother. We do not know of a single case of adultery among women who married in the preferred way, and the only cases among women who married matrilocally

involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûà. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûà did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple *in flagrante delicto* in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûà form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûà marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always

#593
#583 had to be "pushed together", and why is it that young people refused
831 to make such marriages as soon as they were in a position to do so?
152 The answer would seem to be simply the one they themselves give.
Such marriages are "uninteresting" and "embarrassing." To marry a man or woman with whom one has lived from childhood is too much like marrying a brother or sister. Such marriages lack the interest and excitement of marriage with a person from another family, and to some extent the idea of such a union may even arouse feelings of positive revulsion.

#583 The two cases in which men born after 1910 did later marry their
#597 sīm-pûà tend to support rather than weaken this argument. Unlike the other fourteen cases in which the young people refused to make a sīm-pûà marriage, these two couples did not grow up as members of the same household. In both cases the son was the offspring of a woman who had married as a sīm-pûà, and the adopted daughter a child which the husband had adopted while living with another woman. In one case the future wife did not enter her husband's household until the time of their marriage, and in the other they did not begin to live under the same roof until the girl was seventeen years of age. Since it would be impossible for the couple to marry if the girl was not thought of as a sīm-pûà, the two marriages were both defined by the family and by the couples themselves as sīm-pûà marriages. We therefore have in these two cases instances of sīm-pûà marriages without the usual conditions of early and constant association as brother and sister. The fact that these were the only two sīm-pûà marriages among those

men born after 1910 would thus seem to lend weight to our argument that it is the condition of early association which is responsible for the general aversion to this form of marriage. If the rejection of the sīm-pûa form of marriage were simply a revolt against a symbol of parental authority and the traditional way of life, these two couples would have been just as likely to reject this form of marriage as those who grew up in the same household.

The refusal of so many young people to acquiesce in their parents' plans for a sīm-pûa marriage naturally had the effect of making parents reconsider the advantages of sīm-pûa adoptions. If the couple refused to marry after the parents had gone to the expense of raising the girl, the family then stood to suffer a double loss. They would have wasted the money invested in raising the girl, and they would also have to bear the expense of marrying her out of the family. The advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage were thus overshadowed by the risks, and as a result we find a sharp decline in the rate of sīm-pûa adoptions after 1930. As compared with a rate of 41 (42 percent) adoptions for 98 boys in the years before 1930, we find only 5 (15 percent) adoptions among a total of 34 boys born in the years 1930-1940. If one or two of the adoptions made during these ten years had matured into a marriage, a few parents would probably have been encouraged to make adoptions in later years. The advantages of the sīm-pûa marriage are perhaps worth a certain risk. But when none of the 5 adoptions made in the years between 1930-1940 culminated in a marriage, the inevitable result was a further decline in the rate of adoption after 1940. We

find only 3 (2 percent) adoptions for a total of 142 boys born in the years between 1940 and 1960, and it would appear that the sīm-pûà marriage will soon be an institution of the past in the village of Hsiachichou. In order to restore it one would have to reinstitute complete parental authority in the kê. It was a system which had many advantages for the senior generations of the family, but it was an arrangement into which the younger generations entered only under compulsion.

We began this analysis of the sīm-pûà marriage in Hsiachichou by noting that most villagers take the view that children exist for the sake of their parents and the family rather than the family and the parents for the sake of the children. We are now in a position to offer some evidence for this statement. We have seen that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has several very real advantages for the senior generations of the family, and we have also seen that it is at best an unhappy fate for those who are forced to make such a marriage. Since we can safely assume that those parents who have made sīm-pûà marriages themselves are vividly aware of its difficulties, it is significant to note that they are no less likely to adopt sīm-pûà for their sons than are parents who did not make such a marriage. sīm-pûà marriages were planned for 12 (27 percent) of the 45 boys born to parents who had themselves made such a marriage, and for 40 (19 percent) of 208 boys born to parents who had married either matrilocally or in the preferred way. While it would be a mistake to conclude that village parents are unconcerned about the happiness of their children, it would be an even worse mistake to assume that they put the welfare of their children before that of the family.

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Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 11

THE DECISION TO ADOPT

During the past seventy years at least 20 women who married into Hsiachichou had the great misfortune to not bear male children. In 12 of these 20 cases the woman did not bear any children at all, and in the other 8 cases she bore only female children. There have also been a large number of women who married into village families and did not bear any male children until a number of years after their marriage. We can be certain that in every one of these cases the family in question would have liked to adopt a male child. The value of male children is so pervasive in the society that every family without sons will naturally be anxious about the fact, and the most obvious solution to the problem is to adopt a male child. It is also very likely that many of those families with only one male child would likewise have been happy to adopt a boy if the opportunity had been offered. Most people in the village consider it a risk to depend upon only a single son or grandson. One of our informants told us, "You have to have at least two or three sons. If you have only one son, and he isn't good to you, then what can you do? You should have several sons so that if one isn't good to you you can lean on the other."

But while the majority of village families would have been pleased at one time or another to be able to adopt a male child, the fact is that very few families ever have. We find in our genealogical

*597 records only 4 cases of male adoption in the years before 1930, and only
*562 4 more in the years after 1930. For reasons which we have discussed earlier, it is always difficult for a family to arrange to adopt a kha-páng-kiá:. Most families value their male children so highly that they are not willing to part with one of them simply because of the plight of a relative. There is no great compensation, and the loss is considerable. In the years before 1930 no family living in Hsiachichou adopted a male child from an agnate of another kʰe, and we know of
[432] only one case of such an adoption in the years since 1930. The family which wants to adopt a son must almost always buy the child from a stranger or a professional dealer, and this involves difficulties so serious as to discourage most families from undertaking an adoption.

*577 One of these difficulties is, of course, the very expense of buying
556 a male child. Many families cannot manage to accumulate the necessary
[435] six or seven thousand dollars, and those who can are usually unwilling to spend so much money on a gamble. If they could be certain that they were not going to bear male children of their own, a family would probably be willing to spend all they could possibly afford to obtain a son, but they cannot be certain and the price is very high. They therefore hesitate in the hope that they may eventually have children of their own. The importance of the consideration of the costs of buying a male child is apparent from the fact that it has only been the wealthiest families in the village which have adopted male children. Three of the 8 adoptions by families living in Hsiachichou were among those few families which own the majority of the village land and one other adoption was

[597] [536] made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pôa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

[597] [593] [602] Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachi-

[270] [689] chou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

*597 *593 and making their living by stealing." The boy himself told several villagers that he had to steal so that he would have money to buy food for his mother in prison. Whatever the reason for his activities, he was eventually arrested and briefly confined in a juvenile ward. When this news somehow reached his natal family which lives not far from Hsiachichou, the boy's father came to the village and angrily accused Ong Chun-ieng's mother of "not caring whether the child is in prison or not." He demanded that the family return the child to him "if they didn't care what happened to him," and Ong Chun-ieng's mother answered that "you just want him back now because he is old enough to work." After several such visits, each of which precipitated a bitter quarrel in the path before the house, the father did somehow manage to reclain the boy, and he lived with his natal family a number of months before finally returning to Hsiachichou. [685]

While it is difficult to estimate the frequency of such incidents they evidently occur often enough to make most people apprehensive about buying a male child. Those families who do make such adoptions always make every effort to conceal the fact of his adoption from the child himself, hoping in this way to prevent his becoming involved with his real parents. One village family who had bought a male child told us that for years they hid the boy's registration card from him, and another village family is said to have bribed the police to register the child as having been born into the family. People who want to sell a male child recognize these fears and try to counter them by traveling to an area of the island where they are not known so that they can

convince prospective customers that they need not worry about interference by the child's parents. Both of the dealers who visited Hsiachichou during our stay in the village stressed the fact that they were from another part of the island. As one of them told an interested villager, "You can see from the way I talk that I am not from this part of the island. I come from the South, and so you don't have to worry. I will never come back here again, and the child will never be able to find me."

As a result of the expense and the danger involved, most families do not buy a child until they have given up all hope of producing their own male children. Although we can safely assume that many families with only one son would have liked a second son, we do not find a single case of male adoption in Hsiachichou by a family with at least one male child. What is even more indicative of the general reluctance to buy male children is that families which do not have sons do not ordinarily buy a son if the wife has borne a daughter. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has good reason to believe that the woman will not bear more children. One family adopted a son when the wife became an invalid after the birth of her daughter, and another was persuaded to buy a child when their son deserted his wife after having fathered only a girl. When such special circumstances as these are not involved, the family in which the wife has borne at least one daughter will never adopt a child. The fact that she bore the one child apparently gives them hope that she will bear others and that one of them will be a son, and so they decide against the risk

*597 involved in paying a large sum of money for a child whose loyalty would always be a matter of concern.

The reluctance of most families to buy a male child is also evident in the fact that in 5 of the 8 cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou [842] the family had already adopted at least one female child. It is commonly believed in the village that the adoption of a female child will increase a woman's chances of bearing a male child, it being said that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." We might say that it is only when a family is convinced that they have exhausted both natural and supernatural means that they finally turn to buying a male child. In terms of their alternatives for insuring their future, the family is then in a position of having to adopt a son or arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. When faced with these alternatives some families which can afford to do so run the risk of buying a son, but never before. The only exceptions are those very few cases in which a family is able to adopt a son from an agnate, and the occasional unusual case such as the young man who received a son in adoption as payment for having allowed a sīm-pûa to marry out of the family.

*597 *562 198 The adoption of male children by families living in Hsiachichou is thus very rare. The adoption of female children, on the other hand, is surprisingly common. While only 4 (4 percent) of 112 boys born before 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou were adopted sons, we find that the girls raised in the village before 1930 included more adopted daughters than daughters. Of 113 girls born before 1930 and raised by families living in Hsiachichou 80 (71 percent) were adopted daughters. In more

*597 *562 178 recent years the rate of female adoption has dropped considerably, but it still remains much higher than the rate of male adoption. Among 144 boys born after 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou we find only 4 (3 percent) were adopted sons, while by comparison we find that of 160 village girls born during the same period of time 38 (24 percent) were adopted daughters.

*597 When asked why they had adopted female children village informants gave a variety of explanations. One village mother told us she had adopted one of her daughters simply because she was fond of the child, and as best we can judge this probably was her primary reason for the adoption. The woman was reputed to be particularly fond of children, and as she had been the child's wet nurse she had had a chance to become attached to her. In several other instances the reasons for adoption seem to have been loneliness and a fear of isolation on the part of elderly women. One woman told us that she had adopted a girl in her old age because all of her own children had grown up "and it was so quiet and dull around the house." We were also told that two families had adopted girls "in order to change the family's fortune" after several of their own children had died, it being generally believed that the adoption of a female child will somehow insure the good health of a family's later born children. But while these and a multitude of other considerations undoubtedly play a part in decisions about female adoption, the reports of the villagers and certain regularities in the timing of their decisions indicate that most adoptions are the result of one or more of three salient considerations.

*597 The first andmost important of these considerations we have already discussed in the last two chapters. In the early decades of this century many families adopted a female child as a means of obtaining a wife for one of their sons. By adopting a girl and raising her themselves they could save the expense of the preferred form of marriage, and in introducing the girl into the family at an early age they could often avoid the tensions characteristic of the family created by the more formal marriage. But while there can be no doubt that many adoptions were motivated by the advantages of this alternative to the preferred marriage, it is also clear that this was not the only important reason for adopting female children. Our genealogies include 44 cases of adoptions by families which did not as yet have any male children. Since most families will not consider the marriage of an adopted daughter with one of her younger brothers, these adoptions were obviously not undertaken because of the advantage of one form of marriage over the other. In one case a family did arrange the marriage of an older girl with a later born son, but in every other case a second daughter was adopted if the family wanted to raise a wife for a younger son.

*585 *597 [91] The most obvious reason for a childless family's adopting a female child is to use her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Any form of patrilocal marriage is always preferred to any form of matrilocal marriage, but descendants obtained through a matrilocal marriage are better than no descendants at all. A family which does not see much hope of bearing children of their own may therefore adopt a girl as the only means of perpetuating their line. They would usually prefer

*599 *583 to adopt a son, but this is often impossible because of the expense. If they are poor and cannot find an agnate willing to give them a boy, they must be satisfied with a daughter and the hope that they will be able to find a good man willing to marry into their family.

*597 842 When a woman has been married a number of years and not yet borne children and her husband's family then adopts a female child we can be fairly confident that the adoption was made with a matrilocal marriage in mind. But what if the woman has only been married two or three years at the time of the adoption? We find at least 19 women who adopted a female child within the first five years of marriage, and in 8 of these cases the women had been married less than two years. A matrilocal marriage is usually undertaken only as a last resort, and a couple who have been only recently married should not be ready to turn to last resorts. It is likely that they will bear children of their own, and if not they may still be able to arrange to adopt a son. In either case the adoption will not only have been pointless, but will also prove a costly loss to the family. They will then have to marry the adopted daughter out of the family, wasting both the cost of raising her and the expense of her marriage. That we find such a large number of adoptions by women married no more than a few years would seem to indicate that there is some other function which an adopted daughter may play.

Given the normal family cycle, a man's parents will usually be in their mid-forties by the time their sons,marry, a stage in life at which they will have begun to think of their grandchildren. It is the joy of every elderly person to have many grandchildren about him in his

declining years, and it is of the utmost importance for a person to see that he will have many sons and grandsons to take him to the mountain when he dies. If, then, the son's wife does not become pregnant within the first year or two of marriage, her husband's parents begin to fear that the girl is barren. Her failure to show signs of pregnancy at the earliest possible time is also inevitably noticed by the family's neighbors, and someone is certain to suggest that this is a punishment visited upon the family for some former misdeed. Such gossip naturally arouses the husband's parents, and further exacerbates their own worries about their daughter-in-law's fertility. The man's mother then begins to chide her daughter-in-law who is already anxious for her own reasons. The result is a state of tension which grows in intensity as the months pass. If it is true that anxiety about fertility serves to make conception less likely, as psychiatric studies have suggested, the chances of the daughter-in-law's bearing children decline as the tension and anxiety around her increase.

If after eighteen or twenty months the girl is still not showing the signs of pregnancy, the family will often consult a shaman or fortune teller. Human fertility is thought of in Hsiachichou in terms of an arboreal analogy. Every woman has a tree with a number of red and white blossoms, the white blossoms representing the number of female children she will bear, and the red the number of male children. Should a woman fail to conceive and bear children it is probably because the tree is dying, the buds withering before they can come to blossom. There can be various reasons for this. It may be that the tree is

842 unhealthy as a result of a lack of nourishment, or it may be that the
755 tree is being attacked by some kind of ghost. If these baneful in-
775 fluences can be counteracted, the tree will flourish and the woman will be fruitful. The remedy in the case of an unhealthy tree is usually to prescribe herbal medicines for the woman, while ghosts are more often dealt with by means of rituals intended to elicit the aid of a benevolent
842 supernatural. One thus finds that the young married woman spends a
755 great deal of time and money seeking the proper herb and the intervention of potent deities. In observing the activities of a local shaman over several months we noted that only physical illness outranked worries about fertility as a reason for a person's seeking his services.

*597 If a family tries these various herbal and ritual remedies and
755 their daughter-in-law still does not conceive, a shaman or fortune
842 teller may suggest that they adopt a daughter. As we have already mentioned, it is commonly believed that the adoption of a female child will stimulate a pregnancy. How the villagers rationalize this belief in terms of their own conceptions of physiology and fate we were never able to discover; they simply say that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." But whatever the rationalization, the belief is held with the greatest confidence. Even our more sophisticated informants agreed that the adoption of a female child will improve a woman's chances of bearing a male child. The reason for this confidence is not hard to see. Of a total of 27 village women who adopted their first child 19 (70 percent) did later bear children. One reason for these favorable

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results may be that the adoption serves to alleviate the anxiety which is partially responsible for the woman's failure to conceive. At least this has been suggested by several studies of adoption and fertility in this country. What is more likely in the case of Hsiachichou, however, is that most of these adoptions occurred before the woman had really tested her ability to conceive. Most village wives are strong healthy young women, and given time they conceive and bear children. While most adoptions do therefore lead to the eventual birth of a child, it is not always for the reason suggested by the shaman. Shamans and psychiatrists share the good fortune of practicing an art in which it is often difficult to separate the results of their good works from the effects of time and patience.

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It would thus seem reasonable to assume that many adoptions by childless families were motivated more by anxiety about barrenness than by the intent to arrange a matrilocal marriage. The importance of children in the society gives us reason to assume that any childless couple will be anxious about the fact, and this assumption is confirmed by the amount of money and time spent on ritual and medicinal cures for barrenness. Given then that one of the cures in which most villagers have the greatest confidence involves the adoption of a female child, it would seem reasonable to conclude that many adoptions by childless couples were undertaken in the hope of stimulating a pregnancy. Several village families told us that this was their primary reason for adopting a child, and the timing of the adoptions seems to indicate that similar motives were responsible in a number of other cases. While

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

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*597 to raise as a wife for one of their sons. The family with at least one
*592 female child and no sons, on the other hand, would not have any reason
182 to adopt a daughter. Their own daughter would be evidence of the wife's fertility as well as insurance against the possibility of her not bearing sons, and there would obviously be no reason for them to adopt a wife for sons which they do not as yet possess.

*597 When we test these hypotheses by comparing families of varying com-
*562 position in terms of the relative number of girls born and girls adopted,
178 the results provide a surprisingly good confirmation of our argument. In the period before 1930 when all three of these motives were still operating we find strikingly different rates of adoption among the three types of families. Of a total of 46 female children who were either born into or adopted into village families without children 26 (57 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 74 girls who entered village families with at least one male child 35 (49 percent) came by way of adoption. By contrast with these very high rates of adoption we find the expected low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no male children. Of 16 girls born or adopted into families of this type only 2 (12 percent) were adopted.

*[584] It would thus seem that most adoptions during this period were made either as a means of bringing a male into the family or as a means of obtaining a wife for a son.

The picture in the years after 1930 is somewhat different. We still find a very high rate of adoption by childless families, and a low rate of adoption by families with female but no male children. Of

#597 #562 178 48 girls entering childless families 18 (38 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 27 girls entering families with female children but as yet no sons 2 (7 percent) came by way of adoption. The difference is that we now find a relatively low rate of adoption among families with male children. Of a total of 103 girls entering families with at least one male child 12 (12 percent) entered by way of adoption, and 8 of # [584] these were girls who were adopted before 1940. Adoptions by families with male children were almost always for the purpose of obtaining a wife for one of their sons, and such adoptions became pointless once it was apparent that very few of them would culminate in a marriage. The rate of adoption among childless families remains high because while there is no point in adopting a girl to raise as a daughter-in-law, it is as important as ever for families to have sons and to make some other provision for the perpetuation of the family if they do not.

#597 842 Whether or not a family adopts their first child depends primarily on how long it is after marriage that the wife becomes pregnant. The sooner she demonstrates her fertility, the less likely the family is to adopt a daughter. There is, however, one other variable. A family is somewhat more likely to adopt a daughter for the wife of a first born son than for the wife of a later-born son. Whereas we find among 54 first born sons 16 (30 percent) whose first child is an adopted daughter, we find only 6 (17 percent) adopted daughters among the eldest children of 36 later born sons. The reason is simply that the husband's parents are more concerned about a daughter-in-law's fertility before they have grandchildren than after they have grandchildren.

They therefore begin to press the wife of a first born son to adopt a daughter much sooner than they do in the case of the wife of a later born son.

We have now seen some of the considerations which may cause a family to give away its own children in adoption, and we have also isolated some of the factors which may influence a family to adopt a child. Before turning to our next topic it is worthwhile to pause for a moment to consider the total effect of these considerations upon the flow of male and female children between families. As a consequence of the preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage, males are highly valued and have a universal utility. It is important for a family to have male children to inherit their property and perpetuate their line, and a male child may play this role in either his natal family or in a foster family. The result is a great demand for male children and at the same time a low rate of male adoption. Many families which do not have sons of their own would like to adopt a male child, but the high value placed upon male children makes this difficult. Relatives are unwilling to surrender their own heirs and descendants and those who are willing to sell male children can ask a price which many families cannot afford. The situation of the male child is thus very much like that of a scarce commodity in a market economy. Insofar as males do change hands, they pass from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, but most people do not participate in the exchange at all. The great majority of those who want male children cannot afford to buy them, and most of those who have male children are unwilling to sell them.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

*597 *562 858 182 Because of the incest tomboo and the preference for patriliny, the situation is very different in the case of female children. While male children have a universal value, the value of a female child varies with her situation. She is usually of little value to the family into which she is born, but she may be of considerable value to a family which adopts her. To her natal family she is "something to lose money on," but to a potential foster family she is the means of achieving the goal of genealogical continuity. The result is that while there is a one way flow of male children from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, there is a generalized exchange of female children. Families who have female children gladly give them away in adoption, and at the same time they are glad to adopt female children from other families. Most families participate in the system as both givers and takers because they have no use for their own girls and do have uses for the girls of others. The only exceptions result from the possibilities created by the institution of matrilocal marriage. When a family has no sons this institution allows them to substitute a daughter for a son, and as a result they do not give away their own daughters or adopt daughters from others. The possibility of a matrilocal marriage makes some female children the equivalent of male children and thereby precludes their entrance into the system of exchange.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER 12

MATRILOCAL MARRIAGE

#591 #592 Most decisions about adoption are made during the extended phase of the normal family cycle. When sons marry they remain living with their parents and their married brothers, and it is during the next few years that most of their children are born and their fates decided. It is also during these years that the family is most likely to adopt a daughter to raise as a wife for one of their male children or as a means of bringing a son into the family. During the following stem phase of the family cycle, the membership of most households remains stable. Most of the family's children are too old to be given in adoption and too young yet to marry. The next period of crucial decisions is not usually reached until the death of the grandparents has reduced the household to a nuclear family. The children are then old enough to marry, and decisions must be made as to how they are going to marry. Marriages may be arranged which add to the family roster, or the young people may be married out of the family to become members of other households. Having already seen something of decisions which families make about adoption during the early phase of the cycle, our next task will be to consider decisions about the marriages of a family's young adult members.

581 A few men and women born in the village of Hsiachichou never marry, but this is usually the result of unforeseen circumstances rather than a family decision.

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family decision. The decisions which concern most families are how their children are to marry, not whether or not they should marry. Decisions about the sīn-pûa form of marriage must be made early in the family cycle, and so the alternatives at this point are the preferred form of marriage and some form of matrilocal marriage. A daughter may be married out of the family in the preferred way, or she may be used to bring a son-in-law into the family by means of a matrilocal marriage. A son may either be retained as a member of his natal family by means of the preferred marriage, or he may be allowed to marry out of the family to become a member of his wife's household. Since the decisions which many families make about the marriages of their daughters depend in large part upon the availability of men willing to make matrilocal marriages, we will begin our analysis with a discussion of some of the considerations which make men more or less willing to marry into a woman's family.

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As is the case in China generally, Hokkien men are usually reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage. According to an informant who had himself married matrilocally, one reason is that "no one ever respects a man who marries into his wife's family." Since a man's primary duty to his parents is to provide them with descendants and to support them in their old age, the man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often accused of being unfilial. Also, there is the widespread assumption that a man who makes such a marriage must be poor. A matrilocal marriage is one way in which a poor man can obtain a wife without paying a bride price, and so it is easily said of any man who makes such a marriage

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [864] man. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the person who told him'spits blood to death'."

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3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

*583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. *583 591 606 678 Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had [702] been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

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Aside from these various considerations which might make any man reluctant to marry matrilocally, there is also the unwillingness of most parents to see a son marry out of the family. All of the same reasons which make it important for a family to have male children make it equally important that these sons remain in the family. As a result, men who make matrilocal marriages are often men who are not bound by any family claims. The situation of a young villager by the name of Lin Liong-hong is perhaps a good example of the kinds of circumstances which may lead to a man's making a matrilocal marriage. Born as the illegitimate child of an adopted daughter who became a prostitute when her foster parents were unable to arrange a marriage for her, Lin Liong-hong was left for his mother's foster parents to raise when she married and moved to southern Taiwan. Since his foster grandparents had sons and grandsons of their own, they took little interest in Lin Liong-hong, allowing him to govern the course of his own life from the time he graduated from primary school. When we knew him he was living part of the time with his foster grandparents in Hsiachichou, and part of the time with a maternal relative in Panchiao where he was working in a paper mill. According to his grandmother, this family has only one child, an adopted daughter, and "so they treat him very well because they would like to have him marry into the family." She thinks this would be a good thing, and whenever Lin Liong-hong returns to the village she urges him to go back to Panchiao. "I tell him that if he stays there a while maybe he will get used to that girl, and after a

583 583 591 while they may like one another and get married. He has no father and really no mother either, and so he doesn't have to worry about burning incense for anyone."

Similar circumstances are evident in a number of cases of matrilocal marriages recorded in our genealogies. In one instance the man was an illegitimate child whose mother later married and bore several more children. Since the boy had been given his mother's maiden name, her marriage left him without any family responsibilities. In another case the man's father died when he was still a child, and his mother remarried, leaving the boy to be raised by his father's older brother. The father's older brother already had sons of his own, and so again the boy did not really have a family identity. A third case involved an illegitimate child whose mother died and whose father already had several sons by his wife. The boy's father's family raised him, but did not take an interest in his marriage because he did not bear their surname. One man who married into a family living in Hsiachichou was a traveling fortune teller who apparently did not have any family or home; another was the elderly goldsmith we have already mentioned who was also without a family; and in several other cases men who married into the village were mainlanders without families on Taiwan. We also know of two cases of matrilocal marriages by men who were the only surviving members of their family, and in one other case the man's only close relative was a sim-sia whom he preferred not to marry. Although we do not know the background of all of the men in our genealogies who made matrilocal marriages, it would appear that at least half of them were men who had no family ties at the time of their marriage.

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*593 Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matri-
591 locally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male
556 children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sim-pûa who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally de-
[715] ranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be
[716] saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

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591 Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 102 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lin Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

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581 When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

000 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
562 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
593 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
591 likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her
[464] a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

#562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

feed herself, but a man can always manage to earn at least enough to eat." The woman who cannot get along with her husband's parents has no alternative but "to swallow her anger," but the man who is at odds with his wife's parents can rely upon his own resources. Depending upon his age and his profession, this may be more or less of a hardship, but it is never the hardship that it would be for a woman who left her husband's family.

We have already seen that the in-law relationship created by the preferred patrilocal marriage is typically one of tension and hostility. Because of a common interest in the man who is the husband of the one and son of the other, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law often become involved in a bitter struggle. What saves the family from being torn asunder by this conflict are the strong ties which bind a son to his parents. Nothing could be clearer than the precept that a man must place his parents' welfare before the interests of his wife. "A man's parents are like his arms and legs; his wife is like his shirt and pants." Although a man may occasionally sympathize with his wife's quarrel with his mother, he would never abandon his parents for the sake of his wife. If she would sever ties with the family she must do it alone, and it is therefore virtually impossible for her to do it at all. The strength of the relationship between parent and child thus serves to balance the potentially disastrous tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The situation is again very different in the case of the matrilocal marriage. Here also one finds that a great deal of tension is generated

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*593 by the entrance of an outsider into the family circle, but this tension
606 is not effectively counteracted by the strength of the parent-child
591 relationship. The matrilocal marriage does not create a structure which is a simple inverse of the structure resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The dyadic relationships of the Chinese family are defined in terms of a patrilocal family, so that even when a woman marries matrilocally her husband takes precedence over her parents. As a result, the crucial parent-child relationship is much weaker in a matrilocal marriage than in a patrilocal marriage. While a son would be severely criticized for siding with his wife against his parents, a woman who has married matrilocally may be criticized for siding with her parents. We heard several caustic remarks about a woman who was apparently in the habit of taking her parents' side in their quarrels with her husband. For example,

> "That woman! She already has two children, but she still sides with her father when he and her husband get into an argument. Where else could one find a woman like that? He married into her family, and so her father and mother are always saying things to him, but she always takes her parent's side. It is as though she were just married, and she already has two children.

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*597 The matrilocal marriage is also weakened by personal tensions be-
*593 tween the parents and their daughter. Since most families who arrange
591 a matrilocal marriage do so because the wife is barren and has borne
606 no sons, the great majority of women who make such a marriage are adopted daughters. Of 26 women for whom a matrilocal marriage was arranged 20 (77 percent) were adopted daughters. While these women are generally obedient in their relations with their parents, they are nonetheless not as loyal to the family as a son or a daughter. They know that they

583 591 593 591 606 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents, but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die.'" He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

583 591 606 581 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brittle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

*583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

*583 591 588 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less

*583 591 581 stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steel" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

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tive merits of the various forms of marriage, we were told, "You can never tell what will happen when a man marries into your family. He may be a good man like Tan Han-cu's son, or he may be a man who is always gambling and running around. Maybe he will work hard for your family, but maybe he will run away with your daughter. You can't depend on it."

We therefore find that it is only when they have no other way of obtaining sons that parents will attempt to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. Of 26 village girls for whom matrilocal marriages were arranged 16 (62 percent) were daughters whose parents did not have any sons. Their sons had either died before reaching marriageable age, or they had the misfortune of never bearing any male children. In 8 of those 10 cases in which a family did have sons and still arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, the sons were much younger than the daughter. By the time a man's eldest children reach marriageable age, he himself will be approaching an age at which he will no longer be able to support his family. If these older children are girls, he may be forced to bring a son-in-law in to support the family until his own sons are old enough to assume this responsibility. We can therefore say that so long as a family has a son of marriageable age they will almost never arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. The only two exceptions in our genealogies were cases in which the daughter herself initiated the marriage. In one case the marriage was a "love match" in which the man was escaping a marriage with a sîm-pûa, and in the other case the daughter was a prostitute who married a man she met

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"at work." The husband himself claims that he did not marry his wife's family even though he is living with her parents in Hsiachichou, but this is probably not true as one of their three children carries his wife's surname.

The matrilocal marriage might therefore be characterized as a last resort. So long as a family has sons who are old enough to marry they allow their daughters to marry in the preferred way, but when they have no sons of marriageable age they have no choice but to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. While this is a step that is always taken with reluctance, it is important to note that it is also taken with determination. Simply because this is their last resort, parents will not brook any resistance on the part of their daughter. So far as they are concerned the family's future and their own security in old age are at stake, and they are therefore willing to apply whatever pressure is necessary to make a daughter acquiesce. Occasionally it happens that no pressure is necessary. In one happy case a girl whose parents had no sons had the good fortune to be attracted to (and attractive to) a young man who did not have a family of his own. She was happy to marry this particular man under any circumstances, and her parents were delighted to find a man willing to marry into their family. When we asked her if her parents had approved of her choosing her own husband, she answered, smiling, "It isn't easy to find a man willing to marry into his wife's family." More commonly, however, this is not the case. As a result of the stereotype of "the kind of man who would

*583 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to
591 matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will
581 never make a good husband."

*584 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage,
591 the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of
581 marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage,
less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter
*562 comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist paren-
*584 tal pressure because of their potential economic independence, but
[464] daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is there-
[463] fore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

*562 *584 herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

*583 591 581 The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sīm-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

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583 591 681 178 593 597 58 181 ter 1910 a total of 17 (17 percent) made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

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CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and
183 early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their
58 family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however,
it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that
[548] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number
of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal
pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes.
Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from
that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far
largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption.
To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the
conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women
never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as
prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people
make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children,
and what are some of the considerations which enter into their deci-
sions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution
upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced
to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the
normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried
constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt
to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

000 to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

589 Of a total of 116 men who grew up as members of Hsiachichou families 8 (7 percent) passed their thirtieth birthday without marrying. Four of these men were either very old or had already died at the time of our study, and four were younger men who might still marry. Two of the younger men were brothers whose parents died when they were quite young. Their father's older brother raised them, but he and his wife also died before the boys were old enough to marry. The oldest boy, according to his neighbors, was sickly as a child, and so "his mother was too good to him and gave him too much tonic and too many good things to eat. That's why he is this way now." "This way" apparently refers to his frequent ill health and his general lack of energy. Although already 34 years old in 1960, he had never looked for work outside the village, spending most of his time helping his brother-in-law who tills the family's small truck garden. The judgment of most of the neighbors is that this man will never marry, but his younger brother probably will. Energetic and hard working, he began to work in the coal mines before he was twenty years old, and had it not been for bad luck would probably not be on our list at all. While working in a mine near Keelung he was engaged to a young woman living in a nearby village, and would have married her had she not run away with another man while he was in the army. Although this caused him a certain amount of embarrassment, it apparently has not discouraged him, for we heard just before we left the village that he was looking for another wife.

539 The four younger men in our genealogies who did not marry all share one characteristic. They are either the offspring of women who never married, or they are men whose fathers died before they reached marriageable age. While we are not sure that this should be labelled the cause of their not marrying, it is undoubtedly an important contributing factor. In none of these cases had the parents adopted a sim-pûa, and so a marriage meant the preferred form of marriage, an expense which a family without an adult male might find difficult to manage. This was suggested to us by a mother who said that she would arrange a marriage for her son if she had the money, "but I don't and so he will just have to make his own life. If he wanted to find a wife he would, but he doesn't so he will just have to make his own way." Her apparent lack of concern is probably due to the fact that she has two other sons who are married. So long as a family has one or two married sons with children they are not as concerned about the marriage of a second or third son, although they would naturally prefer to see him marry. The reason for the unmarried state of one young man may be that when his married brother became ill and lost his job the family could not afford to assume the additional burden of a second daughter-in-law and more children. During the two years we lived in the village they were almost entirely dependent upon the wages the unmarried son earned as a coal miner.

The cases of the four older men who failed to marry involved a variety of circumstances. One is the case we have already mentioned of a man by the name of Ong Hong-chi who obtained an adopted son in

return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black-faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

and never came back." On the other hand, we heard from several of the family's neighbors that Tan A-giok worked as a prostitute when she was young, and that "they just said that they were married when that man came to live here." Which of these two stories is the best account we cannot say, and it may be that both of them are true. There were several other cases in the village in which prostitution ripened into a matrilocal marriage, and it is quite possible that Tan A-giok later married this man even though this was not his original reason for coming to live with her. The case of a woman by the name of Ong Cui-kim is even more difficult because it involves a disagreement among the villagers themselves as to what constitutes a marriage. Some [585] feel that Ong Ciu-kim was married because her mother accepted a bride price and because she lived with the man, while others argue that the ceremony was never completed and that "they just lived together." What happened was best described to us by a neighbor:

> "Ong Cui-kim used to live with a man who still lives in Wanhua. They met each other there because she used to work there. Her three children are all his. He told me all about it. He said he used to like another girl from this village, and once in the factory he whistled to attract her attention, but Ong Cui-kim turned around instead. That was the beginning of their friendship. He was going to marry her, and he even bought all of the engagement cakes. Ong Cui-kim was pregnant by then, and her mother only asked for NT$1200 for the bride price. The problem was that Ong Cui-kim was adopted to marry her foster brother and was still registered with the police as his wife. Someone told him that he could get some money too if she married, and so the night before the engagement he went and asked the boy to give him NT$1200 also. The next day when the boy came with the engagement cakes he demanded the money. The boy was angry and refused. He just sold all the cakes right here in the village and very cheaply. Everyone had a good time!

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 [732] Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
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589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

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589 Ng Cng-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Cng-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Cng-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Cng-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Cng-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Cng-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."

[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Cng-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

595 589 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs, and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I' [737] just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age."

548 589 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents' desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

*584 *597 589 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a

584 597 589 number of male children, she was given away in adoption as a child, but later returned to her natal family. Some of the villagers say that she returned because the boy she was adopted to marry died, and others think that it was because her prospective mother-in-law didn't like her. Whatever the reason, her natal family accepted her return with reluctance, and apparently did not feel any responsibility for arranging her marriage. With three sons to provide wives for, they probably had little money to spare for a dowry, this being the reason they gave 548 the girl away in the first place. Ong Ti-sai went to work as a prostitute when she was quite young, and has been following this profession all of her life. Although fifty-three years old in 1960, she was still entertaining soldiers in her house. It is interesting to note that while Ong Ti-sai was only one of a number of prostitutes living in the village at this time she was the only one of whom most of the village was critical. The main reason seemed to be that she practiced her profession in the village. Most women who are prostitutes do not make any particular effort to conceal the fact, but they almost always avoid professional activities while in the village, particularly with local men. We once overheard a mother warning her daughter not to become involved with a village man who seemed attracted by her.

> "We are just living here temporarily, so we cannot go around as we please. We have to be good friends with all of the people here. This man has a home and children, and so he cannot afford to run around. Don't pay any attention to whether he has money or not. We can only be his friends. We cannot break up his home. You have to remember that we cannot damage people's relations with other people in the place where we live."

548 Aside from those cases of unmarried women who have worked as prostitutes, our genealogies also include 10 cases of women who have married and who have also been prostitutes at one time or another. In 8 of these 10 cases the women were prostitutes before they married, and in 2 cases married women turned to prostitution when their marriages 591 failed. Those who married after their work in brothels included three women who married into their husband's family, 4 who married matrilocally, and one case in which the status of the marriage is somewhat ambiguous. This last case is interesting because it reveals the villagers' assumptions about the conditions which result in a matri- 593 local marriage. After having worked for a number of years in Taipei 591 hotels, a woman by the name of Pe A-hong met and married a wealthy Cantonese businessman. By the time of her marriage Pe A-hong had already borne one female child and adopted another. She later bore her husband two sons and a daughter. Since she was the only child of her parents and an adopted daughter at that, Pe A-hong's mother apparently insisted that she could marry only if her husband was willing to accept financial responsibility for his wife's family. As a result, the family which settled in Hsiachichou consisted of Pe A-hong and her husband, her mother, the two daughters who bore her maiden name, and the three younger children who had all taken their father's name. Pe A-hong's mother now tells her neighbors that her daughter's husband married into her family, and with any other family the facts are such that this would be accepted without question. The man lives with his wife's parents; he has agreed to take financial responsibility

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sim-pûa for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

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548 more to her liking than the one she avoided by marrying out, however,
[586] and after only a year or two "she decided that she didn't like her husband and left." It was at this point that Lim Li-kui became a prostitute, evidently unable to find any other way to support herself. We heard from several people that she made a second transient marriage, although this may have been nothing more than a particularly faithful customer. All we know for a fact is that she bore a number of children, and that she adopted at least one daughter. It is curious that even though Lim Li-kui has been a member of at least four families during her life, it is always to her first foster family that she returns when she is in need of help. One of the women of the Ong family told us that she returned to Hsiachichou "whenever she had a fight with a man she was living with," and we know from various reports that the eldest of her two surviving daughters was largely raised by the Ong family.

548 Beyond those cases we have already mentioned, there were also 6 younger women in Hsiachichou who had worked or were still working as prostitutes. The total number of prostitutes in our genealogies is thus surprisingly large. Of 131 women of twenty years of age or more who spent the majority of their childhood as members of families living in Hsiachichou at least 25 (19 percent) have worked for some period of time as prostitutes. Moreover, in 1960 there were at least three girls of less than twenty years who were then employed as "dark room girls," to use the village euphemism. The conditions which predict a woman's becoming a prostitute become apparent when we look at their family

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548 status. Nowhere in our genealogies do we find a prostitute who had
*593 an older brother and who grew up in her natal home. Twenty (71 per-
*562 cent) of the 28 prostitutes were adopted daughters, and 23 (82 percent)
*[597] did not have older brothers. Every one of the 28 prostitutes in Hsia-
chichou was either an adopted daughter or a daughter who had no older
brother. The reasons for this are simple, although somewhat difficult
to state concisely. A woman may become a prostitute for one of two
reasons: either her family must depend on her for a substantial part
of their income, or she must support herself independent of a family.
Since it is ordinarily only when a family does not have adult sons
that they need to depend upon a daughter, girls who become prostiutes
*[583] for the first reason seldom have older brothers. Although we shall
note some exceptions later, these are usually girls for whom their
parents have attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage and failed.
*[597] Aside from their not having older brothers, girls in this situation are
also usually adopted daughters. The family which does not have adult
sons is likely to be a family in which the wife is barren or one in
which she has only borne male children later in life, and in either
case the family is more likely to have adopted daughters than natural
*[584] born daughters. Girls who become prostitutes for the second reason
are less common, and are almost all sīm-pûà who have left their
foster families in order to avoid marrying a foster brother. While
they do therefore always have brothers, they are also always adopted
daughters.

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Ong Mong-chi did not have to marry because he had the son given to him by his foster sister as a forfeit for marrying out of the family. His is an exceptional case, however. For most people remaining unmarried creates a very real problem. They must somehow provide for their old age and for their security in the next world. For men the most common solution is to attach themselves to a married brother's family, contributing their income to the support of their nieces and nephews. These children are then obliged to their father's brother in much the same way as they are to their father and will support him in his old age. This is the situation of the three unmarried elderly men who had no children, and, if they do not marry, the four younger men we have discussed will probably follow the same pattern. When we knew them in 1960 they were each included in the kê of a married sibling and contributed a large share of their income to that kê. The afterlife of these men is usually provided for by giving them a brother's child in nominal adoption. This child is then under ritual obligation to his foster father, and is expected to designate one of his own descendants to carry on the truncated line. If an unmarried man's brothers cannot spare a male child, he may be given a girl, in which case the girl is in the same position as any other only child and must make a matrilocal marriage that will allow her to fulfill her obligations to her foster father. This is what happened in the case of the man who did not marry because of a mental handicap. Unfortunately, the girl's husband later deserted her, and she was forced into prostitution in order to support herself and her children.

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*593 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different.
*562 Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would
*597 seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she
589 fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind
769 of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply
that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as
[604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in
which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or
a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child
was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The
woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world
and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually
adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their
future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent)
adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more
children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who
bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter.
The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both
young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their
future they must do one or the other.

548 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally
*597 true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes.
Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore
very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able
to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

#597 548 husbands. Our genealogies include 24 women who by 1960 had worked as prostitutes for at least three years and about whom we have adequate information. Of these 24 women 12 (50 percent) had adopted their first child, and 14 (58 percent) of the 24 adopted at least one girl before bearing a male child. The importance of female children to women who become prostitutes can best be demonstrated by comparing the number of girls they adopt with the number they give away in adoption. Married women give away as many female children as they adopt, but prostitutes tend to hoard female children. Although between them they had borne a total of 23 female children, these 24 women gave only three of their girls in adoption, and at the same time adopted a total of 18 more female children. They adopted five times as many girls as they gave away, collecting a total of 38 female children. Their motive for adopting these girls is suggested by the fact that 6 of the village women who became prostitutes were the adopted daughters of women who were themselves prostitutes.

#597 582 548 The circumstances which lead these women to adopt a daughter can be illustrated by the case of Lim A-sui, daughter of Lim Li-kui. After working as a prostitute for a number of years in Tainan, Lim Li-kui sent her eldest daughter to work in one of the city's best known brothels. Lim A-sui was then sixteen years old. A slim attractive girl, she caught the attention of the son of a wealthy Tainan family who wanted to marry her. The boy feared that his father would discover his prospective fiancee's occupation, and moved her and her family back to Hsiachichou where they lived for a time with Lim Li-kui's first foster

family. During the first nine months Lim A-sui's friend made several visits to the village and each month sent a substantial allowance, but after a while the boy admitted that it was going to be difficult for them to marry. He said that his father would not allow him to marry until his older brother married, which may very well have been true since such an order of marriage is desirable among respectable families. Lim A-sui was under considerable pressure from her mother at the time to return to work, the boy friend's allowance not stretching far enough to cover her gambling debts. Discouraged about her prospects for a normal future, and after a particularly violent quarrel with her mother, Lim A-sui disappeared, telling some of the neighbors she was going to commit suicide. Fortunately, she phoned her boy friend who was able to dissuade her by renewing his promise of marriage. When after several months his visits became sporadic and her mother's demands more adamant, Lim A-sui finally decided that she would never be able to marry and adopted a daughter. For her, it was an act of resignation, an admission that she would have to provide her own support when she was too old to work. As one of the village women explained in discussing the adoption, "What else could she do? That kind of woman has to have someone who will take care of her later."

Occasionally, a young woman whose parents do not have any adult sons "to lean on" will voluntarily become a prostitute. At least one such case developed while we were in Hsiachichou when a young woman who had five younger siblings took a job in an army brothel after her father, a coolie, broke his leg. Although at first we were skeptical

*593 548 about just how voluntary her actions were, even the most malicious of the village gossips agreed that it had been the girl's own idea, some of them even praising her for being so filial. More commonly, however, a girl is both reluctant and frightened at such a prospect, and the parents have to use no small amount of coercion. We know of one case +593 548 789 in which the parents resorted to magical techniques to get a particularly intransigent daughter to agree to their plans. Unfortunately, from their point of view, the girl discovered that the parents were "doing something," and so the magic did not work, the discovery itself being enough to counteract its effects. As the girl explained a few days later, "The day after I ate those things I began to menstruate +593 548 626 and then I knew that something was wrong." More often, however, the means employed are nothing more exotic than extreme social pressure. The girl is reminded of her obligations to her parents for raising her; she is made to feel responsible for the family's low standard of living; and, if necessary, she may be threatened with expulsion from the kê. The following account by a neighbor of the family reveals something of the pressures brought to bear on two sisters whose parents were determined that they "do something to help the family."

> "When that girl was fourteen years old her father made her go to work as a prostitute. He didn't like to work himself, and his wife worked very hard to make a living by raising a few vegetables and gathering rocks for a construction company. He made the oldest girl go to work as a prostitute because the family was large and very poor, and because the sons were all too young to work. For a while she cried every time she returned home. Later she gained a reputation as the most beautiful (the 'reddest') girl in the Peitou hotel. During this time the family lived very well, with new clothes and lots of good food to eat. Because one

*593 549 626 girl made so much money the mother decided to send the family's adopted daughter to do the same work. She did not want to, go, but when she refused the family was very angry and wouldn't talk to her. Finally the older sister said, 'I'm a real daughter of this family, and I went to work. You are only an adopted daughter, so why can't you come to work?' The mother later told everyone that the girl wanted to go to work when she saw how much money her sister could make, but we all knew that this wasn't true. That second girl now has an illegitimate child, but she never has been able to make very much money. After a while the older girl found a man who wanted to marry her, but her mother was a very stupid selfish woman and wouldn't let her do it. Now she is poor and unhappy, and it is all her own fault. After the older girl bore her first child she began to lose her looks and earned less and less money every year. She had a child every year after that until now she has four children. She moved away from the Peitou hotels after her first child was born because she was embarrassed about how she had changed. That old lady is very poor now because of her selfishness."

*593 548 578 Because their parents have forced them to abandon any hope of a normal life, most girls who are prostitutes have a very different relationship with their parents than do other daughters. While it would be rare for most daughters to criticize their parents let alone quarrel with them, open quarrels are not uncommon in families in which a daughter has become a prostitute at her parents' insistence. When the mother of the history quoted above finally relented and told her oldest daughter that she could marry, the girl is reported to have replied, "No, I'll just go on working. Then when I'm too ugly, you can work and support me." We also heard from several people that these two girls treated their mother "more like a servant than their mother," and on at least two occasions the mother threatened to commit suicide because of her daughters' treatment. The case we knew best, however, is that of Lim Li-hui and her daughter, Lim A-sui, as we lived in the

593 548 578 593 548 578 525

home of Lim Li-kui's foster family. Violent quarrels between the two women were the rule rather than the exception, and while Lim Li-kui was often at fault her daughter's responses would not have been tolerated in another family. Once when the daughter found that her mother had lost more than seven dollars in two days' gambling she insisted that her mother give her the remainder of the family's money for safe keeping. Always a sharp tempered woman, Lim Li-kui answered,

"This is my money! Why should I give it to you? I know I gamble, but what about you? Don't you gamble too?"

Lim A-sui: "All right! I'm not going to argue with you. I just have to say something so that people won't think it's all my fault."

Lim Li-kui: "Don't be so shameless! You are always telling people that I lost a lot of money gambling and then sold your clothes to pay my debts. You know how much money I got from you. You don't give me all of the money you make. Aren't you ashamed to say these things?"

Lim A-sui: "There is nothing I can do. You like to gamble so much that I don't dare give you all of the money."

Lim Li-kui: "You are right! I gamble too much! What can you do about it? And what about you? When you were working in Tainan you lost all of the money you made, and so I had to come to the place where you were working and tell you not to gamble anymore. You said you didn't care. You said you could just go with one of the guests there anytime. You didn't have to worry about money. Remember? You said you didn't have to worry about saving money, and you told me that there were lots of women working there older than me! I'm old now, and so I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you say all of these things I can tell you who people are going to laugh at."

Lim A-sui: "The way you talk you make it sound as though I liked to work in that place. But why was it that you wouldn't let me come home when I wanted to quit?"

*593 548 578 Another argument on the same subject a few days later ended with Lim Li-kui threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Lim A-sui simply stood her ground and encouraged her mother, "Kill me! I don't care! Kill me!"

* 593 548 208 In most cases in which a daughter dares to quarrel openly with one of her parents, public opinion will be quick to condemn her, but if the girl is a prostitute the tendency is to side with the daughter against her parents. Most village gossips discussing current quarrels between prostitutes and their parents label the parents "selfish" and deserving of whatever ill fortune their fate might bring them. The attitude of the villagers seems to be that while a parent has the right to command a daughter to work as a prostitute they cannot expect the daughter to pay them the respect ordinarily due a parent. It is as though the debt a child owes to her parents is entirely repaid when she submits to such a demand.

*593 *562 548 Prostitution is one way in which a family can use their daughters to obtain heirs and support for their old age, and it is the only way in which a woman who does not marry can provide for herself and her future. Prostitution might therefore be characterized as an alternative to marriage, but it is always an undesirable alternative. For [558] the prostitute it means anything but a normal life, and for her family there is always some loss of face. Worse yet, for the parents there is always the danger that they are sacrificing as much as they are gaining. In sending a daughter to work they may be able to manage without a marriage in the next generation, but this is accomplished only

593 at the price of their daughter's loyalty and respect. As a result, most families exhaust all other possibilities before finally committing a daughter to prostitution. Unfortunately, many families find themselves in a position in which there is no alternative. If they do not have a son of marriageable age, and if they cannot find a man who is willing to marry into the family, they have little choice but to avail themselves of this last possibility for security. As those women who are themselves prostitutes recognize when they adopt daughters to inherit their profession, there is no other way in which a single woman can make any substantial contribution to the welfare of her family.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

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The most important goals in the lives of the people of Hsiachichou set certain requirements for the membership of the family. A man must have descendants to support him in his old age and carry on the family rites after his death. To this end he must somehow obtain children and then see that these children marry and perpetuate his line. The various rules governing the transfer of persons between families offer him alternative ways of achieving these ends. [181] If his wife does not bear him sons, he can either adopt a male child from an agnate or purchase a child, or, if the necessity arises, he can use one of his daughters to bring a son-in-law into the family through a matrilocal marriage. Wives for a man's sons can be adopted as children or brought into the family by means of the preferred form of marriage, and unwanted daughters can be given away as children or allowed to marry out of the family as young adults. By offering alternative ways of achieving important goals the various forms of marriage and adoption create for every family a number of recurring decisions about its membership. We have attempted here to describe the decisions which produced the recent genealogical history of Hsiachichou and also to discover what some of the factors were which made any given choice more or less likely.

One of the most important observations which we might make about these decisions is that they are regular. Rather than being the products of an infinity of conditions reflecting the individuality of each family,

121 591 592 593 182 they seem to vary with a limited number of considerations common to all families. Knowing nothing more than the structure and composition of the family at the time a decision is made, we can predict with considerable confidence the likelihood of their choosing one alternative rather than another. We can say that families with female children and no male children are much less likely to adopt a female child than childless families and families with male children, and we can say that a female child who is born into a family with both male and female children is much more likely to be given away than a girl born into a family with only female children or only male children. The people of Hsiachichou apparently perceive their alternatives in much the same terms and are motivated by common considerations. Only rarely do idiosyncratic judgments occur. We are confident that with more accurate data and more sensitive measures of some variables we would be able to make a limited number of statements which would summarize the great majority of decisions about marriage and adoption made in Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years.

Such regularity might be expected if these decisions were made in accordance with prefabricated cultural solutions, but this does not seem to be the case. We are not dealing with obedient responses to cultural norms, but rather with a process which is both conscious and calculated. The villager who decides to adopt a girl to raise as his son's wife does not choose this alternative because this is what his culture tells him to do. He calculates the advantages and disadvantages of the preferred form of marriage, weighs these against the good and

bad points of the sim-pôa form of marriage, and then makes his decision in terms of his own reckoning. His culture sets for him some of his goals and limits his means of achieving these goals, but he decides between the available means as a free agent, depending for his guidance upon his own judgment and his own grasp of the facts. Our problem here has not been to discover why certain cultural solutions have been formulated and why most people accept these solutions; our task has rather been one of why individual village families select one line of action as more advantageous than another.

An important consideration which enters into any decision about marriage and adoption is the relative cost of the alternatives. We have seen that one of the reasons a poor family is more likely to adopt a sim-pôa for a son is because it is the cheaper way of obtaining a daughter-in-law, and we have also seen that the costs of raising a child is one of the most common reasons for giving away female children in adoption. Why should this be so? Why should the economic consequences of any choice play such an important role in these decisions? The obvious answer is that Hsiachichou is a poor community in a market economy, but we wonder if this is the whole answer. A universal medium of exchange provides a people with a sensitive scale for comparing the economic consequences of various actions. One can say that buying a male child from a dealer is ten times as expensive as adopting a son from an agnate, and one can compare in a precise way the relative cost of alternative forms of marriage. We wonder if economics would be as important a variable if the people of a community were able to weigh

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
497 ship within the kê is one of the considerations which enters into the
182 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sîm-pûa marriage.
511 Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
621 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
182 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
554 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou,
626 the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

*121 social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about
*583 the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of
182 precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is
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[626] probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

*121 We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of
*583 marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of
*592 the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred
182 marriage is different from that created by the sim-pûa marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about
*121 the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point be-
182 cause we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

#121 182 the aims of the creators. That certain types of functional analyses have been as successful as they have while ignoring this point is probably only because the analysts have been saved from their teleological assumptions by the analytic abilities of the peoples being studied.

#121 182 #583 829 If we are right in placing this restriction upon the forms of explanation acceptable in social anthropology, it follows that anthropologists should be particularly concerned to discover what the native knows about the functions of his own social system. The native analyst, like the foreign anthropologist, is fallible. He may perceive certain advantages accruing from any given arrangement, but he may miss other equally important disadvantages. The reader may have noticed just such an instance in our description of Hsiachichou. The villager sees the reduced tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the major advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, but he apparently does not see the dangers of this arrangement for the parent-child relationship. That many village men leave their parental homes for extended periods of time to live with a mistress the average villager is aware, but he does not think of this as a consequence of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, although our analysis indicates that this is much more common among men who marry sīm-pûa than in either of the other two forms of marriage. Why does the villager see the advantages and miss the disadvantages? Are some social consequences more visible than others? And if so, what is it that makes them more or less visible? We would argue that the answer to such questions as these are crucial to an understanding of the origins of social structure.

*121 182 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

121 182 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate bit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 182 583 592 621 602 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pûa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

*121 182 *583 *592 621 602 seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

*121 *583 *597 *592 182 The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

while for their son it is a matter of taking a wife. To the grandparents a decision about female adoption may be simply a question of whether or not to give away one of their several granddaughters, but for the parents it is often a question of giving away their own child and perhaps their only daughter. Since any rearrangement of the structure of the family will necessarily have a different effect upon people who occupy different positions in the household, the decision made about any given alternative will almost always depend upon who in the family makes the decision.

Although this would presumably be the case in any society, consideration of the locus of authority in the family seldom enters into structural analyses of marriage and adoption. Take, for example, the current controversy over the question of cross-cousin marriage. Despite the great bulk of the literature stimulated by the debate, one does not find anywhere an appreciation of the fact that the two contending theories make different assumptions about who is responsible for arranging marriages. Levi-Strauss argues that the matrilateral form of cross-cousin marriage is more common because it has structural advantages for a society with more than two exogamous units.[1] It creates a more generalized exchange of brides than the patrilateral form, and thereby affords the society a greater degree of organic solidarity. Although he does not to the best of our knowledge ever commit himself

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1 See Claude Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

*121 to such a position, it would seem that Levi-Strauss is thinking of a society in which the senior generations of the family ordinarily arrange marriages. He agrees that it would be necessary for the members of the society to recognize the advantages of a wide network of alliances, and we can see that it would be the older and more experienced members of society who would be most aware of the advantages of such a network. It is usually the mature men and women in any society who occupy positions of formal and informal leadership, and it is naturally people in such positions who are most impressed by the importance of group solidarity. Homans and Schneider, on the other hand, clearly assume that the junior generations of the family arrange their own marriages.[2] A child's attitude towards his mother and father would not have any effect upon the likelihood of his wanting to marry one cousin rather than another unless he himself were making the decision. Although it is outside the scope of the present discussion to pursue the idea any further, we would at least suggest that the two theories may not really be in conflict. In a society in which it is the parents who arrange marriages Levi-Strauss' structural argument may be the better explanation, and in the society in which the younger people arrange their own marriages, Homans and Schneider's view may be the more appropriate.

178 *383 *393 *121 182 We have seen that as the senior generation of the family gradually lost control of decisions about marriage and adoption the frequency of

[2] See George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

[12] first of these two hypotheses is to be preferred. As J.R. Fox points out in an article defending Westermarck's position, animal experiments by F.A. Beach show some characteristics pertinent to our argument.[3] In the most important of these experiments Beach found that male rats reared in isolation from birth tended to copulate more readily than male rats raised with females prior to maturity. "Thus propinquity resulted in aversion, separation in strong desire."[4]

With human organisms things are, of course, in many ways more complicated, and yet there is also evidence which indicates that childhood association is sufficient to produce sexual aversion among human beings. The most convincing case is that of mate selection in the Israeli kibbutzim. As with foster siblings in Hsiachichou, the peer group of the typical kibbutz experience intimate and prolonged association as children. In a kibbutz which he calls Kiryat Yedidim, Melford Spiro found that until they are five or six years of age "boys and girls sleep in the same room, shower together, sit on the toilet together, and often run around nude before getting dressed in the morning or after being undressed in the evening."[5] Until only recently joint sleeping and bathing arrangements continued until the children were on the verge of puberty. But while the experiences of the peer group in

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3 J.R. Fox, "Sibling Incest," The British Journal of Sociology, XIII (June 1962), 2, p. 132.

4 Ibid., p. 132.

5 Melford E. Spiro, Children of the Kibbutz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 221.

[12] the kibbutz thus fulfill the condition of prolonged and intimate association, there is in this case no basis for the generalization of the incest taboo. The children of a peer group do not address one another as "brother" and "sister;" they do not share common parents or grandparents; nor are they encouraged by the ideology of the Kibbutz Movement to think of one another as spiritual siblings. Sexual intercourse is discouraged among them as children and teenagers, but these restrictions do not extend beyond graduation from high school. "Once the sabras leave their own Hose, at approximately eighteen years of age, it is their private concern, and they are free to do as they please."[6] That "in not one instance has a sabra from Kiryat Yedidim married a fellow sabra" would,[7] then, seem to be strong evidence in favor of Westermarck's hypothesis. According to Spiro, fellow sabras do "view each other, they say, as siblings," but he specifically notes that "by stating that they view each other as siblings the sabras do not mean to imply...that they therefore view any sexual relationship between them as incestuous. They mean, rather that they, like biological siblings, have no sexual interest in one another."[8]

The same pattern of relationships is also evident in three kibbutzim studied by Yonina Talmon.[9] Here again we find "very close

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6 Ibid., p. 347.

7 Ibid., p. 347.

8 Ibid., p. 347-48.

9 Yonina Talmon, "Mate Selection in Collective Settlements." A revised version of the paper quoted here will appear in The American Sociological Review, August 1964.

121 propinquity and very intensive interaction between peers of different sexes."[10] "Members of the peer groups eat, study, work and play together as a group most hours of the day and sleep together in the same room or in adjoining rooms at night."[11] Moreover, we find that "the tendency to out-group mate selection of the second generation in the Kibbutz is not backed by any formal or informal prescriptions or proscriptions and it is not buttressed by any institutionalized sanctions or inducements."[12] The rare cases of marriage within the same peer group "attract attention and comment but are not considered in any sense illegitimate or irregular."[13] Indeed, it would seem to be to the contrary, for the author notes that "not only do we observe a complete lack of proscription or negative evaluation of intra-second generation marriage, but as far as a large segment of the parents' generation is concerned it is a preferred pattern."[14] And again marriage between members of the same peer group is rare if not entirely absent. According to the author, "Among the 125 couples examined by us, there was not one instance in which both mates were reared from birth in the same peer group."[15] As Westermarck would have expected,

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10 Ibid., p. 28.

11 Ibid., p. 28.

12 Ibid., p. 7.

13 Ibid., p. 7.

14 Ibid., p. 7.

15 Ibid., p. 3.

*121 "the relations between adult members of the second generation are friendly and familiar but devoid of any signs of erotic tension. Members of the second generation view their relations with each other as 'sexless' and erotically indifferent."[16]

*121 *383 182 It would therefore seem that intimate and prolonged childhood association is alone sufficient to produce sexual aversion, and that our best interpretation of the younger generations rejection of the sīm-pûa form of marriage is in terms of the Westermarck hypothesis. If this is indeed the situation, we then have a clear case in which a major readjustment of a social structure can only be accounted for with reference to psychological variables. Like the first generation of the kibbutzim, who prefer endogamy because of its advantages for social continuity, the parents of Hsiachichou often chose the sīm-pûa form of marriage over the preferred marriage for structural reasons. Once the younger generations came to have a voice in arranging their own marriages, however, they rejected the sīm-pûa form of marriage, being either averse or indifferent to the thought of sexual relations with a sibling. As a result, a type of social structure which had real sociological advantages disappeared because it did not satisfy the personal needs of some members of the society. The social anthropologist who arbitrarily limits himself to a sociological analysis takes the chance that the effects of these variables may be submerged by the influence of factors outside the scope of his analysis.

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16 Ibid., p. 32.

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We began our analysis with the hope of discovering why it is the people of Hsiachichou choose one form of marriage or adoption rather than another. Why do some families give their female children away in adoption, while others choose to raise them and allow them to marry out of the family in the preferred way? Why do some families adopt female children while others do not? It may have occurred to the reader that in asking such questions as these we are putting the cart before the horse. Perhaps a family first chooses a husband or a wife for their son or daughter and then arranges whatever form of marriage they can in order to make this match. Having decided that they would like to ally themselves with a particular Tan family, an Ong family with a male child might first find out what arrangement can be made with the Tans to obtain their daughter in marriage. If the Tans prefer to give their daughter away as a child, the Ong family can then adopt the girl as a sim-pua. On the other hand, if the Tans do not want to see their daughter leave the family at such an early age, the Ongs might have to wait to arrange a preferred marriage when the children are older. Again, a young man who has reached marriageable age might meet and fall in love with a particular girl, and then make whatever marriage he could to obtain her as his wife. If her parents would allow her to marry out of the family, he would probably take her as a wife in the preferred way, but if for some reason her parents would not allow her to marry out of the family, he might then make a matrilocal marriage. Although our own society does not allow alternatives in the matter of marriage, our conception of marriage leads us to expect this ordering

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of decisions. We tend to think of the choice of the particular person as the first and major consideration, and of all other decisions as secondary and relatively minor.

This is also, on occasion, the situation in Hsiachichou. We know one case in which a man did marry into his wife's family because she could not marry out of the family, and we also know of a family which adopted a female child simply because the wife had become very fond of the girl. More commonly, however, the family first decides how they want to arrange the membership of their household, and they then look for a way in which this can be managed. The decision about the form of marriage or adoption usually precedes and takes precedence over the choice of the particular person or family. That this is the case is indicated by the analysis we have already presented. If the choice of the form of marriage or adoption followed from the choice of the particular person or family, we would not have been able to predict these decisions in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of the alternative forms. Although considerations of this kind might enter into any marriage or adoption, they would not carry the weight necessary to produce the relationships we have discovered. We emphasize the point because we feel that it is evidence of the way in which the average villager thinks of marriage and adoption. They are first of all types of social arrangements with certain advantages and disadvantages, and only secondarily matters of love and sentiment. The villager with children first thinks of the various ways in which they could marry, and only when this question is settled does he turn his attention to

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the question of the persons they should marry. To the people of Hsiachichou marriage and adoption are less matters of personal attraction than instruments of family purpose.

*121

While it has not been our aim here to evaluate previous studies of the Chinese family, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with one remark on the subject. Not a few anthropologists have come to regard the study of the Chinese family as a closed book, the assumption being that the major outlines and aspects of the family are now understood. The young anthropologist is urged to move on to the study of the bureaucracy, the city, the articulation of the peasantry and the elite, and above all, of course, the social organization of Communist China. While we heartily agree with the need for further studies of these subjects, we would include the family as an equally important topic for further research. Although there is a sizeable literature dealing with the traditional family, it is neither complete nor in many cases accurate, hardly the kind of scholarship on which to close the book. The village of Hsiachichou is not unusual in practicing a variety of forms of marriage, and yet the great bulk of the literature does not deal with any form of the family other than that resulting from the preferred form of marriage. The most recent of these, Marion Levy's The Family in Modern China,[17] analyzes in detail the structure created by the preferred marriage, but does not even mention the existence of other forms of the family. The best of the community studies do mention the occurrence of some of the alternative forms of marriage, but

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17 Marion J. Levy, The Family Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949). See also Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

[21] with the notable exception of Fei Hsiao-tung's Peasant Life in China we look in vain for any analysis of the resulting structures.[18] Aside from the fact that we have yet to understand a large percentage of the families of any Chinese community, we also have as yet to exploit what is perhaps our best research strategy. If we have accomplished nothing else in this work, we hope to have at least demonstrated that a comparison of the various types of family is one of the best roads to an understanding of any given type, affording us clear perspective from which to determine the forces acting in the formation of the family.

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18 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, op. cit.

A LIST OF CHINESE WORDS AND TERMS IN THE TEXT

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I. Linguistic Forms

biêng-liêng-kìa:	螟蛉子
bô͘ ì-sû	無意思
bô͘ tùi-thâu	無頭對
bûe	賣
bùe	買
cH-bô-kàn	媠媒嬸
chÎ	Not known
ciô͘-zîp	招入
chûa-chût	娶出
cùe-khǎq	做客
hô͘-mîa:	好名
kâ-tîu:	家長
kâ	家

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kìan-siàu	見笑
kŏng-thîa:	公庭
kùe-páng-kìa:	過房子
lău-siât	鬧熱
liâu-cî:-bŏe	Not known
lîong-lù	養女
lún	Not known
pûi-mía:	壞名
pôu-pŭe	Not known
sàng-cùe-tûi	Not known
sîn-pìà	媳婦仔
ŭ tùi-thâu	有頭對

II. Place Names in Taiwan

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Chichou	溪州
Pantsupu	番子埔
Hsiachichou	下溪州
Hsinchu	新竹

103	Hsulin	樹林
	Keelung	基隆
	Keelung River	基隆河
	Panchiao	板橋
	Taipei	臺北
	Taiwan	臺灣
	Tamsui River	淡水河
	Sanhsia	三峽
	Shalun	沙崙
	Shantzuchiao	山子腳
	Tucheng	土城
	Wanhua	萬華

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GLOSSARY

biēng-liēng-kiá	adopted male child from a non agnate
bōu Ì-sǔ	"meaningless", "dull"
bōu tùi-thâu	"those who have not counterparts" (term for the adopted daughter, employed in the context of marriage status)
būe	"sold" (giving the male child in adoption to a non agnate)
bùe	"bought" (receiving the male child in adoption from a non agnate)
cā-bó-kàn	"female servant" (girl adopted as a domestic)
chī	the act of adoption of a male child by agnates
ciŏu-zíp	"having been called in" (a man married into his wife's family)
chŭa-chŭt	"left the family" (a woman married out of her family)
cuè-khĕq	"being a guest" (ceremony of the first visit of the bride to her natal family)
hŏu-miā	"good fortune", "good name"
kā-tiù:	"head of the household"
kē	"family" (nuclear, stem or extended family)
kiăn-siău	"embarrassing"
kŏng-thiā	"court" (largest room in the house with the family altar)

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kùe-páng-kia	adopted male child from an agnate
lǎu-zíat	"noise", "enthusiasm"
líu-cǐ:-hǔe	"something to lose money on" (term for a female infant)
lông-lù	"adopted daughter" (not committed to marry the son of her foster parents)
lún	"areas" (divisions which make up the locally recognized district)
pǔi-miā:	"bad fortune", "bad name"
pôu-pǔe	"treasure" (term used for a male infant)
sàng-cùe-tûi	"pushing them together" (brief New Year wedding ceremony with a "sǐm-pûà")
sǐm-pûà	"little daughter-in-law" (adopted girl committed to marry the son of her foster parents)
ǔ tùi-tháu	"those who have counterparts" (term for the "sǐm-pûà" employed in the context of her marriage status)

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[For information on kê in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 28-33, 84-105, 134-162, 207-225, 260 and 269-279.]

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[For data on adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 39-105, and 121-288.]

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[For the relationship between the foster and the natal family of an adopted child, see category 593.]

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[For modes of marriage, especially in relation to rules of residence and initiation of common residence in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 40-98, 127-133, 165-246, and 251-288.]

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[For theoretical orientation on social institutions, specifically marriage and adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, see category 116, pp. 1-18, 37-40, 84-86, 140-142, 183-199, and 269-289.]

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[For sex status, primarily that of females in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 78, 98, 99, 117, 123-162, and 193-268.

584

[For data on arranging a marriage in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 44-129, 163-216, 221-222, and 244-259.]

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[For additional information relating to rules of residence, see category 583 and 584.]

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[For information on family relationships in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 57-131, 138-139, 150-212, and 233-281.]

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THE HOUSE OF LIM

a study of a
Chinese farm family

MARGERY WOLF

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS
Educational Division
New York MEREDITH CORPORATION

[Title page]
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SIDNEY MELLER

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PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien--respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and
[197] their relatives. With many members of the family my communication was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

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interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

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and Dr. Arthur Vidich for his many valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to the Cornell committee of the London–Cornell Project for the funds they made available to me for secretarial help.

M.W.

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FOREWORD

I shall not disguise my pleasure in being able, by writing a foreword to this admirable book, to contradict its author. Mrs. Wolf tells us in her preface that she is not an anthropologist and goes on to set out her three aims: to offer us a case study of a large Chinese family; to "provide another account of village life for those with a general interest in China"; and to "tell a good story." The charming simplicity and modesty of these brief statements may seduce the unwary reader into believing that the ease with which the subsequent narrative flows has been the happy result of literary skill coming upon a ready-made story. If anybody closes this book thinking that it is the Lims who have enlightened and entertained him, he will (I suspect) have fallen into a trap cunningly laid for him by the author. It is my job to put him on his guard and to force him to pay Mrs. Wolf the tribute that she seems unwilling to claim for herself.

This is a very cleverly constructed book in which the facts—so far from speaking for themselves—are made eloquent by the ideas which inspired their collection and arrangement. Of course, if Mrs. Wolf insists that she is not an anthropologist, then we must respect her disavowal. (It is perhaps a sign of the times. In the good old days people had less respect for professional degrees and licenses to practice.) I think it is all the more necessary for me to show how important anthropology has been both in her choice of problems and in the methods she has used to study them. I shall come back to the problems; let me say a word on methods.

Professor and Mrs. Wolf lived for two years in the household described in this book. In that period, while they were engaged in the investigation of many aspects of village life, they had the opportunity to study their immediate hosts and friends at close quarters. The word "study" may chill some readers, especially if they think of themselves as being in the position of the Lims and wonder how they would feel if their domestic life, quarrels and all, were under the cool gaze of foreign observers. But anthropology is a science in which the common humanity of the observer and the observed does not allow the one to make an object of the other. The investigator and the investigated are in a social relationship; and it follows that the facts about those under study must

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not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

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though they were in some derogatory sense peripheral. Naturally, it is frustrating for social scientists interested in China to be held off from the mainland; and there is a certain unpleasant irony in the fact that there are now many more North American and European anthropologists and sociologists equipped and eager to study Chinese society than there were before 1949. Yet, as *The House of Lim* decisively demonstrates, field studies of crucial importance can be made in Taiwan; and I could adduce similar evidence for a parallel statement on Hong Kong. Professor and Mrs. Wolf were accompanied in Taiwan by other American field workers, and they have been succeeded by yet others. (I am happy to say that a British student has been added to the ranks of anthropologists to whom Taiwanese hospitality has been extended.) The research work carried out in recent years in both Taiwan and Hong Kong has brought China fully within the range of the societies now being systematically examined in the light of the problems and techniques of modern social science.

The House of Lim touches on many aspects of village life—agriculture, business, religion, youth organization (note especially the remarks on *lo mua*), kinship, sex (the accounts of prostitution are incisive), and so on. But the book is above all the study of a family. Now, it may seem to some readers that the Chinese family is a well-worn theme. Many books and learned papers have been written on it, by both Chinese and foreigners, and the "large" Chinese family has been a familiar piece of furniture in the minds of several generations of Western intellectuals. Let the reader beware: the study of the Chinese family is a never-ending enterprise, and he must be ready to revise his ideas on it as research of increasing sophistication is put before him. He will find in this book an epitome of the most modern knowledge of the Chinese family in its traditional form.

The Lims, when the Wolfs lived with them, were a "large" family. In this they were both typical and untypical of their society. They were typical of its ideals and untypical of its realities. It is not an accident that (with one exception) they were the only family of its kind in Peihotien, and the richest. Bigness is a matter for pride, and those who would maintain it must struggle, as Mrs. Wolf shows us, against the forces that press relentlessly for its undoing. For it is not crude numerical size that characterizes a family of this sort; it is its complexity. And from the complexity flow the problems which Mrs. Wolf's narrative illustrates clearly and abundantly.

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The Chinese family normally recruits itself through its sons, its daughters being exchanged for daughters-in-law. Each new marriage brings into the house a focus of dissension, for the new small family which it creates within the bosom of the greater family gradually matures into an independent unit. Some greater families dissolve when their sons are married; virtually all disappear by the time the old father dies, for then, as Mrs. Wolf tells us for the village of Peihotien, the wives of the brothers allow their interests in their own small families to issue in quarrels. If, that is to say, a family has two or more sons, the normal unfolding of the cycle of development sees them become husbands and fathers only to make them move on to form separate units.

But occasionally a large family for a time escapes this fate. The Lim family was such a one. The potential new families within it were not realized. Lim Chieng-cua together with his wife and children remained along with his older brother's widow and descendants in an undivided family. It is important to remember that every Chinese family, be it simple or complex, holds a joint estate under the management of the senior male (or, in some cases, a widow). When, as in the house of Lim, the estate is valuable and economically differentiated into agricultural and business sectors, it can be efficiently and profitably run by the specialized work of different branches of the family. But the very economic features which make the estate productive are also the foe of family unity. Each son being endowed at birth (or adoption) with a right to an equal (or nearly equal) share in the estate on its division, jealousies can easily arise between brothers and between their respective smaller families over the differential enjoyment of the fruits of the undivided estate. The agricultural half of such a large family may suspect that the business half is taking more out of the total estate than its arithmetical share justifies. In Mrs. Wolf's account of the Lims we can see these suspicions in action.

It may well be significant that of the two brothers, Lim Chieng-cua and Lim Hue-lieng, one is dead. A-pou, the latter's widow, represents her late husband's interests in the family. "When," Mrs. Wolf writes, "Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her." Her relations with Chieng-cua can be seen to express the tension between the main component units of the family. But (we may suspect) it is precisely because Hue-lieng is dead and only one man is left in the senior generation that the house of Lim is a house long undivided. I should suggest (without foisting my opinion on Mrs. Wolf)

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that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

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114 seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were
584 brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in
[831] conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

114 The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding personal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* (Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin, using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua

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Li Guat-ngo	Adopted daughter of Lim A-pou
Lim A-bok	First born son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou
Lim A-hua	Adopted daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan
Lim A-ki	Wife of A-bok
Lim A-pou	Lim Han-ci's first adopted daughter; wife of Lim Hue-lieng
Lim Bieng-cu	Second daughter, fifth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Lim Chieng-cua	Second son of Lim Han-ci; present head of the house of Lim
Lim Chui-ieng	Wife of Lim Chieng-cua
Lim Cin-hok	Fourth son, sixth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Lim Gioq-ki	Oldest daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan; only child born to them
Lim Han-ci	The father
Lim Hue-lieng	Eldest son of Lim Han-ci
Lim Kim-hok	First born son of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Lim Kui-hok	Third son, fourth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Lim Le-cu	First daughter, second child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Lim Masa	Second son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou
Lim So-lan	Second wife of Lim Hue-lieng
Lim Thiam-hok	Second son, third child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
Ng Kok-hua	Son of Ng Kui-lian; proprietor of Peihotien's store
Ng Kui-lian	Go-between for marriage of Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng
Tan A-hong	Lim Han-ci's second adopted daughter who was re-sold when his own daughter was returned
Tan Chai-ngo	Second-born daughter of Tan A-hong
Tan Chun-ieng	First-born daughter of Tan A-hong

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THE HOUSE OF LIM

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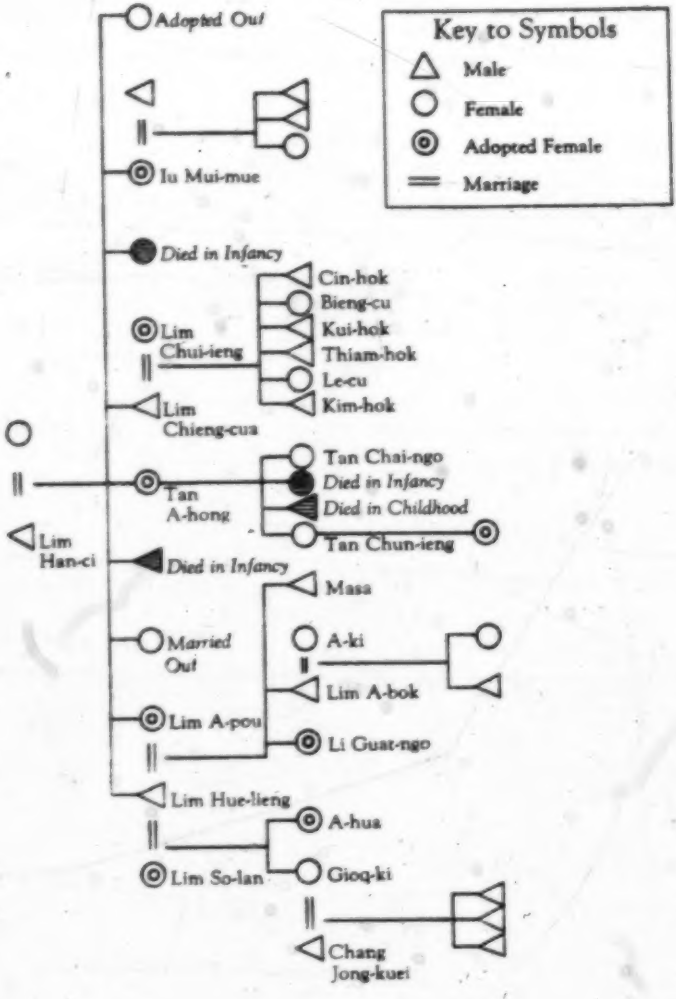

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chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over 13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipitous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull, humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air, distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

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Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

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chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

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simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

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death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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this bit of local history: "Now I am a person who really doesn't believe in the gods, but sometimes I have to believe. Twenty years ago there used to be a lot more water in the river behind the village than there is now and a lot of people drowned there, but the people who drowned were always people from other places. No one from this village ever drowned in the river except Ong A-cu's husband. This was all because Shang Ti Kung took care of us. When a boat turned over in the river another boat would set out to save the people from the capsized boat. It wasn't that they looked first to see if the people were from this village before they pulled them in, and yet the people from this village always were saved and the people from other places were the ones drowned. The reason Ong A-cu's husband drowned can be easily explained. He was a boatman and you could say that he caused a lot of other people to drown because his boat turned over several times. He broke one of Heaven's laws and so naturally he had to be punished. Besides, if he hadn't died then, the ghosts of the people he had caused to die would be coming back to call him all the time. So, wasn't it better that he drowned himself than to have all those ghosts coming after him all the time?"

The son of another boatman told me of an incident he remembered from his childhood: "Twenty years ago at the end of the eleventh month, the people living here kept hearing someone calling from the other side of the river for the boat to come and get them. This was always at night. But when we went to the river to answer the call, there wouldn't be anyone there. Finally, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, my father and I and some workers going to their fields were in the middle of the river when the boat suddenly sank nose first. An old man, a child, and one of the boatmen were drowned. After that, we no longer heard anyone calling at night for the boat. The ghosts had what they wanted."

Peihotien's ghosts are not confined to the river. Several have been seen near a particular bamboo grove, another has repeatedly been seen combing her long hair in the ruins of a pig pen. A quite comfortable room in a house near the village is rarely rented and then only to outsiders because of the unpleasant habits of the ghost of its former owner. According to the druggist in Tapu, ghosts don't really like people and avoid them as much as possible. It is because of this distaste that they are more frequently found in isolated bamboo groves than in busy streets, and in villages rather than in cities.

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Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly 775
not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems 361
unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is 311
very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by [434]
making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half [251]
is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must [235]
keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or 443
three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell [278]
their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children
[245] among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her
[775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

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444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

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HOUSES AND FAMILIES

The interaction of the Taiwanese villager with his friends and neighbors is like the spice in his soup, savory but of little sustenance. It is with his family, his parents and grandparents, his children and grandchildren, that he takes the measure of his life. His relations with his parents may be strained, with his wife distant, and with his children formal, but without these people he would be an object of pity and of no small amount of suspicion. He would be pitied because he had no parents to "help" him and no children to support him in his old age, pitied because he had no place in a group, because he didn't belong anywhere. For these same reasons he would be the object of suspicion. A man not thoroughly imbedded in a network of kinship cannot be completely trusted because he cannot be dealt with in the normal way. If he behaves improperly, one cannot discuss his behavior with his brother or seek redress from his parents. If one wants to approach him about a delicate matter, one cannot use his uncle as a go-between to prepare the way. Wealth cannot make up for this deficiency any more than it can make up for the loss of arms and legs. Money has no past, no future, and no obligations. Relatives do. A young man orphaned as an adolescent or otherwise separated from his immediate kinsmen commonly marries into his wife's family. As this usually involves his agreeing to assign some of his children to his wife's father's line of descent, a man who marries in this fashion bears the stigma of having abandoned his parents and his ancestors—but this is preferable to an isolated existence. A man with a good job could find a wife among the entertainers of the city, but he wants more than a

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wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with [352] business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here [356] after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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*593 592 their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

*593 561 [867]

59 354 342 In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect,

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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

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The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

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kitchen duties as well as comparatively long periods of time they can devote to sewing, the care of their children, or even visits to their natal families.

A visitor to the home might conclude that these arrangements function quite smoothly. The family's meals are always well cooked and served at regular times; the children are usually as neat or neater than the neighbors' children; the house is kept reasonably clean and in good repair; the family's land is always cultivated and the general appearance of the fields is neat and orderly; the factory seems busy most of the time. In short, the various members of the family perform their particular duties efficiently and effectively. To see the less fortunate effects, one has to look beneath the surface of the family's daily routines. As Lim Chui-ieng once told me, "If you look at the face of our family, it looks good, but if you look at its bones, it's not like that." In the "bones" of the family there is ceaseless friction between the two major units: Lim Chieng-cua's family and Lim A-pou's family. For the most part their conflict is wordless, expressed only by the emotional distance between them, but on occasion the tempers flare, revealing the true intensity of the tensions below. To understand the conflicts that existed within these people as well as those that existed between them, it is necessary to look at some of the events of their childhood. To understand why they have resisted for so long the pressures that divided every other family in Peihotien, it is necessary to look at the domestic climate in which they grew up.

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chapter 4

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a fault he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

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lifetime, but it would help support his children, his grandchildren, and his descendants for generations to come. With this beginning the family's land would increase—their harvests would buy more land, the family would prosper and grow. In this Lim Han-ci could take great satisfaction. As a well-known proverb puts it, "Succeeding is like a turtle climbing up a mountain." Lim Han-ci had taken the first few steps up that mountain, and with the vision of the long climb ahead he disciplined himself and his family. He was well aware of the other half of the proverb: "Failing is like water running down a hill."

Lim Han-ci was respected and grudgingly admired, but his Puritan temperament did not endear him to his contemporaries. He knew all there was to know about farming and when he decided on an innovation in the customary way of doing things, his neighbors usually followed him. He was not an active member of the groups of men who sat around on summer evenings, talking and smoking, but when an important decision had to be made, he was always consulted. He was not a man to ignore or to take advantage of. An old farmer of his own generation told me, "He would help anyone who asked for help, but he treated very unceremoniously and very severely anyone who tried to put something over on him. He often gave water from his rice paddies to those who asked him for it, but he would starve a man before he gave him the water if he tried to steal it in the night. He was a man who would 'eat the soft, but not the hard.'" And, if the adults walked quietly around Lim Han-ci, children literally fled at the sight of him. Aside from his known disapproval of any form of play or frivolity, he was also renowned for his fiery temper. Even his own children admit to being terrified of him.

In the shadow of such a glowering personage it is not surprising that little is remembered about Lim Han-ci's wife. Her adopted daughters and her grandchildren describe her as a quiet woman of gentle kindness who worked hard but always had time for a frightened or hurt child. No one in the village mentions her, and the family rarely talks about her except on the anniversary of her death when they argue over what might have been her favorite food so that they can send it to her in offerings. She must have died before the marriage of her second son because Lim Chui-ieng, who complains about everything else, does not complain about her mother-in-law. Her children speak of her with warmth and fondness, but she is now only a memory. Perhaps they remember her gentleness and think of her in quiet

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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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future wife. Unfortunately, this second son died before the age of two from one of the many diseases that afflict Chinese infants. To make matters worse, when Tan A-hong was nine or ten, the girl the family had given away to make room for Lim A-pou was returned to them because the boy she was to marry in her foster family had also died. This placed Lim Han-ci in an awkward position, one that endangered the shaky balance a tenant farmer maintains with his poverty. Lim A-pou, the girl adopted to marry their eldest son, was old enough to be useful around the house and was proving to be a hard worker. Tan A-hong, adopted to marry the son who died, was still too young to work in the fields and was not particularly needed around the house. When their natural daughter was returned to them, Lim Han-ci found himself with two "useless" girls to feed, clothe, and marry to other families. He solved the problem of Tan A-hong by reselling her to another family; he accepted his fate by keeping his natural daughter. In view of the subsequent histories of the two girls, the decision was probably a wise one, but it must have been difficult at the time. Lim Han-ci's daughter grew up in her own family, made a good marriage, and returned to the house during my stay only on appropriate ceremonial occasions. Her siblings and foster siblings are fond of her, and she and her husband make no more than the usual demands on the family. Tan A-hong's relationship with the family should have ended at the point she left them, but they were plagued by her problems for years to come. She finally returned to settle permanently in Peihotien about half way through my stay in the village.

Lim Chieng-cua was the next son born to Lim Han-ci and although never very strong, he survived the dangers of a Chinese childhood. Two years later another daughter was born to the family, but she lived for little more than a month. To soothe the maternal sorrow and to provide Lim Chieng-cua with a wife, Iu Mui-mue was adopted almost immediately.

The last child born to Lim Han-ci's wife was also a girl. She was given away as soon as she was weaned and to my knowledge never returns to visit the family, not even on the traditional homecoming festival of the New Year. This is not unusual behavior on the part of children given away in adoption. Proverbially—and from my observation there is a great deal of truth in the proverbs—adopted daughters are treated harshly by their foster parents. Not all female adoptions are to provide sons with wives. Some little girls are adopted simply as

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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

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chapter 5

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LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents

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*596 *159 855 *593 603 We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

*596 *159 *593 157 Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

181 *593 To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

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and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

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sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

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During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua*, he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

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As a point of fact, Lim Hue-lieng's marriage had little effect on his daily life. He did not live in the family home and took no interest in their daily activities. The marriage did, however, add one more chapter in the growing legend of his great personal power. He became the hero of one of the most popular village tales of sexual prowess. It was his boast and the favorite story of his admirers that he spent only two nights in Lim A-pou's bed: on his wedding night he gave her Lim A-bok, and some years later when a typhoon forced him to spend the night in the village, he gave her Masa. The rest of his nights were spent with a series of mistresses of whom even the most salacious village gossips have long since lost track. Finally, when his first-born son was about two years old, Lim Hue-lieng settled down more or less permanently with a village girl, Lim So-lan, the adopted daughter of another Lim family.

Because my assistant came to know Lim So-lan well during our stay in the village, So-lan was willing to tell us quite a bit about her life as Lim Hue-lieng's "second wife": "He only lived with his first wife for a few days just after they were married. After that he never stayed home at night. Before he began to live with me, he had a great many women, but he always left them after a little while because they were just interested in making money and would sleep with other men. When he first came to live with me, I was only seventeen years old. He had just returned from hiding from the police for a few months and had also just broken off with the last woman because she slept with someone else while he was away. His eldest son was about two years old then. He was a good friend of my foster mother, and often joked with her about me, telling her that he wanted to come and live with me. I was working in the river then, gathering rocks, and saw him there every day because he was the head of all of the people doing that kind of work. At that time my family was very poor because my father gambled too much. That year he gave us money to help us through New Year's. My mother was always urging me to marry him. I told her that he was a *lo mua* who had had a lot of girlfriends and would beat me if I did anything he didn't like. I was very afraid of him and ran away every time I saw him. When my mother said that she wanted me to marry him, I cried every night, but my mother knew that he made a lot of money and would help our family, and so finally she asked him to come and live in our house. He lived with our family for five or six years.

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"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their funerals. The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kin-

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of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

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course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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583 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

*596 *159 595 583 *593 [771] Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

*596 *159 186 582 *593 595 All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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he pointed out one of our neighbors who had been an active *lo mua* in his youth, or some of the young men who participate with the *lo mua* on an amateur basis, but he never discussed his own family's connection with *lo mua* activities, past or present. At first I accepted this as a device to protect his family, but as the months went by and our staff became more accepted in the gossip sessions of our neighbors, I found that he did not allude to his brother's connections in conversations with others either. I do not believe Lim Chieng-cua is particularly ashamed of his brother's career or that he harbors any deep hatred of him, but rather that as head of the Lim family he intends to maintain for the family the aura of normal respectability his father struggled to create. His brother, even after his career outside the village was ended, never took the responsibility in the family expected of an eldest son. He submitted to a marriage with the girl of his father's choice, but he never really returned to the family. If his career was responsible for the family's sudden rise to prosperity, fate could just as easily have sent some other form of luck. Lim Chieng-cua prefers to have it believed that Lim Hue-lieng was a deviant and not representative of the family established by Lim Han-ci. He wants the Lims of Peihotien to be known not as an obscure family made wealthy overnight by the doubtfully obtained fortune of one of its sons, but rather as an old, well-respected family that came upon better days due to the perseverance of the father.

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chapter 6

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LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

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It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

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A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

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"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

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brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief. The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

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A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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*159 142 former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and *159 157 firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that family's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

*159 *593 178 582 584 At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and you don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

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and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki. "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age. When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover. She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are *really* love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this, she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

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sophisticated than most village girls, my informant shares their view —such things don't happen to the daughter of Lim Hue-lieng. Naturally, she came home and reported the whole story to her mother. It was also written in Gioq-ki's "fate" that she sit in the sun under her neighbor's window that afternoon, knitting. Gioq-ki burst into her neighbor's house and demanded the whole story which, though understandably reticent, the girl and her mother were forced to relate. They warned her repeatedly to ignore the affair "because he brings home your income and you should be careful that it keeps coming. Forget about him, but don't throw away his money." Gioq-ki, of course, ignored them and confronted her husband with his philandering the minute he came home.

The village spent half the night listening to their quarrel. The girl next door told me, "My relative really feels bad about all this. She said, 'What is wrong with Gioq-ki? She is a very smart girl. Why did she marry this mainlander? If I were like her, I would leave him immediately.' I think she is right. I would rather not have any husband at all than one like this. She isn't his only girl friend, either. He has lots of women. Someone from the village saw him in a train station with another woman, too. That is why he doesn't bring all of his salary home."

The girl's mother, a retired wine house girl, added: "It is best not to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife and particularly this one because Gioq-ki is very much in love with her husband —even though she denies it. But she didn't know anything about all these women. She is really very poor, and he never gives her enough money. I know what his job is, and I know he can make at least NT$1800, but he never gives her more than NT$300. Her uncle told her she must go to Taipei on his next pay day and collect his salary before he does. She is going to do this and that will take care of it. No money, no girlfriends."

Chang Jong-kuei didn't return to the village for several days. Gioq-ki followed her relatives' advice and went to collect his pay at the newspaper office. Since Chang often does night work at the newspaper, he has a small sleeping room in the building. Gioq-ki decided to leave the older children in this room so that he would have to return to the village to bring them home. Her plan did not succeed. She met her husband on the street and there was a scene that ended with the crying children being pushed back and forth between them.

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Gioq-ki was further humiliated. Chang did not return that night either. I heard a pathetic exchange the next day between Gioq-ki and her favorite aunt.

The aunt: "Don't you worry about whether he comes home or not. You know when he gets paid so you can just go get the money each month."

Gioq-ki: "Yes, I'll go for his money and if he won't give it to me, I'll leave him the children to take care of. I don't care anymore. But I'm sure he will come back tonight because tomorrow is our eldest son's birthday."

The aunt: "Why do you think he will come back for that?"

Gioq-ki: "Well, he was asking me last week before all this started what day it was. . . ."

Chang did not return for his son's birthday. A few days later, I asked another of Gioq-ki's relatives what the latest news was. She told me, "I haven't been out much because I have a cold so I don't know how Gioq-ki is feeling now about these things. Everyone is talking about them, but no one saw the whole thing or knows whether all of these things are true or not.

"When you look at Chang Jong-kuei, he seems like a man with a good enough temper, but when he gets mad he is really enough to scare anyone. Gioq-ki's temper is just as bad. Her nature is just like her father's—no matter what it is, she has to be the head.

"As soon as a man has a family and his wife isn't there, this kind of thing happens. Gioq-ki has only a small family so why doesn't she move to Taipei and live with him there. He works in Taipei and of course he is tired and sometimes doesn't want to come all the way out to the village. If she really believes all the things people here are saying, and I'm not sure I do, she ought to move to Taipei and see if it is really true or not."

When I left the village a few months later, Gioq-ki had not yet followed her relative's advice, but Chang had returned and seemed to be around more often in the evenings. What has happened since, I have no way of knowing.

The reaction of the women in the main Lim family to Gioq-ki's troubles was that of sympathy, which surprised me somewhat, and non-involvement, which I expected. The men, of course, publicly ignored the situation. Even Lim Chieng-cua's wife, notoriously lacking in sympathy for anyone but herself, felt sorry for Gioq-ki. Lim A-

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*596 Lim A-
*159 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few
152 terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected
837 under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's
595 two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

*159 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim
*596 house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, bor-
595 rowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

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sides with either Lim Chieng-cua's part of the family or Lim A-pou's. I could never lead her or her mother into a discussion of the schism in the main family, and in answer to direct questions I received only cluckings of sympathy. In trying to decide where their sympathies might most reasonably rest, I found myself hard put to come up with a feasible hypothesis. Lim Chieng-cua's coolness to his brother and, until recently, complete disregard of his brother's second wife, should disincline them to favor his side, even though he is the head of the household. Lim A-pou's ill treatment of So-lan and the latter's uneasy compunction at having contributed to Lim Hue-lieng's estrangement from his legal family would not particularly make for close ties with that part of the family either, even though there are undeniable blood ties in the second generation. I was left with a frustrating if dignified lack of information which was not the case with any of the other family fragments related to the Lims.

To the casual observer, Lim So-lan's position in the world is quite good. The quarrels between her daughters and between Gioq-ki and her husband probably attract more attention than do other family quarrels because of the strong personalities involved, but not because they are outside the broad range of behavior considered normal in Taiwanese society. Lim So-lan is respected by all who know her as a woman who works hard, pays her debts, and is not inclined to ease her loneliness with malicious gossip. The family income is sufficient for them to eat well and to dress appropriately. They fulfill their social and financial obligations at the weddings and funerals of relatives and give an acceptable number of feasts during the religious festivals. There is nothing indecorous about the fact that So-lan allows gamblers to use her house since they are not professional gamblers and do not bring in outsiders. Her older daughter's difficult personality is accepted with the sigh that covers most idiosyncracies in the village population. Gioq-ki herself has been far too busy with her own problems to meddle in her neighbors' lives.

But in terms of the main tenets of Taiwanese life, Lim So-lan has been tossed into a side pool that must dry up and cease to be. Her marriage (a term which even the most rigid villager would use to describe a liaison that existed for so many years) was irregular in that the children born to her are not descendants of her husband's family. Lim So-lan has no ancestors and her husband's ancestors are the property of the main family. If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had mar-

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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chapter 7

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LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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*159 *596 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

*593 584 597 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?"

[461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

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I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

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A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

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159 291 over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of 159 Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled 302 tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

596 159 782 769 [115] Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for [776] each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve 159 what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-753 cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the 776 almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the [788?] Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

159 596 Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lan when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

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#159 #596 607 understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she #159 #596 607 244 434 talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

[443] "When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

#596 #159 607 434 435 "When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me [231] NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this [244] much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

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When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the work is divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

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*159 *596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

*159 *596 578 604 607 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

431 [626] How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?" 159* 596* 578 604 607

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]." 159* 596* 578 574 604

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us." 159* 596* 604 578 431

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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159 596 604 578 431 friends, and I can give things to mine. Didn't this man ever give things to us? He nearly always brings us a big bag of taste powder when he comes. I didn't ever hear him say it was only for me, did you? A person who wants to run a business outside can't be like this.

"Think about it this way for a minute. Suppose this person really had been very bad to you. And now here he is asking you for something, not you asking him. It is he who would be bringing shame on himself by asking, not on you. You can bring shame on yourself only by not giving it to him.

"You say he would not invite you to stay in his house for one night, but did you explain to him what the situation amounted to? No, you just said you had missed your bus. How was he to know it was the last bus or that there was no late train? He is my friend. If your friend came and asked for something and I wouldn't let you give it to him, how would you feel?"

159 596 604 578 A-bok had had all the lecturing on proper behavior that he could take for one evening, and he said rather loudly, "All right. All right. Don't just stand there and oppress me about it all night."

This bit of disrespect caused Lim Chieng-cua to drop the tight rein he had been holding on his infamous temper. He yelled at A-bok, "You-accuse me of oppressing you! You are the one who is doing the oppressing. Haven't I explained anything to you?"

Evidently the expression on A-bok's face (which I couldn't see) angered Lim Chieng-cua even more, and he moved as if to strike him. A-bok jumped up and ran out of the room. A good friend of the family who had been sitting with us immediately pulled on Lim Chieng-cua's arm and began talking to him in a soothing manner. "All right. All right. This is just a little thing. There is no good in it for anyone in quarreling over it."

Lim Chieng-cua calmed down a little and the friend continued to talk to him softly and unemotionally—a trick this man has that makes him much called upon in the village to settle family disputes. "Don't argue with the boy anymore. He is young yet and still doesn't understand the 'affairs of the world.' You are of an older generation and must not lose dignity by arguing with him. If he cannot understand, just forget it for now."

After a bit, the friend in his role as peace-maker went in to talk to Lim A-bok and his mother. A-pou was scolding her son. "If he wants to hit you, just let him hit you. Why do you run? Let the others see how he treats us."

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The friend cut her off and began to speak to A-bok as if his mother were not in the room. "Oh, cucumbers. Cucumbers are nothing special. You grow them yourself. It won't cost you any money. Just give them to him. Why argue over these unimportant matters?"

Lim A-pou muttered angrily, "My son is afraid of Chieng-cua just like a shrimp. Even if he doesn't want to give them away, he will have to."

I asked Lim A-pou later if she thought Lim Chieng-cua would really have struck her son. She scowled and said, "Why not? Last August he hit him." When I probed for more details, she said, "Huh! That wife's slave!" and ended the conversation with her usual response of "I don't know anything about it."

A relative of the family did know something about it and was happy to discuss a topic of seemingly endless village interest. Lim Chieng-cua bought a fancy radio for the family. A-bok came in one afternoon to find it blaring loudly for the pleasure of Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's twelve-year-old daughter. Besides telling her it was far too loud, A-bok also pointed out that the broadcast was in Mandarin, a language with which none of them are too familiar, and that she should not listen to Mandarin broadcasts for fear that she pick up something from a mainland station and get them in serious political trouble. Le-cu felt saucy and told him it was none of his business because her father had bought the radio. This made A-bok angry and he said some things about Le-cu's mother and maternal ancestors (i.e., cursed in the familiar fashion). Lim Chui-ieng overheard this, as she does nearly everything, and reported it to her husband. Lim Chieng-cua did not bring the matter up with his nephew until the family confidante and arbiter was present. He explained the exchange to him, in A-bok's presence, asking for a statement as to whose behavior had been remiss. One thing led to another, and A-bok got a sharp clip on the head. The friend told me sadly, "From the time he was a child, Lim Chieng-cua has been very fond of A-bok. The only reason they don't get along anymore is the women between them. A woman's heart is always narrower."

Although the quarrel over the cucumbers seems ridiculous and seemed to flare with little provocation, when viewed in a fuller context, it shows some of the finer qualities of both men. Lim Chieng-cua, though he might have suffered from A-pou's ill humor, would have been well within his rights as head of the family to simply order the cucumbers sent to his friend and business associate. Instead, he chose

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159 to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in
596 some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese
604 classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own
578 temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his
[685] friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

159 As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok
596 that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come.
593 Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who
578 nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mua* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in
159 the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger
596 force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard
603 taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—
578 not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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smiles, and when you ask for money his mouth is very stern. I gave Ong A-giok her wages for weeding the cucumbers only two days ago. She did the work many weeks ago. I told my uncle that we owed her money, but he hadn't done anything about it. I thought he had paid her long ago, and I was very embarrassed. Whenever money has to be given out, it is always like this. Even if I don't ask for any money for three months, he will never say, 'Well, you must need money. Here is some so you will have it when you need to buy something.' "

I asked if his uncle might not think he kept money out for his own use when he sold vegetables. "You can't sell vegetables every day," he said, "and besides he knows enough to guess how much we can get for the vegetables we sell.

" 'Even a shrewd man of great ability cannot get past a pretty girl guarding a gate' [a common proverb]. You can't blame him for all these problems. You have seen how that woman [Lim Chui-ieng] can nag. If she is eating and he comes in from the factory, she puts down her bowl immediately and follows him into the bedroom to talk. If she finds him sitting alone, she will hurry over to ask him about this and that and the long and the short."

By my own observation I knew this to be the case, but it did not fit in very well with some gossip I had been hearing in the village. Hoping A-bok's talkative mood would last, I asked him, "If she treats him so well, why did he go out to find a mistress that time?"

"It was her own fault," he answered. "I really wish they would fight again like they used to." A-bok grinned naughtily. "If it hadn't been for my mother and I, Lim Chui-ieng would have been beaten to death a long time ago. One time in particular it was really bad. Lau Kim-chiok was living in that house where her mother lives now. One night Lim Chui-ieng went over and looked in the window and saw my uncle's shoes in there. She was afraid to do anything by herself, so she got one of our friends to go with her—he was living in our house just then. He went with her, but she didn't tell him where they were going, and when they got there she broke the window. My uncle came out and chased her back to our house, trying to hit her. She tried to go into my grandfather's room to hide, but he wouldn't let her and said, 'I'm not going to get involved in this anymore. You solve your own problems.' She had no place to hide so she came into my mother's room. I pulled uncle away and my mother stood between them. Lim Chui-ieng shouldn't have gotten our friend involved because my uncle

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him, "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held beliefsthat a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

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"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

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"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

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On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

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TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sen[illegible]o work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

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esting" than other women of their age and income, but judgments about their morality or respectability are not based on their profession. Too many village girls have had to "go out to work" to support aging parents or young siblings. In recent years, there has only been one girl in the area who entered a brothel by choice, lured by the fine clothes and exciting life. More commonly, women become prostitutes because they were raised for that purpose, or because their family is desperately in need of the income. The villagers are not inclined to think of these girls as martyrs since Chinese children are expected to make great sacrifices for their parents, but they are not likely to criticize them either. On the contrary, most villagers assume a girl has amply repaid the debt she owes her parents for raising her when she obeys their command to become a prostitute—repaid it more fully than the daughter who remains at home can ever hope to. Parents can nearly always count on the support of village opinion in deciding the future of their daughter unless that daughter has supported the family for several years by prostitution. By giving up her youth, the young prostitute has gained a certain amount of control over her future. In the village her respectability depends upon how careful she is to walk within the paths of traditional morality when she is home for a few days each month, how compliant she is in turning over the majority of her earnings to her parents, and how cautious she is with village males. A prostitute who carries on professional activities within the village is in deep trouble. If her relatives are not aware of her indiscretion, they will be told, and that is usually enough. It is a small community.

No one in the Lim family tried to conceal from us Tan A-hong's former occupation or the source of Chun-ieng's present earnings. They are not callous about Chun-ieng's fate, but they also see her soft fingers resting next to their scarred, calloused hands, her delicate silk dresses hanging beside their coarse, shapeless working clothes, her closed bedroom door when they come in after three hours of early morning weeding in the fields. About her future they feel pity, but the life of a woman in a farm family is not easy either. In Chun-ieng's difficulties with her mother, however, she has the family's complete sympathy. They may chide her occasionally, or remind her of her mother's seniority, but their words lack conviction. Tan A-hong's outrageous behavior toward her daughter would challenge the beliefs of the most adamant proponent of filial piety. In all fairness, I must

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admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

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Although A-hong expects her daughter to provide for her as for a child, she resents being treated as a child. Chun-ieng's words angered her. "How can you be so shameless. I know what you are telling people—you are telling them I lost lots of money in Tainan and then sold your clothes and your gold to get more. You are shameless. You know how little money you gave me. You didn't give me all the money you earned so I had to take it. Aren't you ashamed to tell all those lies?"

This touched a sore spot in Chun-ieng. She wants very much to be considered a proper filial daughter and her mother accused her of withholding her earnings, a most unfilial act. Chun-ieng answered defensively, "There was nothing I could do. You are too fond of gambling. I can't turn all of the money over to you."

A-hong knows her adversary well. She decided to take advantage of the wound she had inflicted by putting a few more things before the public. (Most quarrels in China take place by preference before an audience and the attention of the combatants is directed as much to the effect of their words on the observers as upon each other.) With lip-curling malice, A-hong continued, "Ah, you are right. I like to gamble. And what is my dutiful daughter going to do about it? You, of course, never gamble, do you? You don't remember the time in Tainan when you lost all of the money you had earned for two days, and I had to come and tell you not to gamble any more? Do you remember what you said to your mother that day? You said you didn't care. You told me you could just go with any of the guests when you had no more money. You told your mother that you had no reason to save money and that there were women as old as me working there."

Chun-ieng looked tired and depressed. When she didn't answer, her mother tried to goad her into a response. "Well, I'm old now I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you keep saying all those things, you know who people will be laughing at. At a shameless daughter!"

Chun-ieng got up to leave the room, but at the door she paused long enough to say, "You speak as though I enjoyed working in that place. Is that why you wouldn't let me come home, even when I begged?"

A few days later another argument on the same subject ended with A-hong threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Chun-ieng with

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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

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"Hah! How good is that. I always hear her scolding her mother. She tries to restrain her at every turn."

A-ki bristled in defense of her friend. "That is because the mother doesn't have any sense. If her mother took care of the home and didn't gamble all the time, I'm sure Chun-ieng would give her all of the money to take care of."

The continuous quarrel between A-hong and her daughter over money reached a climax several months later. It was only then that I learned of the future Chun-ieng longed for and of the secret she and the Lim family had kept from her mother. While working in Tainan, Chun-ieng met the second son of a wealthy industrialist. Their mutual attraction deepened into a more serious interest, and the young man wanted to marry her. Many young prostitutes who have not yet compromised their future by a series of abortions, illegitimate children, or the adoption of young girls as support for their old age, marry into quite respectable families. There seems to be some notion among peasant families that a young woman who has had this kind of experience is less likely to succumb to temptation after marriage. Chun-ieng's young man, however, came from the upper classes and her welcome into his family might not be as warm. Moreover, they also had to wait until his older brother, then serving his term in the army, was married, it being bad form for a younger brother to marry before an elder. When Chun-ieng's lover was sent by his father to supervise a logging operation in central Taiwan, they decided upon a compromise. Chun-ieng would come and live with him there until such time as they could be married properly. Tan A-hong knew nothing of these plans, although she knew her daughter was fond of the young man. She herself was attracted by his reputed wealth, but the possibility of her daughter marrying anyone was something she refused to think about. Chun-ieng married would not only make a considerable dent in A-hong's income, but would also deprive her of her authority over the girl. No matter what agreements are reached at the time of marriage, a young woman's loyalty necessarily shifts to her husband. Besides, Chun-ieng was still approaching the peak of her earning power as a prostitute. Her youth and high spirits had brought her a good income until now, and A-hong's practiced eyes recognized that her daughter's appeal was based on a handsomeness that would not fade as had her own but might with training turn Chun-ieng into the cool, sophisticated companion of the very wealthy. Whether or not Chun-ieng's

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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosper[illegible] shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency t[illegible]k her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster m[illegible] ccount of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan [illegible]-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

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fortunate. Don't be so black-hearted. She is twenty years old now. If she wants to get married, she can do it, and you can't do anything about it. You can't get any more money from her then, can you?"

A-hong: "That's good! Let her just try and run away from me. Get married? Let her try! If she is going to die, it is going to be in one of two ways—either she'll die on the road [i.e. homeless, friendless, impoverished] or she'll die by my hand!"

Guat-ngo was shocked. She stared at the older woman, speechless. Finally, she said, "You are not a mother at all. You never fed her. That must be why you can say these terrible things. Now she earns lots of money for you to gamble and eat and buy pretty clothes. Isn't that enough? You had better think that's enough."

A-hong: "That's right! I never fed her, indeed! It was war-time then and I had to search all over to find powdered milk for her, and when I found it, I had to pay to mail it all the way home here. I was going to hire someone to take care of her, but A-pou's mother wanted her so I sent her home. And how do you know she gives me so much money? Are you her go-between? What do you know about it? What do you know about anything?"

By this time, A-hong was shrieking. Her shrill voice could be heard all over the house. "I'm well over forty years old. I don't have her by my side, but I'm still alive. I'm not freezing or starving. I want her to die on the road! I want her to die by my hands! I want her to die." A-hong added as an afterthought—the afterthought that so often makes Taiwanese women's quarrels so ludicrous: "I can get a job as a cook for someone."

Guat-ngo was not to be silenced by histrionics. She returned to her scolding. "Yes, you sent a lot of powdered milk home for your daughter! Why was it then that poor grandmother was up late every night grinding rice to make gruel for her? You never fed her. She had no milk to drink. No wonder you don't care if she dies."

A-hong: "You were just a child. What do you know about it? You say I never took care of her. She is over twenty years old and in all of that time I never took care of her? You don't know anything about it. All the people in this family side with her. They always say she is right. That is why she treats me so badly now. They let her do whatever she wanted to do."

Lim A-pou had been keeping out of the argument and trying by hand signals to get her daughter to drop it. When Tan A-hong began

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to criticize the family, however, she looked very stern and said, "Be careful of your words. My mother and father treated her like a grandchild. They are dead now, but I am not. You never thanked them for taking care of her for you, and you had better not criticize them either."

Guat-ngo: "And what do you mean I don't know anything about it? I was nine years old when she came here, and I often carried her on my back. When she was little she often fainted, and she often had convulsions. Did you know that? Did you ever take care of her when she was sick?"

Lim A-pou recovered her calm face, but was still stern looking. "Your daughter is your daughter," she said. "No matter how bad, she is still your daughter, and no matter how bad you are, you are still her mother. You must not keep saying you want her to die. She buys nice things to feed you and nice clothes for you to wear, and she does this only for you. You are the only one she gives things to, except the children now and then. If you want to treat her badly, we cannot stop you, but because I took care of her when she was little, I have a right to say some things. If you want to be someone's servant, you won't find it such a bad job. Anybody can be a servant. You had better take a look at yourself first, though. Are you healthy enough for that?"

[164] Tan A-hong suffers from asthma and is extremely thin, both conditions exacerbated by her all night gambling and chain smoking.

A-hong: "My bad health is her fault, too. When my youngest daughter was born, it was winter and Chun-ieng refused to wash or cook for me so I had to get up and do it myself. My bad health is all due to her. She refused to help me. I want her to die. If she won't treat me like a mother, I won't treat her like a daughter."

Guat-ngo: "You just think it over. There may be some daughters who treat their mothers better than Chun-ieng treats you, but if my daughter treats me as well, I will say that I have great good fortune."

A-pou: "Your lot in life compares better with rich people than with mine. I have two sons, but even sons can't buy clothes for me. You only have a daughter, but look what a pretty sweater she bought you."

A-hong threw the sweater on the floor and said, "Pretty sweater! I may be over forty, but I don't need that wretch to feed me. She never has fed me."

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Guat-ngo laughed at the absurdity of this statement. "If she has never fed you, where do you get all the money to eat? If she never gives you any money, where do you get all the money for this?" She made gambling motions with her hands. "Just where do you get your pretty clothes and fine white rice?"

Tan A-hong grew hysterical and began screaming curses at the younger woman, threatening to hit her. A-pou made her daughter leave the room. This calmed A-hong somewhat, but she continued her complaints and again began to accuse the Lims, in particular Lim Han-ci and his wife, of teaching her daughter to disobey her.

Lim Chieng-cua, who had returned from Tapu part way through the quarrel, was sitting in the next room, trying to ignore the angry voices. When A-hong spoke of his parents, he stalked into the bedroom and, very red in the face, demanded, "Has anyone asked you for money in all the time you have lived here and eaten here? Nobody wants to hear your noise. You are not right, but you think you are very smart. I have scolded your daughter several times for not being more polite to you, even though I knew she was in the right and you deserved whatever harsh words she gave you. There are several people here who are not relatives who can tell you that this is true. It is only a mother who can decide whether a girl is good or bad, but I want you to listen to this. She is not as bad as you are trying to make people believe."

Lim Chieng-cua's anger subsided when A-hong began to cry. He continued scolding her, however, sounding very much like a schoolmaster reading lessons. "I have heard mothers say that they wanted their daughters to die, but I have never heard a real mother say this. It was always a foster mother or a stepmother. Why is it that you talk this way? You think it over for awhile. You tell us she only left you a few dollars for the whole week. You never tell her the truth, so she never knows whether you really need money or not. If you really need money you can just tell her how much you need and she will give it to you. Why must you keep pushing the girl all the time? You are her mother. She knows she has to take care of you."

A-hong, sobbing, said, "You didn't see her yesterday. You don't know what her face looks like when I ask her for money."

"I do know," Lim Chieng-cua rejoined. "I have seen that expression, and it is one of the things I have scolded her about. But, if you never lied to her, if you always treated her like your own daughter and

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not an adopted daughter, she wouldn't be that way. She doesn't know whether you really need money or not. You have lost every dollar you got from selling your house now. Sure, that was your own money to do with as you wished, but you think about that, too. She is getting older and she is going to take care of you after she's married, but she won't be able to give you so much money to gamble with. Married or not, she won't be able to make this much money in a few more years. If you had another NT$10,000 to gamble with, you wouldn't be in this mood today."

As he left the room, Lim Chieng-cua added: "It is a rule that a child *must* be good to his parents, but parents have to treat their children decently, too. That is also a rule. You can do many things to your children, but there is a point beyond which you cannot go. You have already gone too far. You must stop pushing her. If she is dead, your next daughter is too young to be of any use to you. What will you do?"

Tan A-hong, crying quietly, went home.

Late that evening, Lim Chieng-cua was summoned to Tapu to receive a telephone call. One of the children was sent to tell A-hong. She was a pitiful sight as she walked into the house. Her anger was gone and her terror reduced her to listing absurd reasons as to why Chun-ieng would not kill herself. When Lim Chieng-cua returned, he told the assembled group that Chun-ieng had been found and was in good health. He didn't even look at Tan A-hong and retired at once to his bedroom.

Chun-ieng returned to Peihotien late the next day, and I'm afraid the villagers were rather disappointed by her appearance. She should have looked wan and dejected, but instead she looked happier than I have ever seen her. She amiably satisfied the curiosity of her neighbors, saving the details of her adventure for the family. Her skill in story-telling did not suffer even when the story was at her own expense. After running out of the wine house, she bought some poison and went to a hotel. She gave us a humorous description of the delighted, if bewildered, pedi-cab driver to whom she gave the last of her money. Just as she was about to take the pills, she heard someone in the hotel being called to the telephone and decided she should phone her lover in Tainan so that he wouldn't think she had killed herself because of something he had done. The connection was, of course, bad, so the boyfriend made her promise to wait until he could

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get to Taipei to talk with her. She then spent an entertaining hour trying to locate some relatives who would come and pay her hotel bill.

The source of Chun-ieng's unexpected happiness was revealed more slowly. Tan A-hong's complaints about her daughter were not completely groundless. Chun-ieng often answered her angry words with scorn and disrespect. She did not trust her mother and sometimes treated her honest need for money with disdain—understandable perhaps, but not behavior expected of a dutiful daughter. Unfortunately, Chun-ieng *was* a dutiful daughter. The anguish which prompted her toward suicide was as much the result of her own self-blame as of her mother's imprecations. Lim A-pou told me many months later that this was not the first time Chun-ieng had contemplated leaving her mother (always with adequate financial provision), but each time she had felt sorry for the older woman and returned. The interview that took place with her lover when he arrived from Tainan seemed to provide another solution. He generously proposed that she give up her plan of joining him, but also give up her work in the winehouse. He would send her a weekly allowance (the sum of which caused many round eyes) and visit her as often as possible until the day when they could be married. After their marriage, they would decide what to do about her mother. This was indeed a fairy-tale ending if it had been in fact the ending.

We had the pleasure of Chun-ieng's presence around the village for several months. Her boyfriend visited fairly regularly and she occasionally went to see him. Needless to say, each of her trips was preceded by anxious ill-temper on the part of Tan A-hong, but Chun-ieng always returned at the appointed time. Their quarrels were either less frequent or less violent because they came to my attention only rarely during those months. After awhile, though, I began to see more of Chun-ieng in the Lim house, often in tears, and I heard more of Tan A-hong's gambling debts. It wasn't long before Chun-ieng started disappearing from the village for two or three days at a time. I asked the family about her absences and received noncommittal answers until finally Lim A-pou admitted that she had returned to work. When I asked what would happen if her boyfriend unexpectedly turned up, Lim A-pou told me sadly, "We are supposed to tell him she has gone to work as a hostess in a coffee shop and we don't know where it is." Whether her lover discovered her deception or whether Chun-ieng

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herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier at her gambling.

During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her. I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair. Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her back on dreams of a normal life.

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chapter 9

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IU° MUI-MUE: A REJECTED BRIDE

By the time Lim Chieng-cua and Iu Mui-mue, the girl adopted to be his wife, reached marriageable age, the Lim family was prosperous—more prosperous than their neighbors and more prosperous than Lim Han-ci had ever dreamed of their being within his lifetime. Iu Mui-mue had been adopted to provide a dutiful daughter-in-law and an inexpensive wife for the second son of a respectable though poor tenant farm family. But, the poor tenant family had become an increasingly powerful landed family, a family that could now afford a more prestigious form of marriage. Even if there had not been a change in his fortunes, Lim Han-ci could see that Mui-mue was not a suitable wife for his son. By adopting her as a child he had avoided the problem of adjusting an adult bride to a new household, but there are some things adopting parents cannot control. In the case of Mui-mue, it was her stupidity. Even worse, for Lim Han-ci's temperament, she was feckless. In all of his other children and in those of his grandchildren old enough to be influenced by him, Lim Han-ci instilled a driving capacity for hard work, but Mui-mue turned out to be one of the laziest women in Peihotien. She is placid, shiftless, and pleasure loving; when she encounters a problem, she laughs and turns to something else. In her youth she got more personal enjoyment out of the Lims' new prosperity than any other family member. By the time she was eighteen, she had a surprising reputation (for those days) for looseness, a reputation that Lim Han-ci found he could not

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cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"--these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

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Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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159 426 521 made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.' "

159 525 [857] [855] Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

159 581 [142] I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

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eldest is aptly nicknamed "Dumby" by the village children. When I left the village, he was becoming quite vicious as a result of the cruel teasing of his peers. His sister does her best to protect him, but Iu Mui-mue, except for an occasional shout at his persecutors, seems unconcerned. The father is not particularly well received in the village, probably because of his and his wife's capacity for accumulating hopeless debts. I never saw him at a feast in the Lim house, even when his wife was helping in the kitchen. Yet, between husband and wife there seems to be a steady, stable affection. Few marital disputes are missed by the village gossips, but I rarely heard of a disturbance in their household. The only long-standing disagreement they have, one which would have been major in other families, is about the terms of their marriage. Mui-mue's husband claims that his wife married into his line of descent, but his wife claims that he married into hers. As evidence for her case, Mui-mue points out that the eldest child carries her family surname. Her husband claims that this is simply an error in registration that he will have changed. The "error in registration" may very well have occurred before Mui-mue and her husband were married. During my stay in the village, the registration was never changed, the disagreement never resolved, and the debts never paid.

Before their marriage there is rarely anything in the behavior of betrothed foster siblings that distinguishes them from true brothers and sisters. The present relationship between Lim Chieng-cua and Mui-mue is probably somewhat more distant than is usual between a man and his married sister, but considering the two personalities involved, and their present, very different, statuses, this is not too surprising. Iu Mui-mue is certainly not secretive about her sympathy with Lim A-pou in the current family disagreement, but sisters are nearly always closer to each other than they are to their brothers. Mui-mue is not given to reflection, but any opinion or thought that does occur to her is usually expressed loudly to anyone who will listen. If she ever stopped to consider how close she came to occupying Lim Chui-ieng's comfortable position rather than her own precarious one, she has long since forgotten about it. Mui-mue is clearly a victim of the Lim family's change of fortune, but in fact I think she is quite content with her life.

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chapter 10

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LIM CHUI-IENG: AN EXPENSIVE WIFE

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Lim Chieng-cua's revolt, it if may be called that, ended with his refusal to marry Iu Mui-mue. He did not demand the right to choose his own bride and made no objection when his father began searching about for a trustworthy go-between. In China, the choice of a go-between is nearly as crucial as the choice of the bride. In a village marriage, the go-between must negotiate and remember accurately and honestly all of the involved terms of the marriage settlement. She scours the countryside for a family of appropriate status and makes discrete inquiries among their neighbors, friends, and enemies about the health, character, virtue, and industry of the prospective bride. Few parents are so bereft of friends and relatives that they cannot make an additional private set of enquiries about the bride and her family, but it is on the go-between's researches that most decisions are based. Her honesty must be unquestionable, her ability to analyze character infallible, her experience extensive, and above all else, her loyalty to the young man's family must be firmly and irrevocably established. She must, nonetheless, seem equally trustworthy to the family of the bride, giving them the impression that she is their ally, working for their interests. This is the ideal go-between and here Lim Han-ci chose without error. Ng Kui-lian was at that time in her middle sixties and had been an active and highly successful go-between for over twenty years. She lived no more than 100 yards from the Lims, and her family had lived in Peihotien for at least two generations before her birth. Her sons

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had prospered and had been assisted toward their prosperity by the Lims. They still consult with Lim Chieng-cua and Lim A-bok on a variety of subjects, ranging from insecticides to investments. A bride's family could not bribe Ng Kui-lian to hide their daughter's defects until after the final ceremony, or raise the bride price and lower the dowry. This go-between's loyalty was unquestionable.

Unfortunately, Lim Han-ci's choice of a bride was not as astute as his choice of a go-between. In deciding among the several girls that Ng Kui-lian presented for his approval, he broke a fundamental rule. Chui-ieng was attractive, intelligent, healthy, and of the right age for his son. She was reputed to be strong-minded, but no rumor of really bad behavior was found among her neighbors. She was an adopted daughter but had been adopted into a childless family, so there was no suspicion that she was being rejected as an unsuitable bride for the son of that family. She did not have a reputation for skill in the domestic arts, but this was not at all unusual for young women from families of modestly comfortable means. Many mothers consider their permissive treatment of their daughters a kindness, at the same time cursing their new daughters-in-law for the slack upbringing that makes them so useless in their marital homes. But this was a minor fault. The major fault was one that Lim Han-ci foolishly chose to disregard. Chui-ieng was born into an urban family far wealthier than the Lims, and adopted into a family which was perceptibly better off than the Lims. When his go-between pointed this out as a serious disadvantage, Lim Han-ci made an error of pride. The house of Lim had risen so far in his lifetime that his perspective blurred. When Chieng-cua caught sight of the handsome girl and indicated his approval to his father, the decision was made. Lim Han-ci dismissed the long-accepted custom that wives should be selected from families whose status was the same or slightly inferior to their husband's. It was a decision he and the rest of the family regretted from the day Chui-ieng entered the house. She persistently brought to everyone's mind, both intentionally and through ignorance, the reason for this rule of marriage. Although not accustomed to a life of luxury, she was used to more comforts than she found with the Lims. She did not consider the price of a bus ticket to the next town a serious expenditure. The closest she had come to agriculture was in picking flowers, but the Lims expected her help, albeit minimally, during the rush periods of harvest. Although she knew she would have to learn to

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+159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
*596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
*593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
[361] that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

"I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
+159 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
*593 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
597 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she
584 would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

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she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry.

"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me.

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ieng told me: "She [probably the go-

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between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

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but he rarely takes the lead and never seems to expect it. He is content to think up new variations on old games and let the others carry them out. Thiam-hok often sits alone daydreaming or perhaps thinking. I have seen this kind of behavior in other village children, children suffering from the debilitation of frequent illness and inadequate diet, but with Thiam-hok one senses activity behind his withdrawn face. Several times I have come upon him hiding in a quiet corner, hunched over a piece of paper. Before he could conceal it, I saw that he was sketching with a stubby pencil and sketching with a certain amount of talent. My sincere praise did nothing to lessen his embarrassment—I had stumbled into what he evidently considered a secret, sinful pleasure. I later heard his siblings and even his mother teasing him about his pictures, but he did not abandon the activity. He only became more circumspect. To the initial amusement of his parents, he announced at the age of eight that he would no longer eat any form of meat, including vegetables fried in pig fat, a Taiwanese family's most common source of animal protein. He wished to live the life of a Buddhist. Lim Chui-ieng humored him for a few weeks, but when it became clear that he was serious, she forced him to return to normal eating habits for fear of damage to his already delicate constitution. He finally submitted, although he vowed to return to the stern discipline of Buddhism when he was fully grown. In determination he is definitely a Lim, but in him, the family character is taking a curious twist.

Lim Chieng-cua's fourth child and third son is my favorite. Even the most persistent teasing of his elder siblings fails to ruffle Kui-hok's good humor. He has none of Thaim-hok's dreaminess but his face nearly always has a shy smile on it. He was not yet in school when I lived with his family, so I saw a good deal of him. He came to our office nearly every day to collect curly pencil shavings which he distributed to all of his friends. Although he is not beyond the usual teasing of younger siblings, he always gives in when they show signs of tears and leaves if they begin to vent their rage on him. Either his emotions burn with a cooler flame or he has already found a method for controlling them. One day when I was walking along a path I found him energetically slashing the tops off some long grass with a toy wooden sword. I asked conversationally what he was doing and he said, "Cutting off heads." I fumbled linguistically and quite by accident blurted out, "Whose?" He promptly gave me the name of Lim A-

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bok's young son, the tiny family tyrant, smiled, and ran off to join a nearby ball game. Unlike any of his brothers and sisters, Kui-hok openly adores his father. Even the adults are amused by his practice of hoarding any treats that come his way to share with his father. He is shy, particularly with us, but not so shy that he wouldn't occasionally slip his hand into my husband's when they happened to be going in the same direction.

Lim Chui-ieng now uses her older children as substitutes for the adult friends she has been unable or unwilling to make in the village, but as infants she did not find the solace in them that many unhappy wives do. After the first two, she was unable to produce sufficient milk and had to rely on powdered milk and local substitutes such as rice gruel and soy milk. She complains of the work they cause her, and she complains of the bad effect her pregnancies have had on her health. After the birth of Kui-hok, Lim Chieng-cua made an extraordinary suggestion for a Chinese husband. He told his wife to have an hysterectomy, the only means of birth control considered reliable at that time by the Taiwanese. Most men, even men considerably poorer than Lim Chieng-cua, are unwilling to limit the size of their families. The number of sons a man has is a great source of pride. An old man told me, "People here don't ask how much money you have. They ask how many sons you have." Perhaps the fact that Lim Chieng-cua had three sons and was seriously concerned about Taiwan's population problems prompted his suggestion to his wife. And perhaps he was looking at the more personal future of his family. If his three sons as adults could not live in harmony under the leadership of the eldest, their share of the family property would be divided in three portions. A three-way division of Lim Chieng-cua's half of the family estate would make small portions and more sons with even smaller shares would land each of them back close to where old Lim Han-ci had begun. Lim Chieng-cua may also have been worried about his wife's health although to me she looked stronger than most of her neighbors. Perhaps he was just tired of her complaints.

Out of fear, Lim Chui-ieng delayed the operation until after the birth of two more children. Lim Chieng-cua remarked to me once that it would have been a great blessing to everyone if she had gone when he first suggested it. The fifth child, Bieng-cu, is an ugly, sulky little girl. Her habitual expression is one of barely repressed anger. She has not yet the courage to express her feelings in attacks on her peers so

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she resorts to attacks on their possessions, their smaller siblings, or to vicious cursing from a safe distance. She is disliked by most of the village children and finds her only companionship with Tan A-hong's youngest daughter. Chai-ngo is gradually rejecting her as she becomes better acquainted in the village, leaving Bieng-cu to her own devices which consist mainly of tormenting the last born of Lim Chieng-cua's children, Cin-hok. When I left the village, Cin-hok was the four-year-old stereotype of all last-born boys in Chinese families. He acts much younger than his age and takes full advantage of his position. He cries more than any child I have ever known, but his tears can be turned on and off at will. To stop them one need only comply with the demand that started them, and that is exactly what everyone in the family does. What A-bok's young son achieves with insolent charm, Cin-hok gets with long, sullen crying. Both Bieng-cu and Cin-hok are lacking in the family good looks. They resemble neither parent but are square, stocky-looking peasants.

After Cin-hok's birth, Lim Chui-ieng entered a hospital and had an hysterectomy. When she left the hospital she went to her adoptive parents' home and informed them that she never intended to step foot in her husband's house again. I have no idea what plans she had for supporting herself, but after a few weeks her foster brothers told her firmly that she must return to her husband. Even if she believed them far superior to her husband's family, they could not afford to support another man's wife for the rest of her life. Poor Chui-ieng's last attempt to reject her "fate" ran head on into reality. Personally, I question the sincerity of her avowed intention of severing her relations with the Lim family. I am more inclined to believe it was just another attempt to bring trouble and humiliation upon what she considered the unjustifiably proud head of her husband. She returned to him and her children just over a month after her operation.

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chapter 11

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NARROW HEARTS

#159 #596 #593 581 837 According to Lim Chui-ieng, all of her unhappiness stems from someone's ill use of her. In adult life that someone has been Lim Chieng-cua. Chui-ieng has chosen to focus on her husband's mistresses as the source of most of her troubles. Romantic love is considered irrelevant to marriage in China, and Chui-ieng had not even met her husband before her marriage, let alone seen enough of him to love him. Nonetheless, she felt insulted and threatened by the extra-marital activities he engaged in from the early years of their union. Her childhood, unusual for an adopted daughter, had not taught her the rewards of submission or the pretense of submission, but had accustomed her to being the center of large and small storms, many of them brought on by her displays of temper. In the Lim family tempers were a speciality and Chui-ieng's little displays caused only looks of disapproval. She had expected trouble in her new home, indeed her parents had warned her repeatedly that she would have to mend her ways when she married, but she had not expected to be ignored. I don't think it had ever occurred to her that she might not be able to control her husband as easily as she had controlled her foster parents.

#159 #596 #593 837 Chui-ieng's failure made her frantic, but she was helpless. She could mask her despair with scorn, but the only reasonable criticism she could make of her husband was that the money he spent on mistresses would ruin the family. "It is not because my heart is narrow that I argue with my husband. It is because I want to save my family. If he spends all the money on girlfriends, what are my children to do? We aren't like Lim A-pou and her sons who only eat the rice in the middle of the pan [i.e. don't have to worry where it is coming from]. When my children's father has a girlfriend he takes her to movies and to restaurants, gambling and buying wine. They take friends along too,

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but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.'"

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ieng's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

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but the stories they told me of his extra-marital activities are curiously loyal—vindictive only when they touch upon the behavior of his wife, the outsider. Chui-ieng's life is almost as bitter as she describes it, but the villagers believe she brought it on herself.

When we came to live with the family, Lim Chieng-cua had not kept a mistress for some time. Chui-ieng occasionally nagged her husband about past infidelities, but in general, relations between them were tranquil. Lim Chieng-cua's most recent affair, and the one which still seemed to worry his wife, was his liaison with Lau Kim-chiok, the adopted daughter of one of his neighbors. Lim A-pou told me, "A few years ago Lim Chieng-cua had a mistress here in the village. She was a prostitute who was living just then with a man who worked nights in the winery. I know she wasn't married to this man because I saw her police book and his name wasn't in it.

"Both Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have hot tempers and they have quarreled from the day they married. She would never just accept his having a mistress or try to find some peaceful means of getting him to stay home at night. Instead, she used to go to the woman's house at night and beat on the doors and make a lot of noise. One night she even broke a window in the house. This really made my brother mad. She ran home and hid in my room. My father was still alive then, but that night he was disgusted and said he wouldn't interfere any more. Lim Chieng-cua tried to break down the door of the room to get at his wife, and I'm sure he would have killed her if my son hadn't pulled him away and calmed things down.

"Then in the middle of the night he had to go and find a workman to repair the window in that woman's house so the man she was living with wouldn't find out what was going on.

"Not long after this both the man and woman got put into jail for using narcotics. His sentence was a very long one because he had quarreled with some powerful *lo mua* before he got caught. She was given a sentence of three and a half years. She should be getting out soon now."

When Lau Kim-chiok was released, she returned to her mother's home in the village. Friends and neighbors came to see her, both to welcome her home and out of curiosity. Lim Chieng-cua who was in Taipei on business didn't return to the village until late in the evening, but when he did, he also went to pay his respects to his former mistress. According to my interpreter who was also there, he was

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simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before.

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Uusally they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

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#159 #59b #593 837 holding whispered conferences with their mother and then disappearing again. And one evening when Lim Chieng-cua didn't return at his usual time for dinner, Kui-hok asked, with tears running down his face, "Where is father? Has he gone away?" Chui-ieng was using her children to spy on their father. She had told them that he might run away with another woman and if he did they would be abandoned to starve. Chui-ieng knew perfectly well that her husband would do nothing so absurd, but by convincing his children of the possibility she could both strengthen their ties to herself and keep a watchful eye on her husband.

#159 #59b #593 578 Early in her career Lau Kim-chiok, like most prostitutes, adopted a daughter to support her when she was no longer pretty enough to work. During Kim-chiok's imprisonment, the daughter stayed with various relatives and finally came to live with her maternal grandmother in Peihotien. With the hope of at least delaying her entrance into her mother's profession, Lim Chieng-cua gave the girl a job in his factory. Lau Bit had been working there for quite some time when her mother returned to the village. Two or three weeks after Lau Kim-chiok's release from prison, Lau Bit was visited in the factory by Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter. By this time the anxiety Chui-ieng had aroused in her children was beginning to fade and their spying had become a game. Le-cu, finding her father absent from the factory, tried to pick a quarrel with Kim-chiok's daughter. Lau Bit was several years older than Le-cu and much more conscious of the seriousness of life. Le-cu taunted her about her mother's profession, cursed her on general principles, and ordered her out of the factory. Lau Bit left in tears, humiliated before the other factory girls who watched round-eyed and fearful. Le-cu then went home to brag to her mother of her clever deed. Chui-ieng was amused and cruelly pleased by the story, but at the same time she realized that this was going to cause no end of trouble. She immediately sent her daughter off to stay with relatives in Lungyen. Her precautions were justified. When Lim Chieng-cua returned to the factory and heard what had occurred in his absence, he was furious. He went to his wife to ask his daughter's whereabouts, telling her explicitly that he intended to beat the girl to death when he found her. Chui-ieng told him calmly enough that she had sent the girl to stay with relatives, but she could not refrain from defending her child's indefensible behavior. One thing led to another and Chui-ieng soon turned to her usual tirade against Lau Kim-chiok and her family, accusing Lim Chieng-cua of treating "a prostitute's

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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

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neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she hobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative. The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes. She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

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Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

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chapter 12

[p.141]

A GIFT OF PRIDE

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During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

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#159 #596 123 124 828 more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

#159 #596 123 124 I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

#159 #596 [369] [291] Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

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about the muddy courtyards of a country village. What are essentials for some family members are luxuries for others, and though painful for some, the family's needs must be evaluated dispassionately by the man who manages the family budget. When this man is also the one who requires what the others only want, the complication smacks of injustice. To Lim A-pou, it is a simple case of one half of the family working very hard and the other half living better, sweating less. Even a man with less intelligence than Lim Chieng-cua would have to recognize the inevitability of the future.

About one thing everyone in the family seems to agree: things were better when Lim Han-ci was alive. Lim A-pou's memories of how generously her foster father rewarded her for raising pigs have already been mentioned. Lim Chui-ieng amused me with a rather different version of the old man's generosity: "From the head of the village to its tail, Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law say we don't give them money to spend and that they have to wait like children until New Year's to get anything new. Their words are more than two baskets of 100 *jin* each and include everything. From a good heart [i.e., to tell the truth], they don't have much money when there are no vegetables to sell, but when they harvest vegetables, you notice they seem to have quite a bit of money. That comes from somewhere. It isn't like when my husband's father was alive. He made them tell exactly how many *jin* they sold and what they got for each *jin* and he counted the money very carefully."

Even Lim Chieng-cua, coming closer to admitting to problems within the family than in any other interview, spoke with something more than nostalgia for the days when his father was the titular head of the household: "When my father was an old man, he turned over the management of the family to me. I would make the decisions and then ask for his approval. It was easier to manage the family in those days. Father's approval was a simple 'yes' and his disapproval a simple 'no,' and that was the way it was done. Now I must get the approval of Lim A-pou or A-bok."

I think if Lim Chieng-cua had been willing to speak freely about the tensions within his family, he would have cited the ambiguity of his position and of his authority as the source of the family's problems. If, like his father, he had complete control and responsibility for all decisions in the family, the content of his decisions might be questioned, but not his right to make them. The right of a father to make

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#159 #596 decisions affecting his adult children is assumed. Lim Chieng-cua, however, is not the father. He is only the eldest male of the family, and a second son at that. The widow of the eldest son—the son who under ordinary circumstances would be in Chieng-cua's position—is still alive and, moreover, now has a son who is contributing a full adult share to the family budget. Undoubtedly this ambiguity in the structure of the family influences the attitudes of Lim A-pou and her son, but Lim Chieng-cua differs from his father in more than position. Their ways of looking at life are quite different, and their expectations for their future, vastly different. Lim Han-ci expected little improvement in his economic circumstances and received much, but this did not change his daily behavior nor his future expectations. He still desired for himself and his family the same things he desired when he was eating sweet potatoes because he couldn't afford rice. Lim Chieng-cua, like an American, expects a great deal more economic improvement and orders his life in terms of it, shedding those things of the past that he can, without losing the respect of his neighbors, and taking on those bits of the future that he can afford, without causing his neighbors to talk. To Lim A-pou who does not wish to walk any other path than that of her father, who thinks of prosperity in terms of more elaborate feasts, larger land holdings, and bigger contributions to the temple, Lim Chieng-cua's handling of the family purse is fraught with disaster. To Lim A-bok who respects and understands both views but is still too unsure to choose, Lim Chieng-cua's authority is frustrating and unfair.

During the second year of our stay with the Lims, an attempt was made to adjust at least their economic disagreements and to forestall what seemed at that time the imminent division of their extended family. It was agreed that Lim A-bok and his mother would take control of the income from the family land and that out of this income they would provide all of the family's food. Whatever was left was theirs to spend as they saw fit. The income from the factory remained under the control of Lim Chieng-cua and he was responsible for all of the family's other needs, such as major purchases for the house, its repair, gifts for weddings, funerals, and the other social obligations of the family. To a non-Chinese, this separation of incomes [196] seems not only reasonable but in the natural order. To the Lims and their neighbors, it was unusual. In Peihotien, if a family loses confidence in its manager, they either divide the family or make do with a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotieñ

poor manager. Neither of these alternatives was agreeable to the Lims. They were too proud to divide, and the tension was too great for them to continue as they were. They chose instead to innovate, to compromise on an untraditional but still acceptable solution. Economically, the family now had two decision makers, but it remained one family, cooking joint meals on one stove.

For many months things were peaceful in the house of Lim. Lim A-pou no longer had reason to complain that Lim Chui-ieng was secretly buying special food for her own children. And, Lim A-pou was now free to reinstate the special sacrifices to the ancestors on their own death and birth days. Almost immediately after the compromise was reached, she also resumed the bi-monthly offerings of food and incense. For many village families these are the only days of the month when they taste meat, but the Lims can afford to eat meat without the excuse of a ceremony. Lim Chieng-cua had abolished the ceremony because he considered buying the required three kinds of meat on one day wasteful. To Lim A-pou, it was a necessity.

Even their neighbors noticed the new atmosphere amongst the Lims. Some of them noted it grudgingly, and some with real pleasure. But one woman, a woman who sincerely wished the best for the Lims because of her long friendship with the older generations of the family, told me, "A family is supposed to be like that, like they are now. The people in that family are all very good to outsiders, but they can't seem to get along with themselves. I'm glad that things have improved, but I fear that they are just getting along in the face and not in the heart."

Unfortunately, this woman's wisdom could not be denied. There soon was a quarrel between Lim A-pou and Lim Chui-ieng that revealed how thin the appearance of harmony really was. Again the relations between A-bok and his uncle seemed strained.

Why didn't the family simply separate and go their own ways? What possible good could outweigh the stress and dissatisfaction of their joint life? My husband and I have thought about this a great deal in the years since we left Taiwan and, as with any human predicament, have come up with no single answer. There is no formula for human behavior that takes the pride of the Lims into account. The very fact that most village families divide their household within a few years after their sons marry was a strong incentive for the Lim family not to do so. A-bok's concern about his fields, that he must keep other

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

package. We took our leave of the descendants of old Lim Han-ci as they wished us to take it, carrying an image of a family given dignity and honor by remaining united where others had failed. People in China make no effort to remove the price tags from the gifts they give. The fact that we could calculate so closely the cost of the image the Lims wished to send with us only added to its value, for them and for us.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

epilogue

[p.148]

SEPARATE STOVES

4596 592 578 A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

4596 592 578 123 Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

4596 178 769 [183] Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

3: Wolf

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

157

[For additional information on personality traits see category 159.]

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

159

[For life history materials, see category 116. pp. 36-147.]

[For the importance of the male child in the Hokkien family see category 842.]

[Information on the sîm-pûà and siaosiv has been marked also for categories 583 and 597.]

[Information on kē and chia (family) may also be found in categories 593 and 596.]

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

593

[For family relationships, see category 116, pp. xiv, 23-29, 41-144.]

[Additional information on sīm-pûà and siaosiv is to be found in categories 584 and 597.]

[Information on kê and chia may also be found in the category 592.]

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596

[For information on the extended family, see category 116, pp. xiv, xv, 10-12, 29-58, and 72-148.]

[Information on the sîm-pûà and siaosiv has been filed also in categories 583 and 584.]

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

611
613

[Information on the Lim family as a lineage will also be found in the category 596.]

618 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[Additional information on tsu may also be found in category 613.]

[Information on kōng-thâ has been filed in category 778.]

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Sanlei Ts'un

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[Introductory, p i]

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Sanlei Ts'un

71-2026

000 BARNETT, William Kester, 1930-
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN, WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF A GREAT TRADITION.

Michigan State University, Ph.D., 1970
Anthropology

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[Introductory p ii]

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Sanlei Ts'un

ABSTRACT

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES

OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF A GREAT TRADITION

By

William Koster Barnett

121 Evidence from a 1965-67 field study conducted in a rural Taiwanese village suggested that the structural position of women was not inferior to men to the extent described in most previous reports or the literature of the Great Tradition of China. A detailed statement of the discrepancies, reasons for their occurrence, and suggestions for reducing misinterpretations in the future are provided.

128 The largest portion of the four logical divisions of this report contains a typical ethnography of a Hokkien village in the rice-tea-orange region of northern Taiwan, based on nineteen months of field work employing standard anthropological techniques such as participant-observation, mapping, census, life histories, and open-ended interview schedules.

121 128 The second portion contrasts the canons of the Great Tradition which contend Chinese women were expected to be uneducated, economically useless, subordinate, submissive, obedient, reticent, passive, and timid, with research data from Sanlei Ts'un where many women were educated, most were

[Introductory Piii]

121 economically important, and several were family despots.
128 Other Chinese ethnographies indicate that Sanlei is not deviant for each contains considerable data which support the latter description despite the fact the data is in conflict with the author's summary regarding female status. A few sources explicitly claim the case for the lowly position of women in China has been overstated.

The third portion establishes how the errors in interpretation come about. One primary cause relates to the frequent anthropological emphasis on persisting aspects of social structure with a corresponding, but not necessary, focus on "ideal" rather than "real" culture; but more important, the presence of a Great Tradition which is expressed in a literary record generates problems for valid anthropological research in high civilizations. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture described by a society's Great Tradition before commencing field work. According to cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome any belief once it becomes internalized, i.e., any evidence contrary to existing knowledge tends to be ignored or denied. Therefore, both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "specialists" probably will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

The last major section is devoted to four suggestions for preventing further misinterpretations. The first supports added attention to concrete enumeration of rates

and cases as part of the increased attention to research methodology and reduced reliance on impressions.

The second advocates increased employment of the processural approach featuring extended case studies which place other analysts one step nearer to the social facts than conventional approaches, i.e., at the level of reading observational reports rather than abstractions.

The third and fourth proposals are two sides of the same coin. In order to maintain traditional anthropological objectivity which was customarily partially based on cross-cultural research, and yet, in order to obtain the advantages accruing from specialization in a Great Tradition, specialists should be encouraged to punctuate field activities in their special civilization by entering a third culture for comparative purposes, and conversely, other ethnographers should be encouraged to conduct research in high civilizations outside their areas of expertise. Specialization in a single society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as presently practiced.

Nevertheless, undue pessimism is not fully warranted as demonstrated by several breakthroughs with new interpretations of Chinese cultural materials despite their conflicts with ideals expressed in the Great Tradition, i.e., in family composition, importance of affinal relations, nature of lineage organizations, etc. Further research is expected to support the contention that the status of women in China is not actually as low as was commonly accepted.

[Introductory p.v]

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Sanlei Ts'un

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES

OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF A GREAT TRADITION

By

William Kester Barnett

A THESIS

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for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1970

[Title Page]
[p. i]

4:Barnett . E-4, 5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

ooo To Nancy,

Beth and Sidney

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Sanlei Ts'un

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114 This study is based on field work conducted in the Republic of China (Taiwan) between September, 1965, and
122 January, 1967. The generous financial support for travel, subsistence, and research expenses was realized from the following sources: National Science Foundation Cooperative Fellowship, Michigan State University Asian Studies Center, National Defense Education Act Loan, and an International Development Fellowship, Institute of Advanced Projects, Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West. The latter also provided six months in residence to organize field notes, review library materials, and consult with visiting and resident scholars. Finally, the period spent in writing after my return was partially supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship. My appreciation is considerable for it simply would not have been possible to accomplish the research without this aid.

114 The field work was facilitated by the hearty cooperation
122 of many people in Taiwan. Although operating under the constraints of the "period of rebellion," pertinent data was provided whenever consistant with the security of the country. Officials in such Hsin Tien offices as those of the mayor, clerk, council, farmers' association, police, and land all made us welcome. Scholars at National Taiwan University

114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu, an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Professors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the United States Information Service. Our major assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people who lived in the village I studied and in the other four villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it is located. They took us into their homes and into their hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University. Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the Asian Studies Center.

114
128 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental structural and organizational problems. In the time available to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

these suggestions although I believe that they would have made the thesis significantly better than it is now. I apologize to Professor Gallin and to readers for defects that could have been remedied if I had made the improvements that he suggested. I plan to make the recommended changes as portions of the dissertation are revised for publication.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my family. My wife, Nancy McMillin Barnett, provided professional assistance as a fellow anthropology graduate student as well as incredible amounts of patience, encouragement, and understanding. My two children, Beth and Sidney, not only endured what might have been regarded as the relative hardship of life in a rural Taiwanese village, they thoroughly enjoyed it, made many friends of their own, and helped make our stay a most enjoyable one. My parents, Betty and Bill, and my mother-in-law, Mary, never deviated from a constant faith in my ability far beyond my own.

Please forgive the unfortunate errors of omission for my debt to so many is too great to be recognized or repaid other than indirectly, by a dedication to scholarship and service to others, in order to transmit the benefits to the next generation.

Iowa City, Iowa
May, 1970

MKB

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

128
601

Male

Female

Deceased Male

Deceased Female

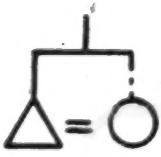
Marriage

Divorce

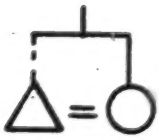
Descent

Adoption

Departed via Migration or Adoption



Adopted Daughter Marriage (Siaosiv)



Adopted-in Husband Marriage (Chao fu)

PREFACE

128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Port Li).

128 104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
104 Ts'un (Third Port Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned name is used consistently throughout the report with reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any material which might be considered injurious or which could prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa (Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A consists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters. Since the names are in common use in literature and for postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided. Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

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436 Monetary amounts ordinarily express the local currency system which is often identified in the literature as N.T. (New Taiwanese). Thus, $1.00 signifies one New Taiwanese dollar. When it is necessary to list an American equivalent, "U.S." is suffixed to the figure. At the time of the study, $ 40.00 was equal to $ 1.00 (U.S.) at the official rate of exchange and the unofficial rate on the black market was nearly identical.

804 There are two units of measure commonly employed in rural Taiwan and which appear frequently in this account. The measure of the land area is the chia, equal to about 2.39 acres and the measure of weight is the chin, equal to about one and one-third pounds.

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Overview of the Theoretical Problem

121 562 In a field study, I found that the actual role of women in contemporary rural Taiwanese society was significantly different from my expectations which were based on an analysis of the traditional literature.[1] In brief, the structural position of women was not inferior to the position of men to the degree expected. Although part of the differences between the observed and predicted patterns was due to socio-cultural change and regional variation, a significant portion is due to errors in abstraction by former reporters. The theoretical problem for this study is the delineation of the inconsistencies and an explanation of the reasons for the errors.

121 One of the foundations of the anthropological approach to research is involvement in a culture foreign to that of the investigator. This requirement is based on the belief that a minimum level of dissimilarity is necessary for both objectivity and awareness. That is, it is necessary that behavior be sufficiently different from that normally encountered by the investigator so that

12| assumptions about human nature are called into question. It will be demonstrated that this ideal approach is not realized in some kinds of societies.

In the early history of anthropology, most research focused on primitive or tribal groups. Commencing in the nineteen-thirties, anthropologists were led by Redfield (1930), Fei (1939), and Embree (1939) to the study of major civilizations, particularly peasant societies. As Geertz has written, "The peasant is an immemorial figure on the world social landscape but anthropology noticed him only recently" (1962:1). The interest in peasants gradually increased, particularly in the last twenty years. Foster argues that problems of peasantry now occupy the attention of more anthropologists than any other (1967a:2).

There is a qualitative difference between peasant societies and primitive societies which has not been sufficiently considered: the possession of a "Great Tradition" which is clearly expressed in a literary record. There has been some research with regard to the degree which the "Little Tradition" of a local community expresses the "Great Tradition" of the society in which it is embedded.[2] Yet, what is often seemingly overlooked is that the "Great Tradition" and the literary record usually concern only the elite classes in a society, the bearers of the "Great Tradition." The existence of a record of this

12 type has important implications for anthropological research.

An anthropologist prepares to study a great civilization by reading as much of its record as possible including the great novels, poetry, songs, history, philosophy, and the like. This is inevitably accomplished even though a small rural community research project is planned. It was suggested by implication in the above paragraph that the relationship between the "Great Tradition" expressed in this literature and the "Little Tradition" to be discovered in the village is problematical. It is possible that the study of the "Great Tradition" may create a bias in the observer which psychologists refer to as creation of a "psychological set." Kendler (1968:319-20), for example, argues that once the subject has internalized one set of concepts or responses, it is extremely difficult for him to learn to reverse his knowledge. In simple terms, it is implied that the investigator will discover exactly what he expects to discover. He may make good observations in the field. Nevertheless, his conclusions are likely to be consistent with the knowledge he derived from his preparations before going to the field. Two cases will illustrate this problem.

For the first, both the "Great Tradition" of China and the anthropological reports agree that the dominant residence pattern in China is patrilocal. A recent

12 description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were [591] provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the [585] described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, [17] a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

12\ observed fifteen weddings; two brides wore a red dress and thirteen, a white gown. He concluded that there were two typical weddings and thirteen exceptions. His summary is a good illustration of the argument--his data were good, furnished without hesitation in spite of the fact the data did not support his abstraction. His abstraction was consistent with the "Great Tradition" which I argue creates a personal bias difficult for the investigator to overcome. He, for example, displayed no anxiety when I confronted him with the fact that his "typical" wedding should reflect the white gown worn in 13 cases rather than the red dress worn in two.

The kind of preparation described above for study in a civilization contrasts significantly with that by an anthropologist planning a tribal study. He too reads all that is available but most of what he reads are observational reports rather than a body of indigenous literature. He probably still brings to his study his own biases for after all, "No man looks at the world with pristine eyes" (Benedict, 1935:4). However, the biases were derived from a cultural background distinct from the focus of the field study.

It is probable that the anthropologist interested in one of the great civilizations brings to the field not only the biases derived from his own culture but biases from the culture in which he plans to conduct research.

12| Also note that this second type of bias is derived from a subculture of the elite classes rather than from the peasant masses. It is probably significant that many anthropologists who study China are known as "Sinologists" but there is no equivalent term for those who study the Zuni or the Nuba.

However, once a bias derived from the "Great Tradition" is overcome and reported in the literature, other investigators soon discover the fact in their own research This does not imply that there is any falsification; rather, that once the importance of some social fact is drawn to the attention of the investigator, he looks at its implications for his own research. This latter belief is supported by the fact that when ethnographies written before its recognition are re-examined, they often provide support for the new discovery through concrete details although the original author may have reached the opposite conclusion.

12| Let me illustrate with the case of the Chinese
59 family. Almost all early descriptions of the Chinese family emphasized its nature as a large extended family unit. In a demographic survey of 2,866 farm families in China, Buck revealed that most of the families were nuclear and smaller than previously suggested (1930). However, Buck's report did not have much effect on the literature until discovered and reported with further data by

121 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese
59 Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 For another illustration, consider the only re-
602 cently realized importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

supposed overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality, have been "discovered" to be important in economic and political spheres as well as in such other spheres as marriage, funerals, education, certain birthdays, childbirth, etc. Subsequent reports take Gallin's discovery into account. For example, A. P. Wolf (1968) stressed the importance of the need to establish a network of affinal relations as one factor promoting traditional marriage forms in a Taiwanese peasant village.

As suggested previously, the re-examination of earlier reports also reveals clues to the importance of affinal relatives. The partnership which dominates Lin Yueh-hwa's study of Chinese familism (1947) consisted of a pair of affinal relatives. Although Fei placed great emphasis on agnates, he does indicate some significance for affinal extensions (1939:86-7). Finally, Freedman concludes (1957:225-31) that the kinship system in Singapore does not place an emphasis "on the groupings of people into agnatic groups" which is found in Fukien and Kwangtung. The importance of affinal relatives is one of the factors negating this expected emphasis. Because his conclusions which were based on observation are different than his expectations which were based on the literature, he considers Singapore to be deviant (1957:225). In the terms of the concept previously delineated, it may well be the case that if he were to make observations in Fukien and Kwangtung, he might also conclude that they too were

12| deviant from the model he furnishes for them, a model which he derived from the traditional literature.

I wish to strongly emphasize that careful analysis of earlier reports usually reveals support for each of these new discoveries in spite of the fact they were contrary to conventional literature and the "Great Tradition." It is discovered that the old data lends itself to a fresh interpretation in light of the new discovery. The original interpretation was incorrect or perhaps, neglected certain key aspects.

The above kinds of errors are now less likely to eventuate. Probably to a greater degree than ever before in the history of anthropology, there is an emphasis on science and a scientific approach. It is my belief that observations today include a greater amount of factual detail such as enumeration of examples than previously. Moreover, extended case studies provide detailed data previously available only to the original observer. There is correspondingly less emphasis on impressions. It is felt that this newer approach will help overcome the errors in previous ethnographies.

Attention is also being focused on research methodology. In a recent introduction to a work on methods, Epstein remarked on the "curious dearth of publications devoted specifically to the problems of fieldwork" (1967: vii). Malinowski has been held up as an excellent observer

worthy of emulation by most of my generation of anthropologists and those of one generation earlier. Yet, there are now second thoughts with regard to his reports. He was a romantic, reporting on what the society was like in the past and not on what he really observed. Where were the western soldiers, traders, trading posts, etc.? Mair (1969:135) claims that although Malinowski taught us "to look at society ' as a going concern,' what he described in the Trobriand Islands was 'the going concern' as it must have been just before a Colonial ruler began to interfere with it." A romantic ideal and glorification of the past has often been a part of anthropology. An indication of this previous emphasis may be found in the frequent use of the term the "ethnographic present" rather than the "past."

In this dissertation I plan to explore one of the kinds of error previously described. Given the current state of awareness about the small size of the Chinese family, it is time for a detailed re-examination of consequent differences in its internal roles and role relationships. By means of a community case study, I focus on the role of women in rural Chinese society and how the role differs from that reported in the traditional accounts. In addition to the particular case study, traditional literature will be re-examined for supporting evidence in spite of the original author's own abstractions and conclusions.

121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 562 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

12| several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo
562 the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature.
[122] The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

12) abusive or authoritarian in their relations with men. It
562 is nearly impossible to spend more than five minutes in a busy market without hearing a woman arguing with a man and even berating him loudly. My wife was taught certain curses, to be addressed only to males such as a salesman or taxi driver. If the curses would not make a taxi driver operate his vehicle at a slower rate, she was told to hit him. We observed women hitting men with their umbrellas on at least five occasions although in only two of these cases did we collect data other than the observation. In one, a woman hit her husband because he had spent too much money drinking in the afternoon, apparently a frequent occurrence. In the other, a woman hit a pedicab driver whom she had not seen prior to that day in a dispute over a fare. When asked if she feared physical retaliation, she said that men seldom returned women's blows.

As we established intimate friendships in the cities and became intensively involved in the villages we studied, we continued to find that the behavior of women was consistent with our initial observations rather than the literature. For example, women were the most outspoken--men seldom raised their voices or verbally abused woman; women frequently screamed at men, relatives and strangers alike. In the homes, women often controlled the family budget. I never saw a woman locked out of her

house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine students agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

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12| illustrate both of these possibilities. It appears that the normal tendency is to "deny" the conflicting interpretation. When one individual does make a breakthrough and changes his belief, it is easy for others to follow suit, assuming the new belief is supported by the evidence. It is much easier to join at least one partner in oppositition to the opinion of a group than to stand alone (Asch, 1955:35).

Taiwan as a Research Site

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12| Most sinologists are extremely frustrated by the fact that they are not permitted to conduct research in Mainland China, primarily because of their inability to obtain the permission of the Communist government. This problem is particularly acute for anthropologists because of their research orientation which favors an intensive study of a single community by means of participant observation. A number of approaches have been employed in an attempt to overcome the frustration.

There have been studies of Chinese culture by means of documents at a distance (Freedman, 1958; 1966). There have been a few community studies in Mainland China but these are of questionable reliability due to the lack of the professional qualifications of the investigator (J. T. Myrdal, 1965), the personal ideologies of the investigators (Crook and Crook, 1959; 1966), or the extremely

T H 121 short period allowed for the investigation (Geddes, 1963).

The most common approach has been to study a Chinese community outside of mainland China. Sometimes the communities function as sub-cultures in very different societies such as Indonesia (Tan, 1963) or Thailand (Coughlin, 1960; Skinner, 1957). In other cases, the communities are in areas of mixed political history and domination but which appear to have significant Chinese characteristics: Singapore (Freedman, 1957; Elliott, 1955), Hong Kong (Ward, 1954; Potter, 1968; Baker, 1968), or especially Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Cohen, 1969; Wolf, 1968; Pasternak, 1969; Diamond, 1969).

All of the above communities have been strongly affected by foreign influences. This does not imply that mainland China has not been influenced; rather, extreme caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the research site to mainland China for the extent of foreign influences are significantly different, both in quantity and quality.

T H 12 There are good reasons why Taiwan is the most popular of these research locations. It is inhabited by Chinese people living in a Chinese cultural context under a T [19] Chinese government. The only official language is Man- [8] darin Chinese. Six years of education are compulsory, nine years since 1968, and only in officially accredited government schools.

T H 121 T 648 17

However, Taiwan has serious drawbacks. Fried believes the relatively shallow period of Chinese residence is the most serious of these (1966:285). Also, Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese for a fifty year period, a situation not dissimilar to the American occupation of the Philippines. Although Japanese immigration never reached high levels, contacts with mainland China during this period were nearly as restricted as they have been during the last twenty years. For the most part, there were only minor efforts expended to Japanize the island and these occurred primarily in the last portion of the period of occupation, since the nineteen-thirties, as part of the war effort. However, the degree of Japanization was quite unevenly applied, strongest in the urban and suburban areas of large cities. A successful individual had to become quite Japanese for education was in the Japanese language in a Japanese school system. During the fifty years, officialdom was Japanese or at the very least, Japanese-oriented.

T 648 [175] T 162 [167]

Aside from the short period between the restoration in 1945 and the Communist conquest of the mainland in 1949, contact with the mainstream of Chinese culture has been almost completely curtailed. There were large numbers of people who migrated permanently from the mainland to Taiwan during that short period of four years. These migrants and their descendants are known as "Mainlanders"

T 162 and are contrasted with the "Taiwanese," those Chinese who were residents or descendants of residents before establishment of the Japanese suzerainty.

T 162 563 In 1945, the population of Taiwan was about 6,560,000 (Hsieh, 1964:212). During the next four years about 400,000 Japanese returned home and 100,000 Taiwanese came back from Japan (Hsieh, 1964:185). The net loss was offset by the migrants from the mainland which included 600,000 military personnel plus civilians conservatively estimated at a half-million and perhaps twice that (Fried, 1966:288). Most estimates today state Mainlanders constitute nearly 15 per cent of the population but some estimates range as high as 25 per cent (Latourette, 1964:42). Instead of a random sample of mainland population, the Mainlanders consisted of two rather distinct groups: a military one, not wealthy, most without dependents, and an urbanized Westernized set of business men, government officials, and professionals with their families. In either case, they tended to settle in urban areas.

T 563 Mainlanders and Taiwanese are not yet amalgamated and relations between them are often strained. Fried T H 648 states that:

> The Nationalist government actively seeks to build an image of present-day Taiwan that features peaceful, pleasant accommodation as the mode of interaction between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. There is ample evidence . . . that the

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563 picture thus presented falls short of the reality--although overt antigovernment activity is subdued to the point that casual observers may be led to believe it nonexistent (1966:296).

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648 This is a reasonable estimate of the situation. Many Taiwanese villagers I chatted with in several places on the island feel that they and the Mainlanders are different. They would generally be pleased to maintain the present level of social distance.[4] It appears that the government program of indoctrination and education in a common single language plus the effects of social interaction and intermarriage are reducing the extent of social distance.

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171 Unlike Taiwan, mainland China is largely cut off
177 from the remainder of the world. Her leaders have had
648 little experience outside China. Few foreigners are permitted to reside in China or visit as tourists and even then, the movements of foreigners are greatly restricted. In contrast, Taiwan has a large resident foreign population, primarily American Military personnel, their dependents, and supporting organizations. Moreover, Taiwan is a major "Rest and Recreation" center for American troops from Vietnam, 40,000 per year, and is fast becoming a major tourist attraction, particularly for the Japanese. Most foreigners live in the large cities and

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[262] their suburbs, particularly Taipei. English language signs abound and canned and dry Western foods are to be found in almost every grocery store even in remote

villages. Other Western goods may be purchased in the cities and towns. Movie houses all over Taiwan frequently run American movies, usually with Chinese subtitles. On television in rural villages, a favorite show was the American program "Combat" with Chinese subtitles. In these kinds of contacts and in the extent and depth of their influences, there are significant differences between Taiwan and the Mainland.

Finally, economic conditions are significantly different from those found on the Mainland. Taiwan has a relatively high standard of living as compared with the bulk of Asia. There is more industry, better educational opportunities, better transportation systems and better health care accompanied by lower mortality rates and longer life expectancy.

In spite of these problems, as previously argued, Taiwan remains the best site outside of the Mainland for research into Chinese culture. As claimed by Freedman, "Taiwan is China--that at least is not in dispute . . ." (1963:4). Even if it is eventually realized that research on Taiwan is not directly relevant to the processes of the mainstream of Chinese history, it is an excellent research site on its own terms, an example of a developing peasant society, a former colony, rapidly undergoing transformation and entering the mainstream of world change towards development of a modernized industrialized nation.

121 Constraints on the Selection of a Research Site

My original goal was to prepare a standard ethnography of a Taiwanese village. Ethnographic data normally may be used in a number of ways to further achievement of a number of goals. Some of these uses are planned and explicit; others are generated out of the field experience; and still others are not realized until later, after analysis by the original investigator or others. The latter use is especially dependent on the comprehensiveness of the original data. Every ethnography is necessarily highly selective. Out of a huge mass of behavior, the ethnographer abstracts selected aspects which he believes to be relevant in terms of his theoretical orientation or which bear on the problems under investigation. Since I originally had three major problems under consideration, they will be discussed briefly below because they affected the quality and quantity of the data and were important considerations in selection of the research site.

For the first, I am cooperating with my major professor, Dr. Bernard Gallin, senior investigator in a study of rural-to-urban migration and urban influences on rural village life, especially as the city becomes a stimulus for change. This research is primarily related to Taiwan but eventually may be extended to include other peasant societies. The first village studied for this purpose

(Gallin, 1966) was located many miles from a large city and required several hours travel to reach by local transportation.

To contrast with the kind of location studied by Gallin, it was desired to select a village which would be within commuting distance of a large city such that village residents could travel daily to work. Yet, to control as many other relevant factors as possible, it was necessary that village residents be descendants of Hokkien families who had migrated from Fukien at least one hundred years previously, whose primary occupations were in agriculture, and who possessed a clear identity as a community. In addition to the constraints on site selection, this cooperation in a study of rural-urban factors necessitated the collection of data comparable to that acquired in the original study conducted in 1957-58 (Gallin, 1966) as well as his follow-up study in 1965-66. The latter required duplication of one questionnaire administered to a sample of the villagers and another, to a sample of villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei.

The second problem interest was due to the stimulation of Dr. John Gullahorn. I have a major interest in the computer simulation of human social behavior with a long-term goal of the eventual use of the data to build a computer model of the village which would simulate human

decision-making processes. Dr. Gullahorn's original simulation model involved a small number of people, three, who were artificial, and with considerable detail for each one (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; 1964). In complementary fashion, my intended simulation would involve more people, real rather than artificial constructions, and fewer details for each individual. This second problem interest necessitated selection of a fairly small village of manageable proportions, and the acquisition of a considerable amount of detail regarding every individual villager. Finally, to simplify the simulation, a relatively fixed structure and process would be an ideal. The fewer the changes that had occurred over the past fifty years, the better.

Finally, I and my wife, also a graduate student in anthropology, were both in the field at the same time and for the same general purpose, to conduct research on which to base our dissertations. The process required two independent community studies. However, since we were both interested in cultural and social change, it was possible to select sites which would maximize possibilities for understanding the processes of change. We decided to select two villages that represented relative extremes on a modern-to-traditional continuum. However, the two communities would be selected so that they would be nearly identical for as many other factors as possible: size,

12 age, ecological setting, etc., in order to allow for a "controlled comparison" (Eggan, 1954).

In order to meet the conditions imposed by the above three projects the object village would ideally have the following characteristics:

1. Population: 350 to 500
2. Reference Location to Large City: Daily commuting distance
3. Age: 100 to 250 years
4. Primary Occupational Structure: Agricultural
5. Primary Language: Taiwanese (Min-nan hua)
6. Place of Origin of Original Settlers: Fukien
7. Orientation: Traditional
8. Neighboring Village: Paired with one which shares a nearly identical ecological setting and as many of the other characteristics listed above as possible except that it should be relatively modern rather than traditional.

Except for the terms traditional and modern, all the above items were relatively easy to operationalize. Traditional is employed in the sense of emphasizing notions of continuity and stability (Sampson, 1964:723) and modern is its opposite, emphasizing change although no value judgment is intended. These terms are "ideal types" in a logical sense which provide limiting cases at each end of a continuum (Lockwood, 1964:312). No community fits at any one location on the continuum in every aspect, i.e., the more modern community with regard to most traits may be more traditional with regard to others, but two locations, in

general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illustrate with one concrete example. In the traditional village, mid-wives attended at births which have usually been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

122 of eighteen months, it was necessary that we locate within reasonable commuting distance of an American school. This requirement restricted the locations to the countryside surrounding the large cities of Taipei and Taichung, each of which possessed an appropriate school.

Selection of the Subject Village

121 Due to the difficult terrain and state of the roads
122 and transportation facilities in the main possible locations, investigation revealed that distances should be specified in terms of travel-time rather than mileage. It was arbitrarily decided that a minimum of one-half hour travel-time probably separated village from city life. Maximally, as travel-time approached or exceeded one and one-half hours, it appeared unlikely that the village would contain any daily commuters. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction) a pair of irregular concentric lines were drawn on maps of the areas surrounding Taipei and Taichung delineating the requisite distances of one-half to one and one-half hours travel-time. Demographic and ecological characteristics of all villages bounded by the lines were analyzed in a preliminary fashion with officials of the J.C.R.R. and with Professor Chen Shao-heing of the Sociology Department at National Taiwan University.

121 We also discussed potential sites with officials
122 in each township office and the local farmer's association linked with villages within the specified areas although at this period of first contact, our requirements were not revealed to consultants in the detail listed above. We then visited any villages within the area that remotely approached the specifications. On all occasions, we were accompanied by a minor official of the local farmers' association. The latter individuals have comprehensive knowledge of the local community and moreover, usually have good relations with most villagers.

Some sites were discarded immediately for such obvious defects as size, too large or too small, or economy, i.e., a factory located within village limits. More promising ones received a visit with local officials, a walking tour through the village, and chats with several residents. Such investigations took from thirty minutes to an hour and a quarter with an average of about 45 minutes each. There was the inevitable cup of tea with the mayor or some other important resident. In these investigations, the farmers' association official was invaluable for almost everyone knew the representative by name and wanted to talk with him. These investigations took one to three days for each township area. After examining the data upon completing a township area, most sites were eliminated. Those villages which still seemed promising were

121 revisited for a period of three to five hours. Finally,
122 before going on to the next township, these latter sites were discussed again with senior officials who were familiar with demographic and economic details. Ten potential pairs of villages reached this level of analysis.

After completing the entire circuit surrounding Taipei and Taichung, more thorough analysis reduced the ten to a final three, one in the Taichung area and two in the Taipei area. Seven of the ten sites were eliminated solely because of the desire to minimize differences between the pairs of villages as discussed in connection with one research goal of a controlled comparison. For example, one village was considerably larger than the other; or one village was next to the river and the other was not.

We spent two full days in each of the remaining three pairs of villages. One of these was eliminated because it was too close to two communities in which many Americans resided and several of its residents were either working or had worked in American households as servants or gardeners. It was a "toss-up" between the final two. The one we selected saved a move of 100 miles and was nearest the school (1-1/2 hours) we thought best for our children.

121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

121 During the first nine months, we lived in the city
122 of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

121 men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month
122 a different house. In this room I conducted some interviews but primarily it was used for writing, organizing data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals with the household in which I had a room. This technique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in several different households. People could be on their best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own. Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both located in the same li, and the village centers were separated only by the equivalent of one and a half city blocks, the particular village location did not appear to be important. We were quite surprised at the differences resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei
123 Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although we felt we had already established excellent relations. We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Although our children had visited the villages many times, they quickly established their own network of friends and associates and our son attended the local school one day a week.

123 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of
609 European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your
123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assess-
609 ed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some-
554 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order
574 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my
123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had
[573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association).
[60] A final key may be found in the term of address which

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name).
My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 115 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.

123 Finally, mention must be made of the fact that there were two anthropologists in the family, one male and one female. There are some situations in which a male has a significant advantage, and others, a female. For example, I had a distinct advantage with regard to men's drinking parties, dirty-story telling, sex life, etc. On the other hand, it proved exceedingly difficult for me to interview women under 30 on many subjects and with regard to sex, almost any female at an age under 70 was nearly impossible. Indeed, for an anthropological study of Chinese society, I believe a Western woman has an advantage. She is fully accepted as a woman by the women and simultaneously is almost accepted as a man by the men. Although we each studied separate villages, we inevitably participated in the affairs of both. Discussion of data and interpretations constantly stimulated and encouraged both of us for each could bring a fresh insight into the other's problems.

124 In addition to the usual techniques, there were
125 three special approaches. Because we eventually desired to compare the two villages, ten months after commencing field work, we jointly prepared an open-ended interview schedule which was independently administered to all adults in each of the two villages. An interview schedule prepared by Dr. Gallin was administered to a sample of village
124 residents. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

121 368-9). I include the concept of role-set in my defini-
128 tion of role for there would be few roles which would not involve several social positions. A public school teacher in American society necessarily relates to such positions as student, colleague, and principal. She also probably relates on a secondary level to parents, board members, union officials, etc.

Since this study is of a small rural village, most relationships are inclusive and serial, termed by Gluckman "multiplex" (1964). By this he means that when two people interact in a multiplex relationship, it is likely that a large number of role relationships are involved. Although roles are not synonymous with people, each person may be examined analytically as if he were a bundle of roles. The characteristics of the bundle effect role behavior as does the personality of the individual. Part of the concept of role includes the idea of a script for acting. Some scripts are very explicit and others, quite general. Each individual follows his script somewhat differently. The major role I examine in the study is that of adult female. This role can be divided analytically into narrower roles such as wife, mother, aunt, girl-friend, customer, etc. The major relationship studied is between the adult female and the adult male, the latter similarly susceptible to finer distinctions. Abstraction at the highest level, i.e., male-female relationships, is attempted

121 although detailed data at lower levels are provided.
128 The next eight chapters contain an ethnographic description of Sanlei, a village in Taiwan, with particular emphasis on the role of women. The last chapter presents the general abstraction discussed in the above paragraph and contrasts it with an abstraction from the traditional literature. Possible reasons for the discrepancy between the two abstractions are considered and rejected in favor of the theoretical position advanced at the beginning of this chapter, i.e., the presence of a "Great Tradition" and its effects on the anthropological field worker. Implications for future research are then considered and a series of suggestions for reducing future errors are advanced.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Location and Physiography

131 The island of Taiwan (or Formosa) lies on an arc which is convex to the Asiatic mainland and is bisected by the Tropic of Cancer. At its closest point, Taiwan is 90 miles from the province of Fukien on the Chinese mainland and nearly equidistant between Shanghai and Hong Kong, each 400 miles distant (Cressey, 1964:174). Six hundred miles up the arc to the northeast through Okinawa is the Japanese island of Kyushu. Down the arc in the other direction is Luzon in the Philippines a distance of only 200 miles (Cressey, 1955:234). Taiwan is shaped roughly like a tobacco leaf, about 245 miles long and 90 miles wide at its widest point. Its coastline of 700 miles is exceptionally smooth and unindented (Tregear, 1965:304). With a total area of 13,800 square miles, it is about the size of Holland or Massachusetts (See Figure 1).

133 The island, for the most part, is very mountainous. There are thirty peaks exceeding 10,000 feet in elevation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 42]

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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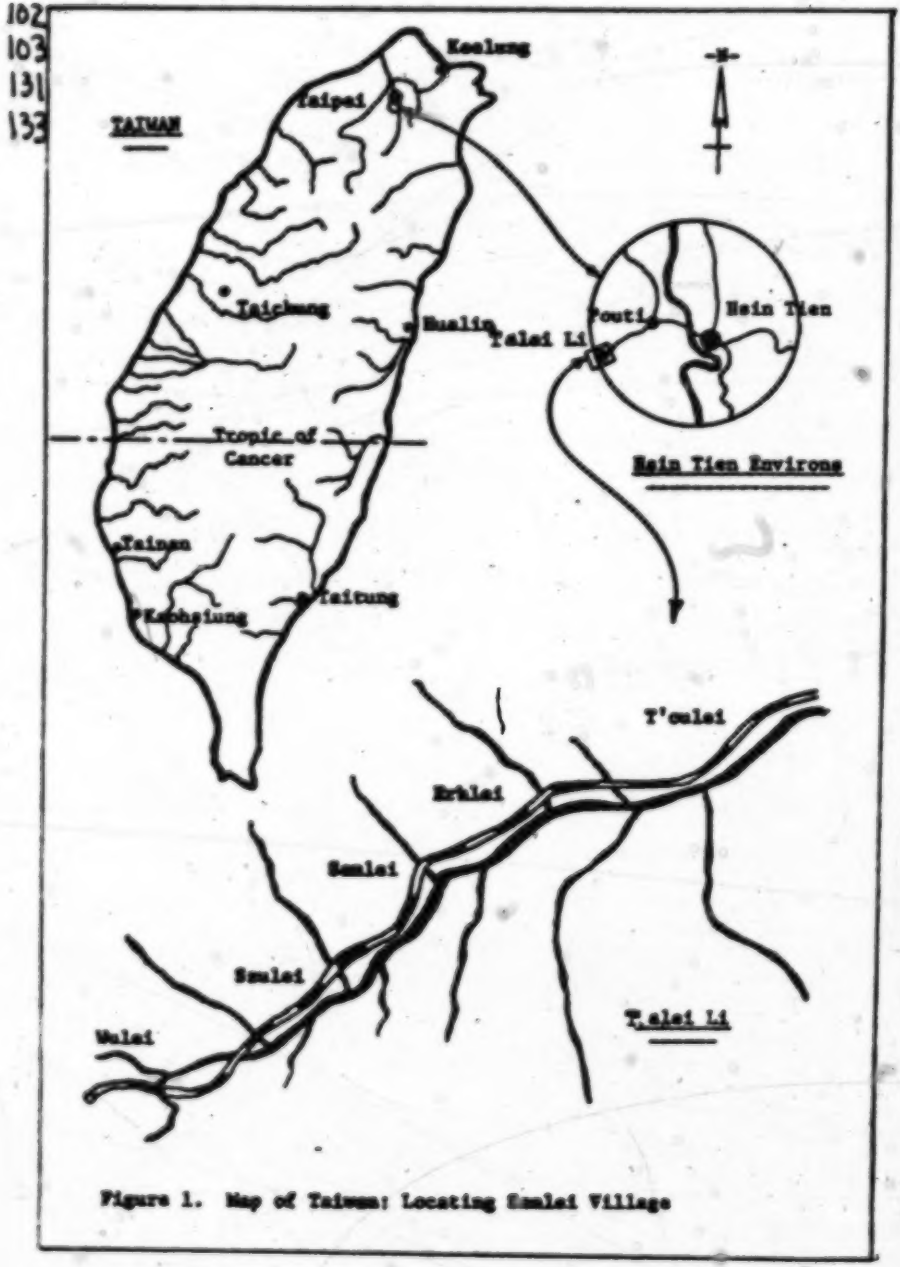

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan: Locating Sanlei Village

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The
soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached,
acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and
fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain,
scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable.
The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly
coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh,
1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of
Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital
and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and
a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one
first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over
10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1).
The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located
in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the
major market and political center for the nearby villages.
Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the
area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius
of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei,
its influence extends less than half the distance between
town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca,
located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented.
Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway
in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 494 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the 153 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet 491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In 491 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus 153 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]
contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

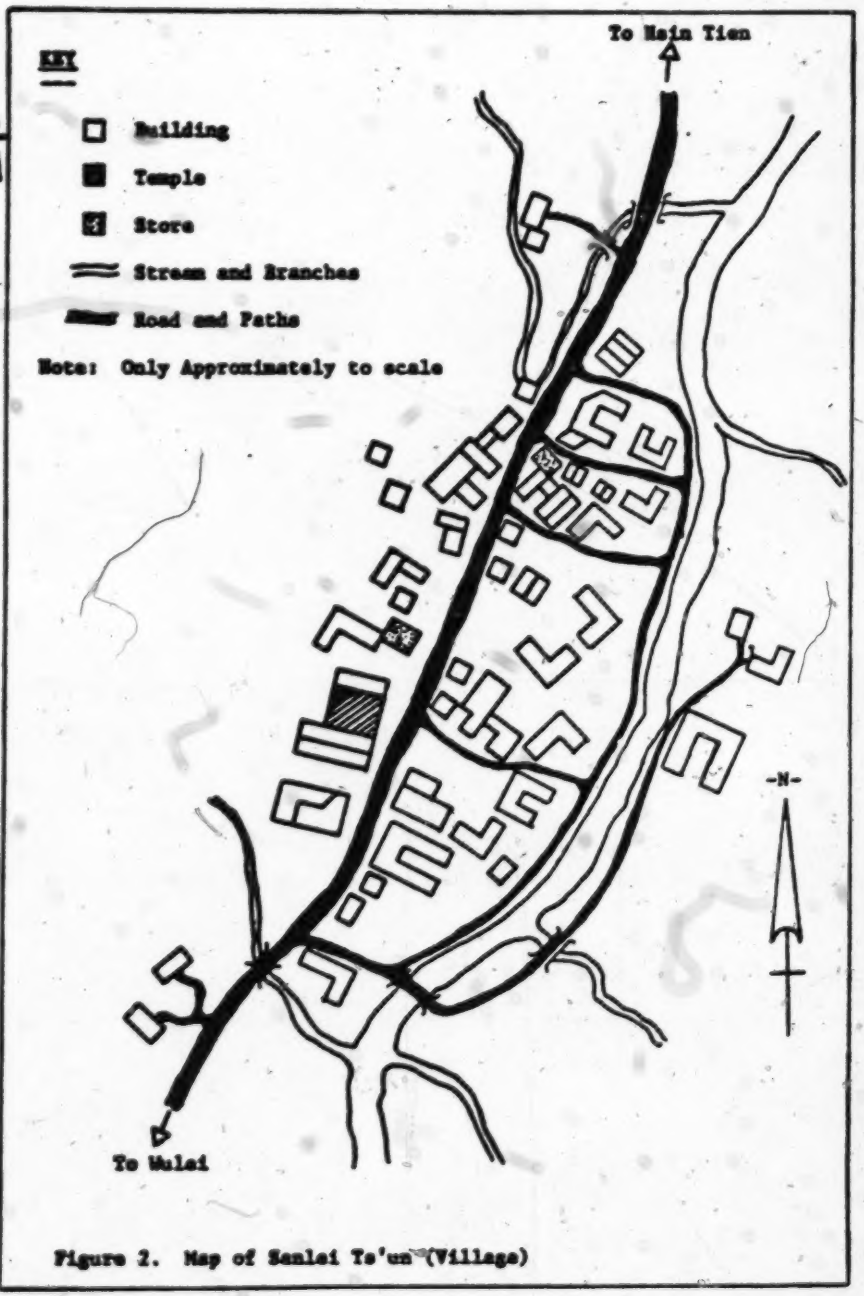

Figure 2. Map of Sanlei Ts'un (Village)

000 contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1] Sanlei vil-
361 lage is long and narrow. To the right is a single line of houses following the road with the first and last two separated from the remaining houses which are very close together. On the left, the distance from the road to the creek ranges from 50 to 125 feet. The majority of village buildings are in this area, many fronting on the road, others on one of the five paths from road to creek, and the rest on the courtyard in front of the temple. Three buildings are located across the creek (see Figure 2).

Weather

132 Taiwan lies off the east coast of Asia athwart the Tropic of Cancer and is surrounded by warm ocean currents. The northern and summer monsoons influence the weather although all weather is conspicuously modified by Taiwan's rugged topography (Cressey, 1955:238). The north is subtropical and the south, tropical. In the north, winters are cold but rarely does the temperature extend below 40° F. Summers are long and hot, but the temperature reaches 95° F infrequently in the village. Most nights are cool due to the ever present winds. Humidity is nearly always high. Taiwan is in the prime typhoon belt and about three typhoons a year usually pass directly over some part of the island and many others pass nearby. Typhoons dump copious quantities of rain and the winds often cause extensive damages.

132 village men agree that about once every three years, one crop is seriously reduced by typhoon damage.

Temperature and rainfall in the village are not too unlike those in Taipei although the village and Taipei are separated by the chain of foothills (see Table 1 for official Taipei records). Rain is fairly constant in the northern part of Taiwan. During the last twelve months of our stay, there was rain on 191 different days. Although the yearly mean for rain is 72.4 inches, the year with the least amount totaled only slightly less, 65.3 inches.

Table 1. Taipei Climatic Averages for 56 Years (Taken from Huttanson, 1963:128)

Month	Temperature High (Mean)	Inches of Rain	Per Cent Humidity
January	59.3	3.1	83
February	58.9	5.2	85
March	62.8	7.0	84
April	69.2	6.8	83
May	75.9	8.7	82
June	79.9	11.2	82
July	82.6	7.5	79
August	82.4	9.3	79
September	79.8	6.4	80
October	73.9	3.1	80
November	68.5	1.9	80
December	62.4	2.3	82
Year	71.3	72.4	82

During the heaviest year, one with three typhoons in the northern area, rainfall reached 124.9 inches. Except when typhoons are nearby, rain is usually in the form of a drizzle. The average number of days with precipitation

132 is about 184.4 (Huttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island

175in the 17th century but have left little long term effects. A Ming general, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga), fleeing the Manchus with his army wrested control from the Dutch and established an independent kingdom in 1661. The Chinese population of 100,000 grew rapidly during the next 200 years for Taiwan served both as a refuge and as a frontier area with undeveloped land attracting people from Fukien and Kwangtung. The island was incorporated as a fu (district) of Fukien in 1683 and as an independent province of China in 1886 (Davidson, 1903).

Its provincial status was short-lived for Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895. Japan restricted further immigration into Taiwan from the Chinese Mainland and controlled the island until Restoration[2] to the Republic of China on October 25, 1945 (Hsieh, 1964:662-83). Under Japanese control there were great improvements in health, agriculture, transportation, and later, industrialization. In spite of many promotional efforts, Japanese immigration never reached high levels. After the Restoration, there was a short period of economic decline and subsequently, rapid advances in all the areas listed above. For example, between 1960 and 1966, the annual growth of the G.N.P. was at a rate of 9.7% while the cost of living remained relatively stable (Emery and Lee, 1967:808).

175 It is important to realise that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

127 The local history of the village naturally meshes
175 with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830)
167 in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[351] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Tu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

716 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
708 Shih Po Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

776 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth
778 god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

621 The original settlers constituted a corporate
[423] group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[446] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems, T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

162 [161] Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Ssulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if [829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 829 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

162

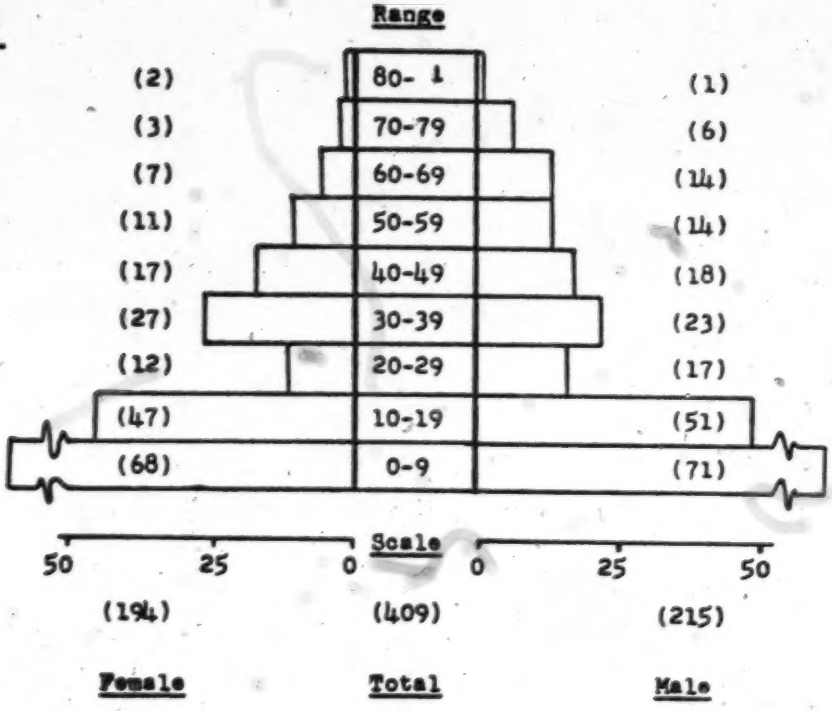

Figure 3. Population Pyramid, Sanlei Village, 1966

171 162 is seriously under-represented. In comparison with figures for all of Taiwan at the end of 1966 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3), the percentage distribution is nearly identical for most categories although there is a slightly higher percentage of people under 10 and also of people over 60 in the village as compared with the nation. However, in the 20 to 29 age bracket, the village percentage is 7.1% as opposed to Taiwan's 13.2%. Since the immediately preceding category, ages 10-19, is nearly

171 identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeed-
162 ing one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

561 People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their
464 entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109).
561 Young people, particularly girls, are living near the
166 factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalance exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have
[874] returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the vil-
[463] lage at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
Kk working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

162 (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys. An identical pattern of high sex ratios in the rural area is found in the United States in spite of the country's overall sex ratio of less than one hundred. This difference in the two areas of Taiwan might be a key to assessing the levels of modernization. It appears that Sanlei is more like rural America than for example, Gallin's Hsin Hsing, for it has the same high sex ratio and the identical practice of a higher percentage of girls than boys migrating to the city to work.

The average age of the Taiwanese population is seventeen years and four months (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:718). The average age of the Sanlei villager was just under 15. This difference too is partly due to the missing group in the 20 to 29 bracket explained above. It is also due to the fact that rural farmers are more fertile than urban dwellers and therefore, more young children are included in overall figures, lowering the average age.

An examination of the population within prime working ages, those between 15 and 64 as conventionally defined (Barclay, 1954:98), exposes a major village problem.
162 Only 44.2% of the Sanlei villagers are in this primary
464 work-force category and 55.8% are dependent. For Taiwan as a whole, 52.9% are in the prime work force (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3) while in the

162 United States, as in other highly industrialized coun-
464 tries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

163 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population ex-
165 plosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan (Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969)

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.[7] No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967: 98).

Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime childbearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly identical increase rates. Many village women are now practicing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

621 592 Individual villagers are combined into chia (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 602 613 Although not listed in the official government records, a number of chia in the village are combined into several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates; for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
536 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[866] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this struc-
ture are the superordinate government levels such as town-
ship, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant
units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit
of the official government, it has few functions, serving
only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a
postal address. However, the village appears to be a
prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese.
In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in
size, large villages are divided into two or more li;
medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages
are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example
of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part
of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two
contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across
each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships.
One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and
Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair
of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives
against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

66 agnatic and affinal, add another dimension to this complexity for most of the residents are members of families whose forefathers occupied the village over an extended period of time. The effects of alliances or feuds in the past often continue to be important long after the original principals have disappeared from the scene.

571 Other important governmental or quasi-governmental organizations which influence local affairs include the school and parent teacher's association, police organization, farmers' association, and fruit cooperative. Completely informal units which are important include two temple organizations, various sworn brothers and god's organizations, and several cooperative work groups.

The various kind of social groups discussed above mean that no individual is an isolated unit. He is necessarily involved intimately in a large number of social groups, some in conflict, forcing a choice between alternatives. Although the priorities are not always clear, the general agreement is that the family is usually the most important social group. Most new residents are [643] quickly incorporated into various units. Only a few outsiders such as Mainlanders remain relatively isolated but even Mainlanders can become relatively involved if they behave in accordance with village norms over an extended period of time.

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

191 Several of the older men, especially the more in-
192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

soon after graduation from grade school unless the graduate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually miscalled "Chinese dialects" even though they are not mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17). Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antagonism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school. Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter. According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes that are often made about their accents also serve to inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

Japanese is the third most important language in Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japanese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and her husband are the only two villagers who still speak Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the village. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese

191 some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak
191 Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another
197 Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

212 Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 561 [855] [514] A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

291
177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts, [292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey [513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 A few young men are quite "mod," slim tight
177 trousers, sport shirts in "psychedelic" colors, and leather
561 jackets. Two village boys who dress in this style regularly play a guitar and sing the modern songs in Japanese or Chinese. Modern Japanese songs are very popular and young people learn to sing them by copying records although speaking little Japanese. Village boys are thereby imitating the young sub-culture of urban dwellers in their early twenties.

291 Women usually wear cotton skirts and blouses. Underneath, they seldom wear slips or brassieres but do wear underpants made of the same previously described "flour-sack" material, in a shape and form not unlike tight peddle-pushers nearly reaching the knees. There is no immodesty attached to exposing underpants. To assume a favorite working position, a woman merely hikes her skirt up to her waist and squats. For work in the fields, women often wear trousers which tuck into split-toe boots, long-sleeved tight-necked blouses, cotton gloves, all topped off with a straw hat fastened by a cloth over the top tied under the chin. This outfit offers protection from thorns, insects, and the effects of the sun. The wide straw hat which provides protection from both the
291 sun and rain is worn often by men and women alike. A few
561 older women wear the traditional Chinese jacket with pantaloons but only very old women wear a chi pao (the

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[542] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village; the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

342 summer and warmest in winter. Starting in the late forties, houses have been constructed of fired brick, always with tile roofs. A brick factory is located on the main road just over half-way to Hsin Tien. Fired-brick house types now constitute a majority in the village.

The original floors in all the house types described above are pounded earth but cement floors are now being added. The first room to be floored is either the kung t'ing (main room) or kitchen. Bedrooms still are seldom other than pounded earth.

Under the stimulation of the government, a new style house is being built entirely of reinforced concrete: floor, walls, and roof. The government requires use of one of three stock plans. The houses are designed to eventually become row houses with a common wall, i.e., reinforcing rods protrude in appropriate places. Additionally, each house is designed to eventually reach three [452] stories, each preceding roof becoming a floor. If someone builds a house as specified by the government, he can obtain a low-interest house loan. This stimulation has resulted in the construction of three recent houses in Sanlei. The advantages of the house style which include the natural cleanliness of all cement floors, long economic life, and relative resistance to typhoons must be balanced against the disadvantages of a pervasive dampness and chill

342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
[243] earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
[414] Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

787 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.
787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally,
192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li
761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi-
354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Al- 514 though separate out-houses were common in the past, there [177] is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

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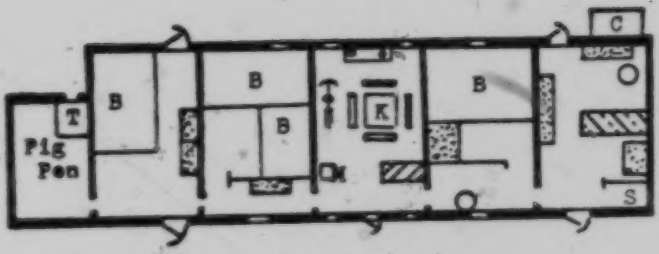

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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515
[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

356
[356 = 123]
[24] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

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592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

[111]

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

251 262 744 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

[241]

759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

[562]

000 midwives are invariably females.

757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

757 Certain diseases and injuries are considered best
759 treated by particular kinds of practitioners. There is considerable agreement on diagnosing and recommended treat-
[177] ment in the village. For example, a Chinese herb doctor is Hsin Tien is best for a broken bone and a Western doctor, for eye infections.

755 In addition to technical treatment, religious worship and sacrifices are regularly added. If one practitioner of a certain type is not immediately successful, transfer to a different type is quickly effected. On many occasions, people will go to two or three different types at once for it is felt best not to take chances.

757 Self diagnosis and treatment is common. Although several older people in Talei Li are considered to have special medical abilities, most adults are amateur health practitioners. Itinerant salesmen leave bags containing

757 a variety of different traditional and modern medicines hanging on the walls in houses. People use what they desire and when the salesman returns he replaces missing items and charges for them although there is no charge if none have been used. Different salesmen provide different combinations of drugs. There are 134 such medicine bags distributed among 59 of the 66 village households.

758 Health care has greatly improved in recent years. People go to a doctor much more often than previously. A contributing stimulus is the care received by miners and their families under health insurance programs. A Western-style doctor, a Mainland army officer, started a part-time practice in a rented room in Erhlei two months before we 758 left Taiwan. Sanlei has a mid-wife responsible for most 844 births. However, in the past five years, a few women in the village have traveled to the hospital in Hsin Tien after the onset of labor, usually returning about four hours after birth. Births in a hospital are common among the women living in Erhlei. The half-hour ride on the bouncing bus with a laboring woman is sometimes most exciting, especially if she has already given birth to several children. On more than one occasion, a woman in labor has gotten on the bus and had the baby during the one hour round trip without ever getting off.

262 The final factor contributing to improved health and longer life is diet. Fish and pork consumption is at

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be consumed without simultaneously eating. The village stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 514 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
62 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

311 Table 3. Sanlei Land Types and Distribution
*In chia (One chia equals 2.39 acres)

Land Category	Number of Plots	Median Size*	Mean Size*	Area Total*
Paddy	200	.0350	.0665	13.2920
Dry	124	.0435	.1698	21.0568
Woods	103	.1440	.2936	30.2435
House	61	.0185	.0228	1.5066
Burial	17	.0230	.1629	2.7685
Other	34	.0238	.0564	1.9188
			TOTAL	70.7862

175 Fukien. According to informants and confirmed by family
423 histories, the original land was improved and brought into
311 cultivation by the 18 hu acting as a corporate group. The
423 earliest settlement was a walled fort, frequently under attack by the aborigines who inhabited the nearby mountains. While some men worked in the fields, others were detailed as lookouts and guards. The lands were owned jointly and produce was shared communally. After a few short years (the exact date is uncertain), a decision was made to divide the land. There are suggestions that this was the original plan but there are also strong hints that the division process was one that caused considerable discord and may have been the outgrowth of a previous conflict. In any case, each large piece of land, by type and location, was divided into 18 equal plots, one for each household. The matching of household to plot was accomplished by withdrawing a slip of paper from a hat with chopsticks. Since there were several original large plots,

423 each household received a number of one-eighteenth sections. Subsequent to the division, some households continued developing land, creating additional plots more remote from the village center. Additional households migrated in and others died off. Some plots were purchased and others were developed. This historical pattern meant the villagers had started with smaller than average plot sizes.

428 The traditional Chinese pattern of equal inheritance by all the sons compounded the problem. In practice, equal inheritance often meant that if a man had four sons and four plots of land, each son obtained one-fourth of each plot. Conceivably, each son could have received one of the four plots, but plots regularly vary in quality and convenience to the village center and it usually proved impossible to find four that were equal.

423 There were counter-trends to the fragmentation. An individual might inherit two neighboring pieces from father and uncle or he might buy a piece neighboring his own. There was some consolidation by trading. Men who owned two small adjacent plots in two different locations could trade one plot in order to own two in only one location. This occurred but was infrequent because of the necessity for establishing equality. The only such consolidation that took place during our stay in the village, involved a trade of a slightly more valuable .008 chia

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of peddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 427 656 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

423 rent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the total main crop
427 yield (C. Chen, 1961). Since the usual rent in the Sanlei
656 area averaged about fifty per cent of the main crop, this reduction immediately affected the economic situation of village tenants. It had a secondary effect of reducing the land value of tenanted land because the rental income was lowered and flexibility was lost due to the requirements for a minimum lease of six years, binding on heirs, successors, and assigns.

423 The second step involved the sale of public land in a series of six successive sales between 1948 and 1958 (Koo, 1968:36) with most plots sold after 1951 (Koo, 1968: 35). There was no paddy land affected by these sales in Sanlei although some villagers did acquire mountain land in the various sales. According to villagers and by notation on land records, the sale of mountain land to tenants in Sanlei had actually begun under the Japanese.

The third step was the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953 which was designed to accomplish three basic objectives:

> (1) to help tenants acquire landownership without increasing financial burden; (2) to protect the interests of landlords; and (3) to convert landholdings into industrial holdings (Koo, 1968:37).

In essence, land was compulsorily purchased from certain landlords and sold on easy terms to their tenants. The

property subject to forced sale included a landlord's excess over 3.0 chia, land owned jointly, and land owned by a lineage or temple (C. Chen, 1961). This too had little effect in Sanlei because the village never had high rates of tenancy. It is estimated that 75% of the paddy land was owner-cultivated before the land reform program. As described above, much of Sanlei land is not of high quality. Traditionally, there has been a higher percentage of owner-operated fields where most land is low quality (Kirby, 1960:70). In the Land-to-the-Tiller program, only 15 Sanlei paddy plots totaling 1.0175 chia, less than 8% of the paddy land, changed hands. Three of these plots were part of one man's excess holdings over 3.0 chia and one was owned by a temple. The remaining plots were lost because a tenant was renting land held by joint owners.

There were no large land-holdings in the area immediately around Sanlei but large holdings were common closer to Hsin Tien where land grades of 6 or 7 are common. One landlord who owned 30 chia of paddy fields lived in T'oulei but only a small portion of his holdings were located in Talei Li.

A typical case to illustrate a transfer (forced sale) was that of Liao Mou-tu and Liao Mou-ti, two of the wealthier villagers (Liao Mou-tu's chia is diagramed in Figure 5). These two men were brothers whose household had divided but subsequently, had jointly purchased .05

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.

244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

311 natural vegetation and forestation but much is being devel-
[423] oped. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the
427 government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962,
435 it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases
435 at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

361 The remaining categories are important but not
311 economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

423 The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or
427 an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains run-
312 ning parallel to the village on each side with a small stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
31 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
311 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has always permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
243 433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[197] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 462 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primarily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

[462] [857] [433]

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

243 is needed, about 50 chin per chia.

The period commencing with the harvest of the first crop and ending with completion of transplanting the second is the busiest of the year. It takes a considerable number of people to harvest. By design, not all land is ready for harvesting at once, because the first crop transplanting is somewhat staggered; sub-varieties mature at different rates; and finally, the land closest to the river and road gets more heat and matures quicker than that closest to the mountains. Contributing to the shortage of labor during this period is the need to prepare the field for the second crop and transplanting. It is desired to complete transplanting in a field within ten days after it is harvested but this is difficult to accomplish. The modal time is 15 days with anything beyond 20 days considered a small disaster.

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462 It is during the above one month period that women are most often to be observed working in the rice fields. In spite of strong sentiment to restrict work on rice to men only, the shortage of labor requires letting women share activities but only as a last resort. Some men who have commuting jobs in the city are able to obtain time off at this period to help with the harvest and part-time coal miners remain home from the mines and help. As far as I could tell, most of the women would just as soon avoid work in the rice field as they claim it is very hard

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance
[433] of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
42 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years 245 433 439 but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 433 439 242 according to the government, many of the tea plantations are old and degenerate with only a few containing the newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 433 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several years. [242] It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 462 In contrast with rice production which is primarily a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much
amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin
of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin
in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for
weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking
tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00
than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working
for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor
workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but
the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently.
Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but
this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of
skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reach-
ing women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom
any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step
achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[784] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event
to mark this stage which is not directly related to

chronological age and varies with the physiological maturity of the individual and his ability to demand this level of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields. Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI). Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-3). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
433 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[111] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertilizer in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared.
245 433 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production
245 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases
242 and insects have only become problems since the increased
[474] amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

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242
474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

442
474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

245
433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

245
462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 242 474 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

241 463 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [363] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 651 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[368] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
65[was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
648 the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.

314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way

313 443 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

313 [443] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

[311] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to [435] wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate [465] adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai- [4644] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
416 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 121 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 171 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
483 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next
626 village was very good at that kind of work, if he was em-
123 ployed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

463 Other similar examples were witnessed. The village
626 barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Everyone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

463 business. He also explained that every villager had his
626 haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was
[305] poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pei had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to
191 specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[455] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting. The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
369 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

464 369 166 [161] There have been migrants from the village to the city, usually Taipei, over an extended periof of time. Although the village population is about 50% larger than it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178 The literature which deals with underdeveloped
423 countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lai was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
241 viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
462
464

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential
464 ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwa Hokkien ADS
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182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
462 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they
461 were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

462 Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936: Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 purposes. Women in these kind of households were seldom
593 fully aware of the monthly budget or family financial condition overall.

Table 4. Sex of Budget Manager by Household Type

Household Type	Number*	Male	Joint	Female
Extended	8	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%
Stem	25	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%
Nuclear	30	33.3%	26.7%	30.2%
Total	63	39.7%	30.2%	30.2%

*Omits three men living alone

In 30.2% of the households, the woman managed the budget and handled most of the money although men did participate in decisions regarding major acquisitions. These households are not really the mirror image of the male-managed households for although men (the non-managing sex) might be unaware of the breakdown of monthly expenditures, they usually knew the monthly total and were always quite familiar with the overall financial condition. Additionally, a man always had a personal allowance for which there was no accounting which he could spend on cigarettes, or whatever he liked, but it was often a very small amount. As implied in the previous paragraph, in the male-managed household, women did not know the financial condition nor did they receive a regular allowance.

592
593 The third category, 30.2%, is listed as joint and includes those households which were really jointly managed or those which had a regular division of responsibility plus a few households which I could not accurately place in either category listed previously because of conflicting evidence. A joint management system is not unlike the practices connected with the management of an American joint checking account except that in Taiwan, especially in the rural areas, almost everything is on a cash basis. Therefore, all money coming into the house goes into a cash box and all disbursements are paid out of the box (leaving the receipt in its place). Instead of a monthly bank statement to balance, there are periodic conversations about who spent how much for what. Although there was a tendency to state that the male had the major responsibility in these households, it appeared to me that women were usually in effective control for they could rattle off the details of the expenditures with greater facility than men and both sexes also agreed that it was usually the female who initiated the conversation required to balance the accounts.

Most young men and women who earned wages turned their full pay over to their families to manage. However, each retained a regular small allowance (or turned over the money and got back an allowance) and were furnished extra money for expensive items such as clothing as needed.

592 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money
593 but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest
[562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the
596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri-
592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex-
596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [312] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. [262] [426] [454] [888] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

4:Barnett, E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[885]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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Table 5. Financial Statement, Liao Mou-tu *Chia*

Net Worth

$ 110,000	.8 *chia* self-owned paddy field
36,000	.3 *chia* self-owned dry field, vegetables
162,000	1.8 *chia* self-owned improved slope land
50,000	improvements on 2.1 *chia* leased slope land
5,000	self-owned house and garden land
30,000	building, pig pen, share of *kung t'ing*
15,000	furniture and household contents
5,000	farm equipment
1,500	current worth of livestock
6,200	credits at farmers' association and cooperative
2,000	cash on hand
$ 422,700	Net Worth (Omits value of crops in field)

Yearly Income

$ 30,000	Oranges
5,000	Hogs
8,000	Tea
3,500	Bamboo Shoots
10,000	Wood
2,000	Vegetables
$ 58,500	Yearly Cash Income

511

Yearly Expenses

$ 21,000	Food purchased to supplement own crops
6,400	Food and drinks for special celebrations
1,200	Educational Fees (six children in school)
2,500	Medical expenses (one son was quite ill)
6,000	Fertilizer
2,000	Insecticide
400	Farm tools
3,000	Weddings, funerals, sworn brothers, etc.
1,500	Taxes not in kind
500	Rent for water buffalo
800	Rent on land
1,200	Transportation of oranges to market
1,000	Electricity
1,200	Cigarettes, wine, tea
1,500	Contributions to temple, school, civic works
1,800	Clothing
$ 52,000	Net Expenses

Yearly Net Profit (Income less Expenses)

$ 6,500

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The [454] family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 465 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in
465 the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511
[244] The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income.
[466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance
[745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] 511 463 465 A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever b paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[518] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
556 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648 not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[735 er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
574] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 621 [735] [514] [464] factors in the distribution of community resources so that everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued development of land and the industrialization nearby all offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone that wants to work can earn a living.

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CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

National Government

648 The present government on Taiwan is broadly based on the principles advocated by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. It currently appears that elements of all three of Dr. Sun's stages are in effect simultaneously, i.e., military government, political tutelage, and constitutional government (Plummer, 1967:135). There is a written constitution which appears to provide a democratic government divided into branches: National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, Central Yuan, Examination Yuan, and Judicial Yuan. The government is a complex system of checks and balances combining elements of the cabinet and presidential systems.

Since the overthrow of the Manchus and establishment of the republic in 1911, the Republic of China has been beset with wars, internal, Japanese, and communist, and has never had full control of all of its claimed territory. These kinds of difficulties necessitated special measures such as the "Temporary Provisions" to the constitution enacted in 1948 which give the president special emergency powers during this period of national crisis. Additionally, elected government officials at the federal level are considered to represent all China. The term of office of most incumbents have been extended by special provisions until control of the Mainland is re-established making it possible to conduct elections. Since most Chinese territory is now under Communist control, the

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

665 Although there are a number of minor political parties, Taiwan essentially has a one-party government run by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). The party maintains scattered branch offices throughout Taiwan such as the one in Hsin Tien which includes Talei Li in its area of responsibility. Several villagers have joined the party although only a few remain active.

66 Party membership is not necessary for important political offices as demonstrated by the elections conducted in the early part of 1968 when officials who were not members of the Kuomintang captured about 20% of the seats in the local elections and 10 of 71 provincial seats. Also, the mayors of two of the largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung, are not party members (Plummer, 1969: 19). Nevertheless, as revealed by these same figures, members of the Kuomintang captured a majority of the seats as usual. Moreover, successful candidates who do not belong to the Kuomintang usually run as independents rather than as members of an organized opposition party.

There are occasional arrests for political or ideological reasons and rumors of many more to such a degree that many rural people believe that to get involved in politics may be to court arrest.

Provincial Government

648 Taiwan is one province of the Republic of China with its capital near Taichung in central Taiwan. Its main

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

666 562 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 666 183 The underlying principle governing the above pattern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are [562] women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for 632 land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the 621

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li
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665 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
621 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
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665 The ideological differences between these factions
621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognised as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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665 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1) are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

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666 The li elects a mayor and a representative to the township council with the mayor having the higher rank. In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

666 632 The use of the term election in this account carries implications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 558 632 There is a long history in China of local control and local decision-making processes, usually based on finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

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121 Ideological Factions in the Li

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local
632 affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in dis-
121 putes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was
632 from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

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632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
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632 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the man to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
665 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership
571 changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. [212] Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [191] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [55] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
514 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 626 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
797 munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

474 and the government. Sanlei villagers feel the Farmers'
241 Association is their own organization, not a mere branch of governmental bureaucracy. In this regard, it is perceived as a successor to the "Farmers' Associations" of the 1920's (locally developed organizations) which were suppressed by the Japanese rather than the "Associations of Agriculture" which were created as official organs of the Japanese Government (Bessac, 1965:21).

Farmers' Associations fulfill a number of different functions. They are a farm credit service with deposit and loan facilities and capital accumulation in the Hsin Tien association is quite large. They provide economic services such as the sale of bean cake, insecticides, farm implements, and fertilizer, and act as a collection agency for taxes in kind and for the sale of rice. They also provide extension services including study groups, home improvement clubs, and 4-H clubs and sponsor model communities and model farms such as that described for the nearby vegetable gardening village. They instruct in new agricultural and sanitation techniques. The one in Hsin Tien helps provide market information for tea growers and recently, developed a form of livestock insurance. Some services are profitable and some lose money such as the necessary activities connected with the responsibility for communicating government directives to farmers. In general, all the activities may be subsumed under general

474 241 goals of increasing agricultural production and improving rural life.

474 Talei Li has its own small unit, a local branch of the Farmers' Association. This unit has an elected "Small Unit Head" from T'oulei and "Vice Small Unit Head" from Sanlei. These two leaders are a nexus between the community and the association. Since they receive no compensation other than recognition, an occasional free dinner, and a magazine subscription, they feel the office is nearly worthless, without money or power. For example, they are required to carry out policy with which they may personally disagree, i.e., currently they are supposed to be encouraging hog production although both they and the average farmer believe that raising hogs is unprofitable.

There are 97 regular members of the Farmers' Association in Talei Li plus 10 associate members. Forty of the members live in Sanlei, indicative of that village's great emphasis on agriculture. Talei Li belongs to the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which has a total membership of over 1,000. Although each local Farmers' Association is subject to government regulations and directives, there is great latitude for local independence and democratic control. The Association is run by a Board (one elected representative from each li), an Assembly (representatives elected from each li dependent on size of membership), a Watch-Dog Committee (auditing supervisors

474 elected by the Assembly), and a General Manager hired by the elected officials. The general manner of operation is not unlike that of American communities with a council and a "City Manager" system.

Farmers' Association Factions

474 665 Competition for the Farmers' Association General Manager's job is very keen. There are two major factions in the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which are regionally based in one sense but do carry different policy emphases.

The faction to which Sanlei belongs is called the "Inside the Mountain" group. Its members live in the more remote areas around Hsin Tien and appear to be less urban and more traditional in outlook. They generally feel the Farmers' Association should devote itself solely to direct agricultural activities and to maximizing high dividends.

The other faction is called the "Outside the Mountain" group and contains members who are generally more urbanized and progressive and who favor the recent trend to more extension work by the Farmers' Association and the like.

Individual members belong to units which elect officials to the overall Hsin Tien Association. Although the correspondence between the region and the factional affiliation are not absolute, there is a strong correlation. As the description of the two Farmers' Association factions suggests, they are related ideologically to the

474 factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li
665 is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

474 The election of the board member to a term of four
666 years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

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666 per month. The present board member is from Sanlei and is serving his second term. He has been influential in various kinds of agricultural committees since he was a young man who was once chosen as a farm youth representative to visit Japan and honor the emperor. Six years ago, he defeated the incumbent, the important Erhlei man who was the son of the former bandit chief in a very close election. Two years ago, he badly beat the "progressive" faction member who had been the previous mayor, also from Erhlei. The incumbent's residence in Sanlei and identification with Sanlei's faction helped his campaign. Also, the Farmers' Association members tend to be engaged in agriculture and are more traditional in orientation. The "progressives" are much more influential among li residents in general than among those who are primarily farmers.

There are two additional elected representatives: one is from Sanlei and the other from Erhlei; the latter is the badly-defeated candidate described above. Within the li, Sanlei's faction has an overwhelming majority in the Farmers' Association and could easily control the entire election process. The fact that an outsider holds office once more illustrates the previously introduced principle that there should be balance and harmony. Only the mayor said this explicitly but operations of the system, as demonstrated, strongly suggest it. Several men

474 666 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule. 558 621 476 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
496 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

494 Currently, the 66 members, 31 from Sanlei, constitute an
245 all-time high reflecting the previously described change to citrus cultivation. Four representatives serving three-year terms represent Talei Li, one from T'oulei, one from Erhlei, and two from Sanlei, another equal balance of factions. These representatives meet with others in Ch'i Chang to elect 20 of their members to represent them at the Taipei (main) level. At the Taipei level, 111 representatives elect a 25 man board which selects the general manager.

The fruit cooperatives are much larger than farmers' associations, the election process is more indirect, and the organization is less responsive to its membership. However, its management has generally been excellent, distributed profits are good, and marketing is efficient. No Talei citrus farmer has failed to join the cooperative and each markets most of his crop through the association.

Education

872 Talei Li has its own six-year primary school located in Erhlei. Under Japanese rule, students walked to the Pouti school. In 1955, a branch of the Pouti school was established in the li, and in 1964, it was granted independence. Currently the school has a principal, twelve teachers, and a janitor. There is no clerk but one will be added when the school gets bigger. Two hundred Talei

872 Li families send a total of 423 students to school, over 98 per cent of the eligible residents in the li, with girls constituting a slight majority over boys.

871 The Sanlei school is not highly rated. During the first four years students attend only half day and the last two years only permit full days. Admission to junior high school in Taiwan is by competitive examination except for expensive private secondary schools. Successful completion of the examination usually requires six years of full day classes plus a considerable amount of evening classes and individual tutoring. Though illegal, the majority of island schools provide these extra programs for a fee. Talei's school does not and this is one of the reasons why the Mainlander children in Wulei travel to Hsin Tien to school.

871 875 Villagers do not yet fully believe in the efficacy of education. They point out that most junior high graduates do not earn more money than elementary graduates. School teachers, for example, earn less than most miners and many farmers. For example, a rich farming family with four sons in T'oulei sent the youngest to college and he is now teaching in a Hsin Tien school. Although he brings some prestige to his family, his three farming brothers supplement his salary. In its history, Sanlei has had only one high school graduate and two junior high school graduates and only one of these graduates earns more

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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875 money than an average farmer.

871 Taiwanese schools are rated comparatively like American universities. An important key to the quality rating is the percentage of graduates who take and pass the examination. It is this factor that makes the Talei school so low in rating.

Although education is essentially free, there are a number of fees such as those for the Parents' Association, various taxes, and school supplies although text books are provided without cost by the Ministry of Education. Fees total about $40.00 for the first and second grade, rising in steps to $60.00 for the sixth. Since an experienced farm laborer earns $50.00 per day, the fees are not really high but not inconsequential either, especially if there are many children in the family.

875 The local community has little influence on the selection of the school staff which consists of outsiders, primarily Mainlanders. Only two live in Talei Li while most of the others live in Pouti, a larger more sophisticated community. The staff tends to be an integrated group who feel greatly superior to villagers.

876 Relations with students are usually harsh and "secondary" rather than "primary," i.e., not intimate (Cooley, 1909). This relationship is considered proper by educator and villager alike. Indeed, according to villagers, a teacher must look and sound "fierce" if he

876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

[571]

The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for

829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

329 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 591 626 This section deals with the formal agencies of social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

829 villagers but to be avoided if possible. "When two men go to court, both always lose," (see Glossary C) is a
648 statement often repeated by villagers. Sanlei's usual direct contact with the police is through its own local policeman. Taiwan has a national police force organized like an army and divided into districts and branches. The closest branch office to Talei is in Pouti, a subdivision of a higher level unit in Hsin Tien. The policemen and their families, primarily Mainlanders, live next to the police station, usually spending several years at one place. The Japanese usually had transferred policemen every six months, a policy which did not permit the establishment of close relationships between policemen and villager which is now common in Taiwan. Villagers know the names of many different police officials in Pouti and a number are usually invited to large social or religious affairs in the village.

There is one policeman assigned full-time to Talei Li with a goal of crime prevention rather than detection and apprehension. To be effective, he must establish good relations with villagers. The previously assigned policeman, recently promoted, had been with the li many years and was both respected and popular. The new man, assigned during our stay, was having a difficult time although he was not really responsible for his difficulties for it is always hard to replace a popular man in any capacity.

648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

685 [674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

648 arbitration board. The arbitration is not binding and may be rejected by either party in the same manner as in the village. In either case, however, pressure is placed on disputants to accept the recommendations of the mediator. The pressure in the formal system is mandatory, i.e., appearance in a regular court if no agreement is reached and in the local system, is due to the prestige of the mediator if he is a local leader or due to the fact the mediator is a policeman. If the latter cannot settle the case informally, someone is going to be arrested, perhaps both disputants.

627 Mediation is important for all kinds of local conflict resolution. Mediators are man who are considered wise, reasonable, and respected and therefore, their recommendations are reasonable and only an uncooperative unreasonable man would refuse to accept them. One accepts a recommended compromise or becomes branded as unreasonable and unfair.

It usually takes a while before the mediator makes any suggestion or recommendation. He starts by carrying information back and forth between disputants and is also persuasive for both sides. Elders are usually mediators but qualities other than age are also necessary. Since a mediator must be vigorous, very old men can seldom serve. Mediators should also be reasonably successful and have a reputation for honesty and integrity. Finally,

627 they must be skilled in inter-personal relations and since it takes time to build a reputation which includes all these specifications, particularly the last one, most good mediators are between the ages of 50 and 60.

671 The entire legal process in China, both formal and informal, seems to be more concerned with "reasonableness" and "fairness" than with hard definitions of "right" and "wrong." Decisions do not seem arbitrary and have a high level of predictability.

427 There are a number of kinds of local participation.
686 Special mediation boards are created for special purposes
672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced
[558] to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
658 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

4:Barnett E-4, 5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

121 According to Marion Levy (1967:67-83) perhaps the
602 most significant feature of traditional China was that it was family oriented to an overwhelming degree. The family was an overriding focus for individual loyalty, the basic unit for production and consumption, and finally, the basic unit in terms of which the allocation of power and responsibility took place. Further, the family was a basic building block in larger agnatic groups. Implicit in Levy's discussion is the importance of kinship in village life.

Although kinship units in Sanlei Ts'un are a significant factor in the social life of the village, the above picture exaggerates their importance. Even Marion Levy points out (1967:69) his description is an ideal seldom approached by the peasant. Since Sanlei is a peasant village which does not contain any wealthy individuals, it would not be expected to approach the ideal. Yet, kinship groups are singularly important in village social life.

128 This chapter provides a picture of the family and
602 larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese
system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal,
[769] and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values,
particularly the worship of ancestors, support continuation of the family along the male line.[1] Families are combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these general values are important, it will be demonstrated that compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and adoption are all processes which can be used to create and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units use these processes strategically to achieve certain goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of family head, particularly with reference to sex differences. A discussion of the forms and processes which change the family composition and their present distribution in the village completes the static picture of the family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific underlying values in the village, the cultural processes available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

217 659 family, there is listed an identification number, relationship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, family division, etc. However, the records are only of [127] limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
219 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

219 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
588 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[127] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 591 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 162 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966, the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 [183] The villagers believe the patrilineal extended family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei, [62] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

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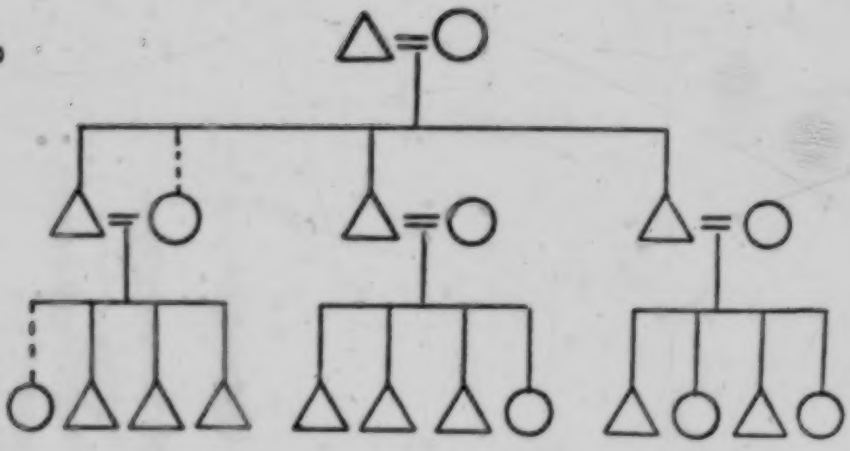

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

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Table 6: Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a
[621] wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of fam-
594 ily to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three house-
621 holds which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	[redacted]
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

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In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size[5] towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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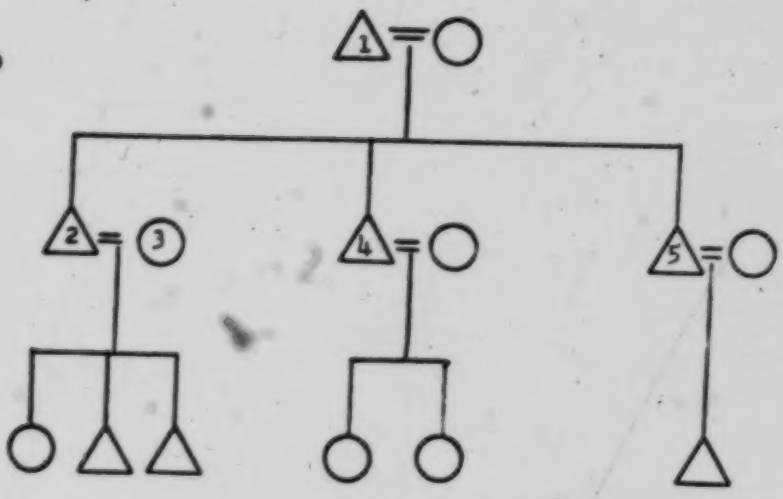

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that
178 neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of
59 job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 178 59 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies to achieve goals.

Family Surnames

551 621 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Yu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 888 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official 592 records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This [621]

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 591 621 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their descendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the following is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 50 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 621 166 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As previously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Ssulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
592 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

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592 Again, because of the errors associated with the official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[592] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592 only the adopted child.
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Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

584 established between the bride's parents and groom's parents through the auspices of a matchmaker, the bride
[178] and groom not meeting until the wedding. This form, once very popular, is declining in frequency, constituting about one quarter of the recent marriages in Sanlei Ts'un from data and estimated about the same for the li.

A second form is what we have called a "veto marriage." It is closely related to the strictly "arranged marriage" because the procedures are similar, initial negotiations being handled by a matchmaker between two sets of parents. However, before the engagement, the young people meet each other, frequently at the potential bride's home in the presence of both parents and the matchmaker. Alternatively, they may observe each other but not meet by both attending the same function such as a movie or amusement park in separate groups. Each potential spouse retains the right to veto the marriage but this is seldom done openly. The negative sentiment is expressed by pointing out faults, "He doesn't look strong." "She looks like she has expensive tastes." Positive sentiment, on the other hand, is merely a statement by the child to the parent that "You know best," or "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) This data was obtained by both interviews and observation. I accompanied one village boy, his parents, and the matchmaker to the home of the potential bride where we visited for an hour and left. In the taxi on the way back to the village, the boy told his father that he should

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [118] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [548] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
631 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
[558] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 584 769 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.

583 769 583 551 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 584 551 861 The most variance in marriage contract terms is with reference to the surnames of the children. The range is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

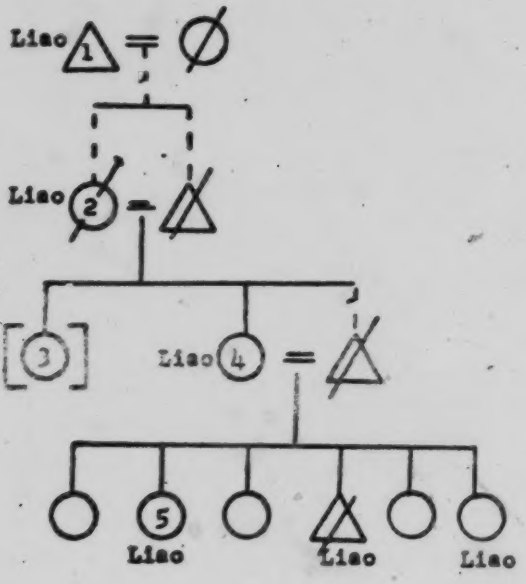

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia
(All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

593 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 156; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in hus-
558 bands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has impor-
183 tant implications for the role of women. There are prob-
123 ably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

534 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also associated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
554 587 588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to
885 reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

584 597 593 At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
598 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
593 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

295 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

178 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] siaosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% siaosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

599 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 In order to eventually allow for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage,
597 a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

591 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested.
562 Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through
842 her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

597 improve her position in an extended household soon after
562 marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for
842 a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

597 A second additional reason for the adoption of
769 daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

590
162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as *siaosiv*, and six who had been adopted and later
562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out. In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in *siaosiv* marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Pu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 562 162 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adoption between families who both live in the village counts twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 562 [217] One of the items of the household registration is the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex. Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiv marriages explains some

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaosiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'in ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

• The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later <u>siaosiv</u> marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent [162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

597 if the boy learns about his natal home he will have a strong desire to return to it permanently.

597 602 The second type is not quite a complete adoption socially although legally it is a standard adoption. Two of the seven Sanlei adoptions were of this form, an adoption between two closely-related family units which are usually composed of patrilineal kinsmen. A son might be given by one man who had several sons in adoption to his brother who had none. Since the household containing the two brothers may not have divided, this adoption may not involve a physical movement of the boy and in any case, the two families will usually remain intimate. In one of the Sanlei adoptions, two brothers were involved.

The other was deviant and involved matrilineal stepbrothers in an undivided household (illustrated in Figure 8). After Huang (1) died, leaving one son (5) his wife (2) remarried a Liao (3) and they had one son, a Liao (4). They all constituted a single economic family. Huang (5) married and had five children, all with the surname of Huang. Liao (4) married and had a daughter but his wife (7) ran away with a Mainland soldier, taking the child (8). The balance of the people on the diagram are now living as a single economic unit and worshipping two sets of ancestors, Liao and Huang, but these arrangements would not leave anyone to properly continue worship of the Liao line, i.e., there are no longer any Liao in the

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

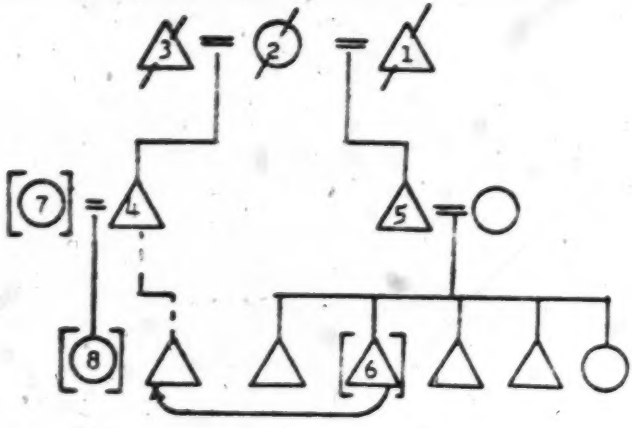

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

428 divorcee who has returned home, she may receive a share
562 about equal to her brothers but since marriage and re-marriage is common, the occurrence of these conditions is infrequent. If family division occurs with yet unmarried daughters in the household, part of the process will be an assumption of the obligation to see that each has a good match. The implications of the equal inheritance law is such that if there were two boys and a girl in a family, each should receive one third of the estate (assuming both parents are dead). In Sanlei, each boy would get one half if the girl was married. If she was not married, one brother, most likely the eldest, would get a larger share, the extra amount sufficient to provide a dowry for his sister. Only if the girl were married with an adopted-in husband (chao fu) or if her eventual marriage prospects were nearly nil would she obtain a one-third share. Girls appear to sign papers when it is occasionally necessary to give up their rights without pressure, but often it is merely understood that the daughter has few, if any, rights. No female has yet contested a division in the courts.

The immediately preceding action of females does not appear consistent with what I have argued about the status of women. That is, women seem to be extremely inferior to men with respect to inheritance although I claim women approach equality with men but I believe the appearance is

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
562 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
587 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
589 There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
562

husband will get a full share of her parent's estate al-
though her husband may receive a portion of her share as
specified in the original marriage contract.

In summary, the traditional system did provide for a woman by assigning some man responsibility for her economic welfare. The new system of inheritance which makes women equal to men in economic terms is also designed to provide for women but in a different manner. The old system works and no woman has yet decided to attempt to introduce the new system into the village because the immediate personal gain might not offset the potential long-term security for women currently provided by the community.

In general, division of a family involves the male patriline. Family division can best be viewed as anticipated inheritance. All a man's sons have rights to his property even while he is still in active control. For example, sale of a piece of property may be of questionable validity without the approval of a man's sons. In Sanlei, if there is only one son (producing a stem family) family division will probably never occur. If there are two or more sons, division is most likely when the youngest son marries and has a child, but if the father dies before the last son is married, division is likely to occur soon after the funeral. Most divisions occur before the death of the last parent.

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59 Inheritance, real or anticipated in the case of division before the death of parents, is equal for all sons (with exceptions to be discussed later). Diagrammed in Figure 9 is a patrilineal descent group which we will assume represents a single chia with division about to occur. Conceivably, division could produce various combinations of new chia but in Sanlei, the actual division will nearly always produce three new units: (2,5), (3,6), and (4), each unit receiving an equal share. Variations reflect the condition of (1) or (4). (1) may be attached to one of the three units; (1) may constitute a separate unit with an equal or partial share to be later split again after his death; or (1) may be a separate unit with no share but supported by the other three on a rotating basis. If (4) is unmarried, he may be attached, with his share, to one of the first two groups with a strong tendency for the parents to remain with the youngest son (4).

Almost always, a division focuses on one generational level only. That is, (5) or (6) never break off into distinct units at the time (2), (3) and (4) are dividing. It is possible that (2) and (5) could break off as a single unit and leave the rest of the original family as a whole, but this never takes place. If (2) insists on breaking off, the whole family will divide into the three units posited above although if only (2) is insistent, there may be above average amounts of bitterness generated.

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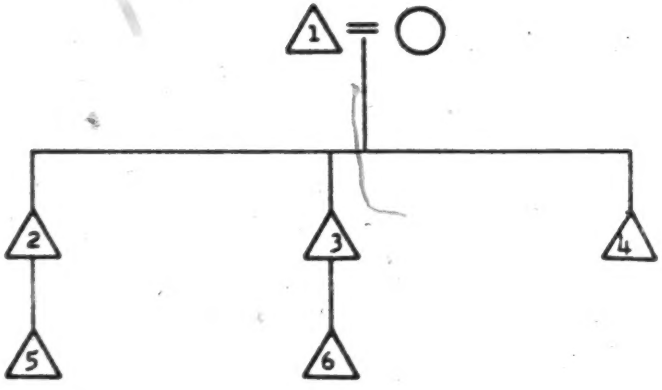

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

[565]

428
59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182
602 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
59 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[361] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[389] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 888 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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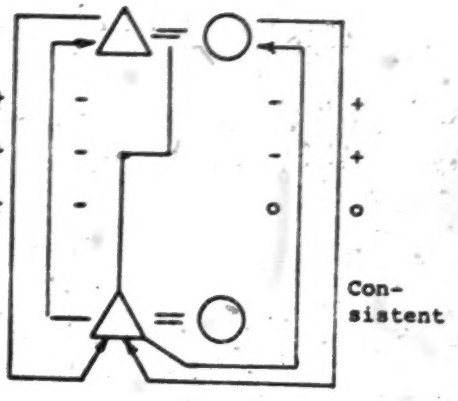
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations +
12 - Between Age Levels +
13 - Between Sexes +

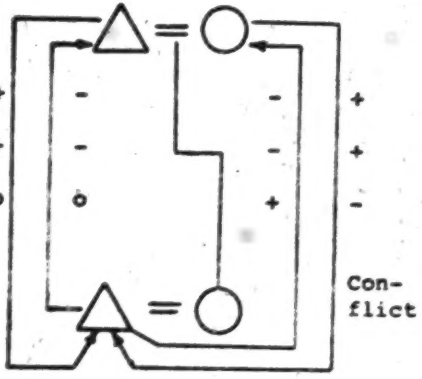
Summary: Consistent



REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations +
12 - Between Age Levels +
13 - Between Sexes o

Summary Consistent



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

182 59 situation is relatively rare, it is useful analytically for a starting point and once completely described, the life cycle can be viewed as an endless chain. Phase I, the Phase of Expansion continues until the first child is married. The first several years in the existence of the household may produce a variety of forms such as those listed below:

A. The couple would meet the typical ideal minimal goal maintained by most villagers and have three boys and two girls and raise all to maturity, complying with all the above items.

B. The couple would have only one boy but perhaps one or more girls and raise the boy to maturity, also complying with all the above items except perhaps (6).

C. The couple would have no boys but one or more girls who live to maturity potentially violating (6) and (17) and surely violating (1) and (2).

D. The couple would have no children, violating (1), (2), (6), and (17).

E. The couple would be divorced or either mate would die, in either case without offspring, violating the same items as in Case D.

There are culturally provided solutions for each of the above potential violations. For case B and C, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) and/or have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for one or more of the girls. For case D, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) or one or more girls (5) and have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for the adopted girls. In the case of E, without offspring, either remarriage is possible or the solutions advanced for D. Note

182 59 that in Phase I, the Phase of Expansion, all the families listed above would be nuclear.

Phase II, the Phase of Dispersion or Fission, occurs during the period from the marriage of the first child until the marriage of the last. In accordance with (1), (6), and (17), it would be best if children, as they married brought in their spouses to live in the parents home with (2) and (3) requiring that male offspring especially bring in their spouses. Consequently, if there are no males in the family, it is necessary that no less than one female bring in a husband and in this case, that there be a possibility of producing a child in the succeeding generation with the original surname. In accordance with the requirements of (2) and (3) and because of (4), this condition can be met and often is met by the local practice of an adopted-in husband who permits one or more of his children to be assigned his wife's original surname. The A case above, which does not violate most postulates, would have seldom been realized in Sanlei due to death rates. Demonstrated in Figure 11 are various ways in which each of the five types (A, B, C, D, E) may become a stem family. Of course it is also possible that any stem family could become a regular extended family which is highly probable for A in particular.

However, an extended family is unlikely to come into existence because of demographic factors, i.e., two

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

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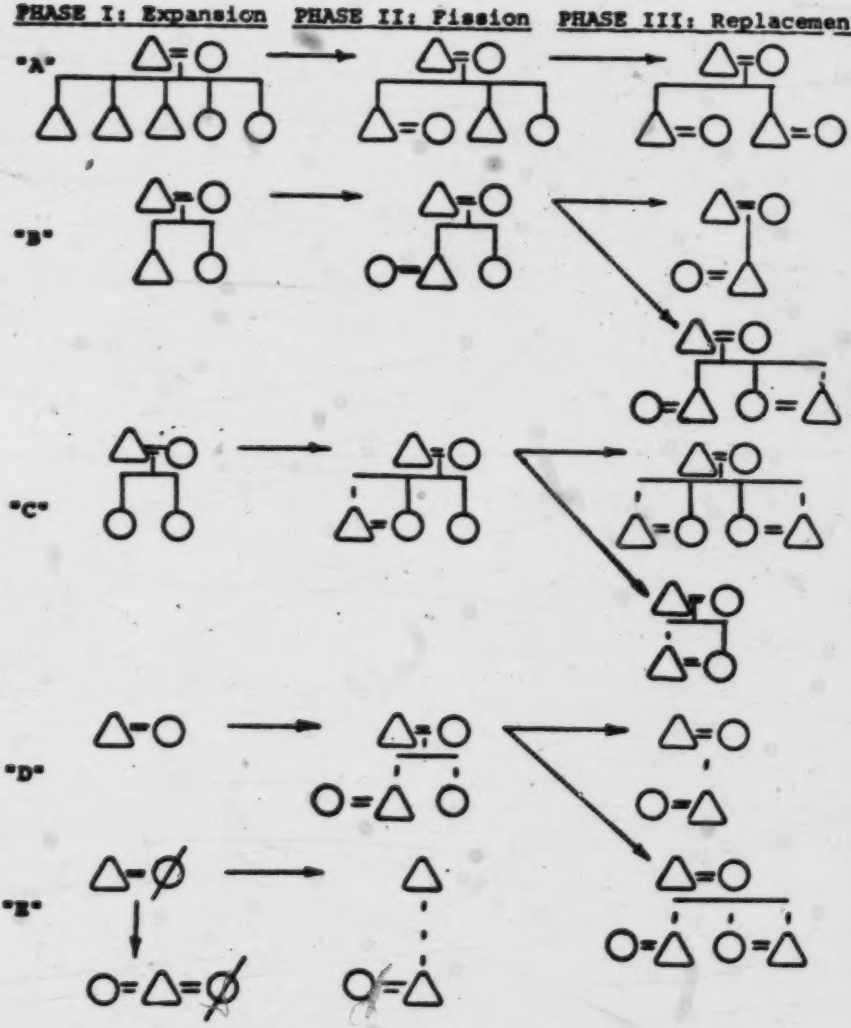

Note: This is a sample only and favors development of more complex forms. Any unit may divide or die off before achievement of column 3 and thereby revert back to column 1.

Figure 11. Sample of Family Life Cycle Stages in Sanlei

182 males must marry while at least one parent remains alive.
59 As indicated, other processes could create extended families, but these too are unlikely. Adopting boys is extremely expensive and although adopted-in husbands may be acquired for natural or adopted daughters, it would take a reasonably wealthy household to attract two men.

Nevertheless, an extended family is realized with some degree of regularity, but seldom is an extended family maintained for other factors are relevant. For example, there is the recognition of man's individuality (10) but he is supposedly subordinate to the family (9), a potential and frequent conflict. In the larger family, it is difficult to maintain the harmony that is expected (7) because of the belief that the large group naturally has more problems (8); there are more females who naturally fight with each other (16); and finally, many members are only affines, a stronger source of conflict than consanguines (14) and (15). It may very well be the case that these three causes are part of a self-fulfilling prophesy, i.e., it is believed there should be problems, so there are.

Yet, while the senior generation male is active and in control, a continued undivided existence is possible. However, as he approaches and passes age 60, he ceases to be regarded as an effective adult, often withdrawing willingly from the responsibility (18). This withdrawal is

182 usually delayed as long as there is one unmarried child
59 in the household, particularly if the child is male (18). In accordance with age emphasis (12), control should pass to the oldest son. However, the degree of respect due older siblings (12) does not often appear strong enough to overcome the other centrifugal forces. It seemingly takes the increment of respect due between generations (11) to overcome these centrifugal forces and even that is rarely sufficient. In Sanlei, there was only one ta chia ting with two males in the senior generation but this was an odd case, one brother's wife had deserted him (the family was discussed in connection with Figure 8). M. Wolf (1968) also found one ta chia ting in Hotien that had two males in the senior generation, but she too felt the situation sufficiently unusual to justify the occurrence as a special case in special circumstances.

Upon the death of the male chia chang, or at his withdrawal from active control, if all sons are married, it is almost certain there will be family division. However, care for the aged by a man's descendants (17) is so important that seldom will division occur if there is only one male in the younger generation. If there are several sons and a division takes place, it is likely that the old parents will remain with one son united in a stem family.

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59 Phase III, the Phase of Replacement, lasts until the death of both parents. Given the high death rates, this stage may have been realized before any child is married. It does seem usual that the last of the old parents die while living in a home with one married descendant and perhaps, some grandchildren. An old couple with more than one married son usually prefers living in the home of the youngest but there is no cultural norm specifying the youngest son. I would suggest the following factors favor the youngest. Relations between a male and his first-born son are formal and harsh in Sanlei although parents seemingly develop greater skill in child-rearing with practice. The last child is often a family pet, babied by others, while both mother and father put less pressure on the youngest to succeed. The last child has been forced to adjust to older siblings (12) and has likely developed greater skills in smooth interpersonal relations. The end of Stage III produces one or more Stage I families and we are back at the beginning of the cycle. Note however, that the Stage I family is actually likely to already include children at its inception.

To summarize this explication of family cycles, note that with the historical demographic rates, it appears that a large number of people will be living in nuclear households at any given moment in time, as indicated by the 40% figure realized through the statistical approach (Table 6).

182 An examination of the situation from the point of view of
59 an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and
183 descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural
59 values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

618 or tenth, they do share the first. Given sufficient depth of generations and the fact that there can be a wide age spread between the youngest and oldest individuals in a single generation, there is little relationship between genealogical generation and physical age. For example, one of our assistants in his twenties found a man with the same surname in a nearby village. Although the villager was over seventy, he was numbered three generations later. They both read a newspaper which was delivered all over Taiwan and carried news items devoted to the activities of people with their surname. They considered themselves distant clan relatives (ch'in t'ang) and the old man, with a smile, referred to our young assistant as great uncle. Even within shallow-depth American families, a man will occasionally be older than his own uncle.

All of the men in Sanlei surnamed Liao considered themselves to be ch'in t'ang. The Liao group which founded Sanlei all came from the same village in Chuan Chou, Fukien and other Liao migrated later, some from the same village and some from communities in the same county but not in the same village area. For one larger group of Liao, descent was demonstrated but for the balance, descent was merely stipulated.

[262] One area difficult to classify according to the above scheme is due to the fact that several generations after the establishment of the Liao name an event occurred,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 The second area difficult to classify revolves
538 around another kind of question as to whether or not des-
551 cent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of feng shui[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

602 of the deceased in the three lines were collected from
769 their various resting places and placed in the site and the subsequent burials of descendants of the three lines have continued, thus creating and maintaining a corporate group.

602 The meaning of the phrase, three descent lines, must be explained. In the original village in Fukien, a man had five sons. After he died, the five sons with wives and children separated into five families who all migrated to Sanlei. Descendants of each of the five continue to identify themselves as members of separate groups, each focused on one of the five brothers. Although villagers call each of the five groups a fang, the term has been translated in various ways in the traditional literature. Based upon work by Lin, Freedman calls fang a sub-lineage (1958:36) while H. C. W. Liu (1959:99) terms it a branch or sub-branch of a clan, literally "house." Use of fang in Sanlei does not seem consistent with these definitions but instead follows the pattern described by Cohen (1969: 167), i.e., fang is applied to patrilineal descent unit segments of various sizes and complexity even to the extent of labeling the nuclear family units in a single ta chia t'ing (extended household).

602 Villagers distinguish the collective descendants
769 of each of the five brothers as separate fang, each numbered in the original birth order of the brothers. Thus,

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage
596 organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by
596 Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'íng) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that
769 described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58)
596 since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

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596 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

601 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure
596 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
596 by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

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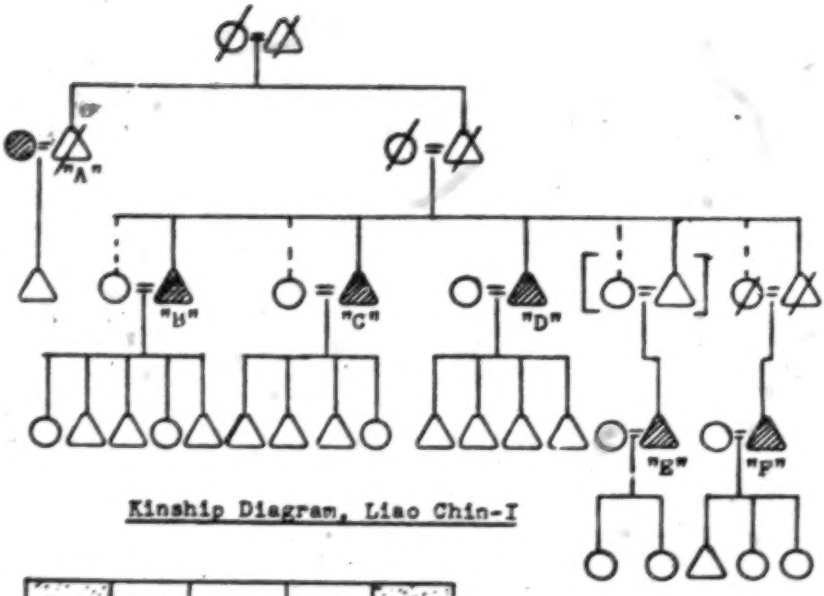
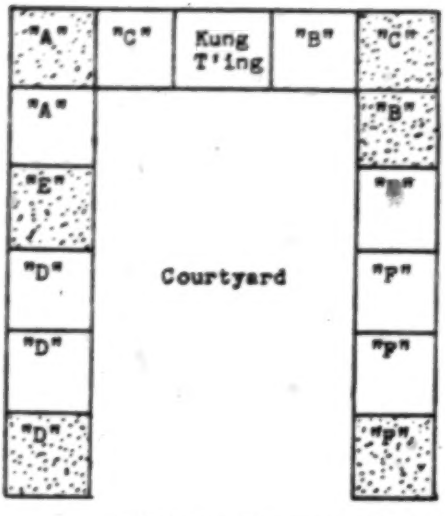


Kinship Diagram, Liao Chin-I



Building Diagram, Liao Chin-I "Compound"

Note
In the kinship diagram, each chia is identified with a letter which also designates the owner of the rooms in the dwelling unit. The kitchen for each hu is indicated by dots. The chia chang of each family is identified by cross-hatching. The kung t'ing and the courtyard are owned jointly.

Figure 12. Kinship and Dwelling Diagram, Liao Chin-I

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 842 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [594] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

769 596 782 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I, the founder of the compound, have certain rights of worship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events, 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

596 602 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 961 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily 596 identify which family within it. Also, although women [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the 462 break up of compounds and the division of extended fami- 596 lies is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

596 unit, but may be merely due to the fact that the typical unit is in the shape of a "U" with doors rarely opening on other than the inner court-yard. Interaction is much more frequent among the compound members as opposed to outsiders because of propinquity and convenience and increased communication often leads to mutual understanding. In any case, the "compound" is highly valued, not as good as the ta chia ting (extended family), but much better morally and economically than scattered single household units.

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to 575 [171] those which have been described for a Japanese village (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

525 $300.00. The second night the club meets, everyone writes
575 a bid somewhat less than $300.00 (in even dollar amounts only) on a piece of paper and places it in a hat. After the bids are mixed up, each is lifted out with chopsticks and placed on a table in order of removal from right to left with the low bid declared the winner. In case of a tie, the bid on the right is the winner. The winner collects the amount of his bid from each member except that any previous winner (including the originator, winners are now called debtors to the club) pays the full original amount of $300.00. This process continues until everyone has collected once, so of course, only those who have not yet collected place bids.

Since early collectors bid less than the required amount, it is possible to wait until the end, each time paying less than the full amount, and yet collect the full amount from every other person. That is, with 21 members a participant would pay 20 times and collect once from the other 20 members. If every bid was $300.00, everyone would break even, but a typical early bid is $250.00 to $260.00 dollars, but the person who collects at this $250.00 rate will eventually, as a debtor, pay the full $300.00. Even if the cash is not needed, one should put in an early bid under $300.00 because the money could be placed in a bank or post office, earn interest, and eventually be paid back without interest. The amount of the potential interest income determines early bids for

525 those who do not need the money. In essence, a man is in
575 a legal gambling situation in a country which has declared any gambling other than the official government lottery illegal. Although the period between bids in the traditional accounts are of varying lengths up to once a year, meetings in Sanlei are always monthly. The largest club in the area during our residence contained 30 members and therefore, took 30 months to complete.

There are advantages for every participant in the club. The originator obtains a large sum of money which is paid back monthly without interest. He has the responsibility to collect the money from each person within three days of the bid and turn it over to the winning bidder, and he sometimes provides small refreshments such as soda pop and cookies. Each member also benefits as he has a ready source where he can get a sizeable sum of money merely by placing a low bid. Furthermore, by joining the club, he directly performs a service for the originator since the latter always furnishes a reason for his need for money. Privolous needs would be rejected. The monthly meeting is also a social situation, consuming an hour or more of one evening each month. It is also a major topic of discussion before the meeting with speculation about the size of the winning bid and after the meeting, there is more comment about why someone may have needed the money so badly, indicated by a below average bid. Finally, even if no profit is realized, the club is an enforced

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it appears that women usually constitute about half the membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

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4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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595 rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

562 independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

525 Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei
575 and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

525 With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending
621 clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and
562 females participate in the same clubs and either sex may
575 be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate
[593] competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

573 A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship
541 group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

[776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [744] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each gueat contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
573 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain
456 events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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[562]

2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

561 Another function is religious for worship is always
782 part of the activities of an association meeting. Most
573 units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

573 The unit also functions in social control. At
561 times it has disciplined transgressors; association
627 members mildly threaten young men who have been too
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573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
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[626] insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity.' Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

God's Associations

575 A god's association is almost identical to the
794 sworn brothers association and is seemingly formed in the same way with the same kind of membership but it always has an identification with a single god. The primary difference is that the sworn brothers association ends with the death of its members but a god's association membership is inherited by a man's oldest son or some other male relative if there is no son. Since there is a higher probability of adding additional members to god's associations, they tended to be much larger.

I was never able to determine exactly the differences distinguishing the establishment of each. It did seem that if a sworn brothers association prospered and its members lived a long time, there was a tendency to continue it by inviting sons as replacements and adding other members so that it eventually evolved into a god's association. In no case did a son and father both belong to the same association at the same time.

There were two god's associations centered in Sanlei and compared with the sworn brothers associations, both were larger, contained members dispersed over a greater territory, involved greater class distinctions, and of course, had members covering a greater age span. The two god's associations in Sanlei both had regional political leaders and wealthy men among its members although men of this type do not live in the village.

Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 515 573 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e., landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son, etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
621 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its chia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The chia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 to establish a central water system which required building 666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the
621 dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located
653 across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao
666 965 who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood.
The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

621 665 These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
574 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village; each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

794 796 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity [435] in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment [345] costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

794 Talei Li. The five villages have always participated in
632 maintaining the li temple except that in the recent period, Wulei, as previously mentioned, has been taken over by Mainlanders who do not participate in li activities. Everyone in the li agrees that the Erhlei temple is at a higher level than Sanlei in the religious hierarchy. Other than for special events however, villagers in Sanlei and Szulei usually go to the Sanlei temple, and those in Erhlei and T'oulei, to the Erhlei temple although convenience is the only reason mentioned for the preference. It may be noted however, that the sets of villagers who prefer each temple are in perfect correlation with the sets of villagers who comprise the two regional li factions (See Chapter IV).

There is an Erhlei temple association board, similar to that described for Sanlei except that the membership consists of two senior men from each village in the li and an influential man in Erhlei is the effective informal leader in addition to being the formal head. Most affairs in the li temple (located in Erhlei) are run by this permanent temple committee although additional aides are selected by use of the shen pei. In accordance with the distribution of power in the li, if the head of an affair is from one end of the li, the chief assistant is from the other, and minor assistants are evenly distributed. However, the major permanent temple committee really runs the whole affair. The chairman has been

794 632 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 621 632 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions, celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple: the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

794 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the
621 typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee
632 did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly
794 participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At
632 first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major
628 temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 182 613 621 794 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither of which were significant in Sanlei.

Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[887] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alter-
nate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the
fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they
can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men,
usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her
same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an
addition of a five meal bonus when the work is trans-
planting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in
terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers
obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor,
almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers.
It is easy to keep track of records because one day's
labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the
activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered
more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five
meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities
equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

462 one of their members in Sanlei, the smallest with two
47% members (3 cases) and the largest with six (2 cases).
Work groups of two men merely traded days, but in any group larger than two members, the accounting was managed like a bank savings account, i.e., a man deposited so many day's labor and withdrew the same amount. It was not necessary to see that each member balanced with every other individually, merely that each individual's total deposits and withdrawals matched. A man with but little land under cultivation was permitted to withdraw his deposit by hiring the team out and collecting their wages. Periodically, the books could be balanced by $50.00 increments for each day's overdraft.

462 However, more labor is acquired on a hired basis
47% than on an exchange basis. A typical large work force for
464 transplanting, weeding, or harvesting will usually include a combination of paid and exchange laborers. An individual will tend to hire the same men and be hired in turn by them. Often, a man may hire a man for wages with whom he sometimes exchanges labor. Many people say it is easier just to pay a man when a job is done, a one to ten day period, then to try and keep track of the records required for labor exchanges. Some work is seemingly exchanged only because it does promote a structure of mutual indebtedness between friends. For several village men, the amount they pay out in wages about equals the amount they collect. The larger land holders are the

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[577] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

245 472 602 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 472 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Woman

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage 000 and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly: two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[36] [491] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
[435] stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
[573] mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
[648] had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
[191] difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 There was a similar organization under the Japanese
648 but at that time the volunteers had more training, a
681 regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat transgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed
625 to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol
632

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

653 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control; two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

653 on the bridge and each achieved credit for a day's corvee
461 work. They often got in each other's way, i.e., I watched
651 four men struggling to carry a single bamboo pole which one man could have carried in one hand without much effort.

There is a latent effect which may be evident to village leaders and political officials. Men are able to do "good" for the community without strain and since the work is always confined to their own area, they can see the completed job regularly. Although no one person's contribution to each job amounts to very much, the completed project is useful and worthwhile. For example, the bridge described above saved up to half a mile walk to the next closest foot bridge. Men work together cooperatively in a large group, the only large work groups ever seen in the village. Finally, because of the great excess of men over what is reasonably needed for a job, there is much time for joking and friendly conversation. Although only men do corvee labor, women always gather to watch and pass remarks so that in essence, every corvee job we observed in the village was a gay occasion.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

121 771 The significance of religion in Chinese social life has often been undervalued in the conventional analyses. In one of the first assignments in my formal university study of China, a noted sinologist had written:

> The Chinese have been less concerned with the world of the supernatural than with the worlds of nature and of man. They are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life . . . (Bodde, 1951:18).

Reischauer and Fairbank, in a classic work (1960:30), add that Confucianism was a "great ethical institution, which in a sense occupied in China much of the place filled by both law and religion in the West . . ." A similar thread of the insignificance of religion is woven throughout the accounts of Western scholars and is even more strongly a part of the literature of modern Chinese intellectuals (C. K. Yang, 1961:4).

The attitudes towards religion and the observances of religious rites and rituals found in Sanlei Ts'un would not support the above positions. I do not believe that Sanlei Ts'un is unique in its strong emphasis on religion as compared with other Chinese villages, i.e., I believe

121 most Chinese villages have a strong emphasis on religion.
771 I discuss below four primary reasons for this discrepancy between published accounts of its non-importance and the actual practice.

The first reason is identical to one contributing to the errors in interpretation of the role of women, the problem focus of this dissertation. In accordance with the concepts of Redfield (1956), every civilization has a "Great Tradition" found predominantly among the educated elite which is contrasted with a "Little Tradition" or series of "Little Traditions" found among the masses. The relationships between the two levels are problematical although almost all of the classical literature and historical records in China are devoted to the bearers of the "Great Tradition." In other terms, this has been succinctly stated by Reischauer and Fairbank:

> The common people who formed the mass of Chinese society did not bulk large in the cultural record, which has come down to us chiefly from the brushes of scholar-officials. Most Chinese were neither scholars nor Confucian gentlemen, and had very little, if anything, to do with officialdom. For the common people, Taoism and Buddhism still supplied the principle explanations of the cosmos and the family and village still were the focus of everyday living. But it is not yet possible to reconstruct with verisimilitude the daily life of the average Chinese villager in the pre-modern centuries. What we know most about is the educated, urban upper classes . . . (1960:383).

In respect to the practice of religion, it appears there is a significant difference between the elite and the masses. At least, even on Taiwan today, great differences

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771 can be found between the religion of the masses, particularly in rural areas, and that of college-educated urban dwellers.

A second reason is due to a great difference in the structure of the typical Western as opposed to Chinese religion. C. K. Yang has discussed this difference on a structural-functional basis as the differences between "institutionalized" and "diffused" religion:

> In institutional religion, the theology, the organization of personnel, and the cultic symbols and practices are separate from the secular social institutions, thus making religion an independent social institution. In diffused religion, these factors have no separate institutional existence but are diffused into the concept and structure of several different institutions. In Nanching and in Chinese society as a whole, diffused religion represented the structurally stronger and more pervasive force in the lives of the common people (1965:192-3).

Western religion tends to be highly institutionalized as opposed to the strongly diffused Chinese pattern. An institutionalized religion is much more obvious to the cross-cultural observer. It will be demonstrated that religion in Sanlei Ts'un is diffused into many different aspects of social life as has been described in most ethnographic accounts of Chinese villages.

The third reason, also related to the difficulty of the Westerner in understanding Chinese religion and appraising its role in society, is due to the eclectic nature of religion in China. Eclecticism refers to the fact that Chinese religion is made up of elements from many

121 different sources including both Great and Little Tradi-
791 tions and also, that the Chinese are non-exclusive with reference to a commitment to a particular religion. It is not only possible to believe in two conflicting ideologies, it may well be prudent as I shall illustrate.[1] When exposed to a new religion, an individual may ask two central questions: (1) Is it the one true religion? (2) Should I become a believer? Man can never be certain of the answer to the first question but he does have control over his actions relating to the second. If the answer to the first question is no (the new religion is false), then the answer to the second is irrelevant (believing or not believing). However, if the answer to the first question is true (the new religion is the one true religion), then the answer to the second is crucial: a man can be a believer in the one true religion and be rewarded; or he can be a non-believer in the one true religion and be punished. Therefore since man has control over only one of the two questions, it is prudent to answer it in only one profitable way--be a believer.[2]

The above rational process could be applied to a series of individual beliefs or constellation of beliefs and in each case the outcome would be the same: become a believer. On several occasions, villagers asked how to be a Christian or perform Christian ritual. They had heard of Christianity and would like to add it to their belief

121 771 systems.

If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
991
995 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
181 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
156 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
991 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

121 but such an objective approach has not always been realized.
191 Many of the earliest Western studies were by Christian missionaries, a group not likely to be unbiased with regard to reports on religion. In one of the best known nineteenth century rural studies, Arthur Smith (1899:343) argued that the Chinese neglected the spiritual nature. Modern sinologists treat magic and religion as a single loose system (Gallin, 1966:232) or a complex of attitudes and beliefs (Kulp, 1952:284). The former separation of magic from religion and then labeling most items as magic and thereby superstition is not reasonable as a basis for declaring that religion is not important in China. C. K. Yang claims that because of the large numbers of magical practices and beliefs to be found in the study of Chinese religion which carry no ethical connotations:

> . . . The Chinese people were generally regarded as a superstitious lot who had yet to experience an ethico-religious life of a higher order. This view was most familiar to the Western world, as it was popularized for over a century by Western missionaries who found this situation to be wholly incompatible with the Christian faith and took it as the most convincing justification for their evangelical zeal (1961:3).

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that religion is very important in Sanlei village. There are few households in the village in which a religious act is not performed at least twice each day. Religion is used to bolster the family and the larger kinship organizations. Religious observances legitimize and mark key steps in the

121 991 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure 778 621 in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple 778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of [796] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. [782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

778 some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.
[782]

778 On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin
554 board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list
203 of donations for its construction. A report of collections
794 and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

787 There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

793 There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[776] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to
624 which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's
[594] association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired
783 old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker
[358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

7% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

776 policemen. The originations of gods are diverse, some were pure spirits and some were real historical figures who have been deified. As stated by Gamble for North China and true for all China, "Buddhism, Taoism, Official, and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other" (1963:400). Certain gods are associated with certain purposes, i.e., they have functional specificity. However, across China as a whole there is a great deal of regional variability. "Even for certain national cults, the names and at times the functions of the same god vary from place to place" (C. K. Yang, 1961:10-11).

[532] There are 30 god's statues in the Sanlei temple. The names of all but two[3] are known by some villagers but only a few villagers could name the 28. On the average, men know more names than women and old people know more than the young. For some of the popular gods, everyone in the village knew the name, even small children. Associated with each known god is a story. The oldest temple god was brought to the village from Fukien with the original group of migrants while others have been installed periodically; some have been acquired out of surplus funds collected for a general festival; some have been donated by sworn brothers associations; and some have been donated by individuals.

776 787 During our study, a part-time miner was visited by a god in a dream who informed him not to go to work in the mine

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

121 562 796 I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

796 Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

The temple is rarely empty at any period from its opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Mainlander soldiers. On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

Earth God Temple

[184] According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui [346] coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four [532] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. [184] Although there is great regional variation in details

776 there are hundreds of gods arranged hierarchically so
[184] that important gods have both attendants and troops. A villager approaches the gods much as he does ordinary governmental officials, i.e., gods and officials alike can be bribed, coaxed, tricked, etc., for gods are neither omniscient nor omnipresent.

T'u Ti Kung is the god in charge of the local community and thus, ranks low in the hierarchy. Villagers describe his status as somewhat similar to the local policeman. He keeps track of local events: births, deaths, farm production, business enterprises, marriages, etc., and has the power to influence the acquisition of
776 wealth. Therefore, supplications are made to him by farm-
782 ers before planting and thanks are given to him after harvesting. Some of the regular periodic religious events require worship at the T'u Ti Kung temple as well as the main temple and one event is devoted to his temple and the home. Some households make sacrifices at the Earth God temple as a regular part of their bi-monthly worship (1st and 15th or 2nd and 16th). About seven or eight times each month (estimated) individual villagers perform unscheduled worship activities for personal reasons at the T'u Ti Kung temple.

782 The usual form of worship is to face the altar, light three incense sticks, bow the head, hold the sticks between the two closed hands palms touching at chest level,

782 pai pai[4] three times, and then insert the sticks in the incense pot.[5] Then the whole ritual is repeated while facing away from the temple to invite any passing gods to come in and be worshipped except that the incense sticks are stuck in the ground about twenty feet from the shrine door. Worship at the main temple is nearly identical with the exception that three sticks may be placed in the pot in front of each of the three altars and the final outside worship is in the doorway with the sticks placed in the pot hanging on the wall outside. The twenty-foot distance at the T'u Ti Kung temple illustrates the general attitude towards gods for the sticks are stuck in the ground so far away from the earth god temple in order to make T'u Ti Kung think his temple is as large as the main Temple. If food and wine sacrifices are part of the worship, they are placed in front of the altar before the pai pai and are left long enough for the god or gods to eat as much as desired. All left-overs are returned home for family consumption, another indication of a rational and reasonable approach to religion. Statements to the gods are usually spoken but in a low voice. It is possible to stand close and hear the conversation but some statements are quite private and would embarrass the worshippers to have them overheard.

776 Legend states, according to most villagers, that T'u Ti Kung has a wife, T'u Ti Po. He had wanted to make

776 everyone prosperous but she argued that then there would be no one left to carry her sedan chair. She won the argument and many people therefore remain poor and consequently, villagers refuse to worship her. They all agree that most women do have a similar ability to influence their husband's behavior.

Miscellaneous Holy Places

778 Some years ago, a set of human bones was found under the bridge at the border of Erhlei and Sanlei. A general collection was made and the bones were interred on the site in a small shrine where people worship periodically as [753] needed, especially women who have sick children. The attitude seems to be that the spirit causes trouble such as sickness unless periodically propitiated.

In back of Liao Kan-yi's house (head of the major temple committee and owner of the oldest village store) is a special holy rock installed by his grandfather. No one remembers the reason for worshipping the rock, but on the first and fifteenth of each month, his family worships it with food sacrifices and three incense sticks. A younger grandson is often delegated the task. There are several trees and other rocks at which special worship is made. For example, some years ago a boy fell on a rock and was [782] in a coma for several days. His mother worshipped at the rock on which he fell and promised that if her son got well

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

769 or special religious occasions, food sacrifices will vary in elaborateness according to the importance of the event. Paper money is often burned in a metal pot on the kung t'ing floor for the benefit of both gods and ancestors. Life crises events such as birth, death if not accidental, engagements, and weddings are all solemnized in the kung t'ing.

778 342 One should not believe however, that the kung t'ing is a cherished and sacred room which is always approached with reverence. It is a common room, second only to the kitchen in frequency of use. Bicycles and other valuable goods are kept in the room while pickled radishes and home-made soy sauce may be stored in crocks under the ancestral table. Children often play in the room and the ever-present chickens wander in and out leaving droppings. Since the room is frequently owned jointly by more than one household, no one person truly feels it is his responsibility to keep it clean.

771 In one sense, the room furnishes a clue to the general approach to religion found in the village; it is elaborate but not well-maintained. One performs all the proper rituals but one is skeptical about their efficacy. Everyone half-believes and half does not believe in ancestors, magic, and religion. Older people are more interested in religion than younger people and women are more interested than men although there is considerable variability related to personality in both instances.

648 769 Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

121 769 On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral [775] tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

121 includes an incense pot but no ancestral tablets (1945:93).
769 Instead there is a general scroll on the wall to represent the ancestors. Hu (1948:32) notes that many people had no tablets, merely writing ancestor's names on pieces of paper and burning them in worship. Freedman remarks on the frequent absence of tablets in Hong Kong households (1958:83). In a general religious account, C. K. Yang (1961:39) also emphasizes the importance of tablets but claims that the simplest form of worship to ancestors might consist of the daily burning of incense to a symbol of the spirit "which was usually a wooden tablet or a portrait." Hsu states that every house in West Town has a household shrine (1967: 50) and that in every shrine there are two incense burners, one for ancestors and one for gods (1967:184). However, he also states that not every house has tablets; often there is only a large scroll (1967:184). Lang, too, discovered in a survey that worship of ancestors was performed by burning incense before either a tablet or a photograph (1946:162). She also cites an example of a retired official who worshipped ancestors after merely writing their names on a piece of paper (1946:163). Since these authors have not generally considered the direct significance of ancestral tablets versus the censer, the question can not be definitively answered at this time.

[778] My own data on the above point, both from Sanlei Ts'un and the City of Taipei,[7] reveals that the censers

121 769 778 but not the tablets are vital. That is, I viewed many shrines that did not have tablets, but every shrine had at least one censer and often had two or more. In place of the tablets, there may be nothing but quite often, there was the shou scroll which features 100 classical variations of the character shou (long life) or alternatively, a scroll with one large shou character in red.

769 In Sanlei, most shrines have at least two censers: one for gods and the other for ancestors. Each ancestral censer has a name, the family surname. Ancestral censers always have handles which villagers call erh tsu which means ears although alternative definitions of the word (Mathews, 1963:245-6) include ear, handle, and grandson of a great-great-grandson, certainly representing a long line of descendants. The censer contains the residue (ash) of burning incense sticks. It can be cleaned only on regular occasions with due reverence and is never fully emptied. It is believed thereby that the ash extends back to the first worship of the founder of the line. When a new worship center is established after a family division, the new censer will be endowed with some ash from the old censer (transferred from house to house in a red envelope) so that each censer maintains continuity with the past. If tablets are destroyed, new ones can be made. If the ash is lost--it is lost forever and misfortune is certain unless some can be obtained from the worship center of a cadet branch

769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

121 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [n1] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

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[171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782
592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

782 592 [869] [764] [993] one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

[621] On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. 527 592 574 There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

79 village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

791 823 791 787 One significant type of practice involves specialists in feng shui (literally wind and water but usually termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (negative) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs, 791 building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village 823 adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudi- 787 mentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

(master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien (master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter may be merely because sufficient time for medical treatment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick, many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not been vigorous recently because after 60, death is considered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness, the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are consulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for marriage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that described for the fortune sticks in the village temple except the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific personal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] [184] [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

783 frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for
796 two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent
176 increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly en-
[171] joy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the
[184] increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

783 Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire
796 after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more
776 powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
776 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
573 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

783 796 573 621 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally [624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the [787] [562] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten committee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 796 794 632 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li, decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

62 632 783 794 796 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during

783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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783 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police
796 permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from out-
621 side the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About
796 seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

783 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and
796 veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the
[834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would
[534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in
783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the
787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three
796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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787 and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would become possessed. If the touching was rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[577] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[755] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

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6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

The first chair, after a false start running beside the fire down its length, was carried the length of the fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[594] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
783 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
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435 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
[585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the cere-
mony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with
five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone
of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses.
Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with
feasts too for there were more guests in the village than
residents. For one of the richer households, the addition-
al expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this
figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but
$50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too un-
happy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[78] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai
pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems
common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall
growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although
little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy
of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Addi-
tionally, almost everyone in the village can and does per-
form religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in
most homes and special worship connected with almost every
important event: life crises, health, and economic.

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
624 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
193 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

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182 Finally, during periods of ultimate crises, various aspects of religion and ritual emotionally support an individual. Although medicine may fail, religion or magic may work and if neither prove effective, there is the underlying concept of fate, i.e., all had been ordained at birth. By using magic and religion, one has attempted all possible avenues towards achievement of some goal.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 · AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 795 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 597 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. 581 842 597 Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

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183 significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is
842 interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their
562 wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

183 The typical desired family size among women of child-
842 bearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or
562 five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

842 These reports from Sanlei should not be construed
562 such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

842 Almost everyone agrees that a couple should have the first child as soon after marriage as possible and I found no married childless couples employing birth control measures. It is proper to continue having children until the
833 first grand-child is born. Although it is expected that
842 intercourse will continue as long as physically possible, a couple who continues to have children after they have become grandparents will experience much ridicule.

Pregnancy and Birth

843 Pregnancy and birth are periods of anxiety in every
844 society for they are physically dangerous for mother and child alike since either may die. There may be a spontaneous abortion or defective children may be born. Consequently, almost everywhere, special ritual is required with respect to various aspects of the period of pregnancy.

Seemingly, in Sanlei, some of the ritual or belief is supported by modern medical discoveries, i.e., certain food requirements such as increased consumption of meat and eggs for expectant mothers is medically sound. The origins of other customs are lost in antiquity. It has been posited in another context that certain proximate events were often interpreted to have spurious causal connections (Carroll, 1963:5). In any case, there is a great host of Chinese beliefs connected with pregnancy and birth with attendant rituals and avoidances which are exceeded in number only by those related to death.

843 For just about every other event in village requiring
562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
846 He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[782] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 There are many taboos for a pregnant woman such as 96 the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all [356] during pregnancy. The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of potentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place in the regular bedroom.

An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, religious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hospital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

There is a whole host of other taboos for the pregnant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the baby's fingers; using scissors, the ears; needles, the eyes, etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

843 chung hsi (good counteracts good) means that either the mother or the newlyweds will likely suffer harm. There are many other such strictures but almost any lapses may be counteracted by the activities of a shaman.

[842] As previously stated, it is hoped the first child will be a boy and boys will continue to be desired following the first child until the desired number is acquired. There are rituals to change the sex of the unborn child from female to male, some performed by the family and others by specialists, but villagers do not believe them very effective. It is also possible to detect the sex by various means such as computations involving the mother's age and month of conception.

844 Most births in the village are attended by a local unlicensed midwife with the assistance of a few older women while men are excluded. A woman should not make much noise during birth as everyone lives crowded together and loud [843] crying or screaming would be disturbing. Herbs have been consumed monthly commencing the third month with more added as the expected delivery date nears. Women give birth while lying down on their backs.

The new baby is wiped with sesame oil and a cloth soaked in salt water is used to clean his mouth followed by sugar water. Eye drops are irregularly used, increasing now in frequency but still only half the time for they cost extra. The baby is wrapped in a cloth and placed next to

844 [777] [546] 853 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days, as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 [262] In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work: the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 783 After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

846 834 831

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834 resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very
831 funny.

Babies

852 There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

853 Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the
853 children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a
855 child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered
832 while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

362 Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women 859 and children carry children around strapped to their backs 482

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603 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
[852] the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien.. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant
[368] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Poutí or Hsin Tien. Six of the

875 thirteen staff members are males and seven, females.

871 The principal and teachers are appointed by the
875 Provincial Ministry of Education with the local villagers having no choice in their selection. However, a degree of local control is maintained through the Parent-Teacher's Association which raises part of the money for school construction and equipment.

The qualifications of Talei Li teachers are below national average because an appointment in Talei Li is not a desireable post because of the few opportunities to earn extra income. In order for a student to go on to junior high school he must pass a competitive examination which is nearly impossible to accomplish without supplementary school lessons at night and individual tutoring. Although illegal, all good schools provide supplemental offerings for a fee and thereby, teachers earn a sizeable portion of their yearly income from these extra fees which are shared with the principal. The desire for higher education is not very strong in the village as most villagers do not believe that more education will produce opportunities for more income. Therefore, the li school has no such extra courses and few li children request extra tutoring, denying the teachers and principals the opportunity for a good income although a few of the teachers living outside Talei Li earn extra money tutoring in Pouti.

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

4:Barnett E-475 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Cooley's construct of a primary-secondary relationship continuum (1909), Americans expect a kindergarden or first grade teacher to have a primary relationship with his students, i.e., he should be intimate and have knowledge of the child's home life, father's occupation, number of siblings, etc. As the child progresses in school, his relationships with teachers moves steadily towards the secondary end of the continuum, reaching its lowest point near the second year of college. It then reverses again approaching a maximum at the primary end during advanced graduate work.

The Chinese model is quite different. The first grade teacher has an extreme form of a secondary relationship with his pupils possessing knowledge of the student's name and academic performance and little more. He should not be warm; rather, he should be extremely harsh, a style of behavior considered best by teacher and parents alike. Indeed, parents will criticize a teacher on the basis that he doesn't look "fierce" enough. The new principal who assumed the position during our study experienced some problems establishing her competency because she was a female. Villagers felt that no female could be quite as frightening to a child as a male and therefore, she would not be able to properly fulfill the principal's main function of discipline. The secondary relationship is maintained with almost all students throughout primary school although a few

87% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

892 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

883 464 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky [562] [178] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al- [206] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [561] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since [562] the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

584 In the veto form, the prospective groom accompanies his parents and the matchmaker to the girl's house and while the adults chat and the girl serves tea and cookies, the boy and girl look each other over or alternatively, they may attend the same affair in separate groups such as a movie while negotiations are in process. Each then has the right to say no but this is rarely so boldly stated. Examples of veto statements include such as, "He doesn't look very strong." "Doesn't he look sickly?" "She looks like she might have expensive tastes." Acceptance statements are, "You know best." "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) One recently married village boy vetoed five girls before getting married but now claims to have a fully-arranged marriage. Another claims the same, stating he and his bride first met at the wedding, although both grew up in the same village which had a total population under 400 and both were on the same tag-ball team in school.

Finally, after a couple make a love match, they often go through the whole process of negotiations with a matchmaker as if the proposal was not a foregone conclusion. Love matches are extremely common among older couples or the remarriage of widowers or widows.

591 In terms of residence after marriage, there are three major forms: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. Patrilocal is most common and still carries the highest prestige. As discussed in Chapter V, matrilocal marriages are more frequent in Sanlei than in Taiwan as a whole. Neolocal

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 <u>siaosiv</u>, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

582 and a lesser preference for li exogamy. Villagers are valued much more than the town people who are said to be lazy and who probably possess expensive tastes. Most couples were both raised in the area around Hsin Tien although brides brought in from down island carry high prestige.

Although marriages between people with the same surname are legal and villagers are aware of examples in town, they do not occur in the area around Sanlei. An interesting unconscious patterning was revealed by the fact that on every occasion when the possibility was discussed, someone made the same remark, "That's just like the pigs!" (See [325] Glossary C.) There is a shared belief that pigs are dirty and have no morals.

There are two other types of surname exogamy. Some surnames are said to be both descendants of the same ancestor and therefore should not marry, for example Liao and Chien although a violation of this rule is not as serious as would be the marriage of two people with the identical name. There was an example in the village and although the marriage had lasted many years, there was still much gossip about it for some people considered it a form of incest. Finally, two lineages may have had a fight and pledged that their descendants will never intermarry. This does not mean the proscription is for everyone with these surnames but only for the descendants of the pledgers who possess their surnames. There were three such pairs known to villagers

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf, 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount exchanged marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

587 [765] Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor [162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

[551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [178] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [848] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[812] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

527 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

529 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis
561 for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called
529 hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX,
805 the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one
886 reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but
529 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There
886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 562 831 561 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which fea-
545 tures songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show
443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and scissors.

Middle-aged married people, without their children, go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
915 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[1117] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
763 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

765 in Sanlei Ts'un, one which possess good feng shui coordinates. A few bodies are placed directly after death in family burial plots but this is relatively rare. More often, if the family owns a burial plot with elaborate accoutrements, the body is first buried in the Wulei cemetery, exhumed after seven years as described, and the pot of bones is then placed in the family site rather than in an individual unique location.

769 Following the funeral, worship of the individual is directed towards a special side-wall table for the first twelve months. At the end of the year, the tablet, if any, and worship and objects are transferred to the regular ancestral table. The period following death is still considered a part of the normal life cycle for even though he is dead, the individual may continue to influence village affairs. He will probably be worshipped separately on his death anniversary for a number of years, the length of time varying in accordance with his age at death and the family status.

Eventually, worship directed towards an individual will be merged with that for the other ancestors and rather than on his own death anniversary, he will be worshipped on the regular days set aside for all ancestors in general. As the generations pass, memory of him will gradually be lost, and by the fifth descending generation, little more than his name will likely be left in the memory of villagers.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IX

CYCLES IN TIME

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Time is subdivided into many different categories which play a significant part in structuring social life in Sanlei Ts'un. For certain kinds of divisions, adherence to which of two conflicting systems for reckoning time provides a key to evaluating the level of modernization achieved by an individual. For example, years are subdivided according to both a traditional lunar calendar and a modern Western solar calendar. Although farmers place prime emphasis on the lunar calendar, businessmen and urban dwellers rely on the solar calendar and both calendars are important for determining village activities.[1]

Another relationship between the level of modernization and the type of time system employed may be seen in the new emphasis on clocks. Clocks were unimportant in rural traditional Chinese villages and according to older informants, Sanlei Ts'un had no clocks when they were children. As late as 1950, there were still only a few clocks in the village. Currently, almost every village house has a clock and an electric clock in the kung t'ing has almost become a necessary status symbol in spite of the fact no member of

178 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality
805 according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of
822 time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors
173 in decision processes in the village. For example, some
805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

173 were said to have originated in Fukien and also emigrated
805 to Taiwan 130 years ago. Villagers carefully distinguish between the two lines. A member of a Honan-originated line can list all other lines in the area which also supposedly originated in Honan and most claim that those who came from Honan are more like each other than outsiders although I believe it to be nearly impossible for an outsider to detect any differences.

The biggest subdivisions of time are labled according to dynasties. A sequence of calendar years starts over again at the beginning of each new dynasty. Since the last dynasty was overthrown in 1911 when the Republic was established, years have been numbered in sequence since 1911 as year 1 in a manner similar to this traditional pattern. Within dynasties, there were also occasional references to the reign of particular emperors as a means for dating events, i.e., in the 16th year of the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. No comparable phenomena is observed for the most recent period although this lack may be related to the relatively short perspective or to the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for such a long period in their respective spheres of influence.

The Sixty-Year Cycle (Chia Tzu)[2]

805 There is a system for naming years to be discussed below which generates sixty different terms and thus, a sixty year cycle. At the end of a sixty-year period, the

805 sequence is repeated. Completion of life through the entire
791 cycle is a primary factor supporting the stress on the six-
805 tieth birthday for any person who lives longer than a full cycle is considered to have been necessarily favored by the gods. This belief in god's favor applies to males and females alike. The sixty-year cycle results from the interaction between three sets of factors which are each a complex religious concept with exceedingly intricate complexities and ramifications. Although each will be discussed briefly below in turn, it must be realized that little more than a cursory examination is offered.

805 The first set is related to the Chinese view of the
812 world as if it were bipolar for not only does everything have its opposite, opposites are both necessary and complementary to each other. "These opposites tended to merge into each other and even to become each the opposite of its former self" (Thompson, 1969:3). One of these principles, yang, stands for activity, light, heat, dryness, hardness, and masculinity; the opposite, yin, for quiescence, cold, darkness, humidity, softness, and femininity (Bodde, 1951: 21).

812 The eternal interaction of the above two general
82 principles, the yin and the yang, produce the wu hsing (five
805 primary elements): fire, water, earth, wood, and metal (Bodde, 1951:21-2). The Chinese word hsing, which sinologues have usually translated as element, is actually a

805 verb meaning to walk, to go, to act and therefore, perhaps
812 better translations of wu hsing might be the "five opera-
82 tional qualities" (Thompson, 1969:4) or the "five movers" or "five agents" (Carroll, 1963:8). Correlated with the five elements are a number of other five-members sets such as directions, notes, colors, tastes, odors, sacrifices, organs, etc. The five elements produce the t'ien kan (ten celestial stems), a yin and yang form of each element. It has been suggested that perhaps the ten celestial stems were once employed for counting the days of a ten-day week (Carroll, 1963:12), but if true, the knowledge has been lost in Sanlei Ts'un.

The third set of important categories are the ti chih (twelve terrestrial branches). There are also many correlations with the twelve branches and a number of twelve-member sets such as the compass points, tones of a quasichromatic
805 scale, etc. (Carroll, 1963:13). However, the most popular
812 correlation is with the twelve animals, in order: Rat, Ox,
825 Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, and Pig. The odd-numbered items are considered to be yang and the even-numbered, yin.

805 "The chia-tsu cycle of sixty terms is made up by
82 combining the stems and branches so that each of the yang (odd-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yang branches and each of the yin (even-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yin branches" (Carroll, 1963:16).

805 Every adult in the village could name the branch and stem
82 of the current year and most could immediately predict both for the following year. When asked to predict some year farther into the future, most adults could satisfactorily figure them out. The question usually produced a response set which featured recitation of a sequence while counting on the fingers. The two cycles of five and twelve were figured separately and then combined by adjusting the yin or yang form of the stem to agree with the branch in order to produce the name of the year.

805 Every villager, with the exception of very small chil-
825 dren, knew the animal (branch) associated with his birth and almost everyone also knew the stem (element). Older people were often not sure of either their ages or the year in which they were born, but their approximate age plus the name of the animal associated with their year of birth always allowed accurate discovery. When we later obtained official records, there were only a few discrepancies between the recorded age and the age computed by use of the animals. Each discrepancy could be explained with a story which claimed the official records were not correct. For example, one Sanlei man had been registered two years later than his actual birth because his father was with the bandits in the mountains. In each case, the "animal" designation was correct and the official registration was inaccurate.

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [794] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

805 thirteen months according to the year's position in a
[796] nineteen-year intercalation cycle (Carroll, 1963:4-5). The extra month is assigned the same number as the month immediately preceding it. Villagers would say, for example, that 1966 had two "third" months. Although religious holidays based on a monthly cycle would be celebrated during the extra month, those based on a yearly cycle would only be celebrated during the first of the duplicated months.

Because of the differing length of the months and the differing number of months in any one year, the lunar and solar calendars do not match. Lunar New Year commences sometime in January or February of the solar calendar. Without exception, villagers were all aware of the current date at any moment in time according to the lunar calendar. On the other hand, most villagers were not aware of the current date according to the solar calendar. The awareness of solar dates was related to structural factors. As would be expected, those who worked in businesses or factories as well as those who did business regularly in the city were more knowledgable and therefore, on the average, men were more aware of both kinds of dates than women.

The Yearly Religious Cycle

796 In traditional China, there was no custom of a five-day or six-day week followed by one or two days for rest and recreation. Nevertheless, an equivalent relief period was provided by the celebration of various religious

festivals which punctuated the yearly cycle; these served as a functional alternative by special interspersing recreation days in the work schedule. Most of the special days were regularly scheduled, some on a yearly basis and some on a monthly basis. As previously described, some were specially scheduled in addition such as that for the Fire Purification Ceremony. Each of the major events in Sanlei's cycle will be discussed briefly below with dates indicated in accordance with the lunar calendar.[4] The particular events and/or the dates for their celebration vary for different regions of China, but nevertheless, the overall frequency appears to be about the same everywhere.

The listed items are not all of equal importance. For some, the activities might be restricted to a few hours in the evening and involve only the household members and even then, in only a minority of village homes. For others, the activities may last several days, involve many guests, and include 100% village participation. In general, most holidays always involve extra worship activities and special food in the evening at dinner. The presence of guests is nearly always evident for the more important affairs.

The year starts with the Hsin Nien (New Year's) cele-
[632] bration on the first day of the first month. This is the most important festival in the yearly cycle and the whole li cooperates in its celebration. Entertainment is always hired and usually retained for a full three days. Actually,

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties
[931] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in-
[574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair
[780] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the
[777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

796 769 Ch'ing Ming Chieh (Clear and Bright) is celebrated during the third month sometime between the first and fifteenth.[5] The primary worship is of gods and ancestors with an important task of cleaning and decorating ancestral graves. At this festival, many kinship units larger than a single family gather to worship together and clean the common graves. Most people prepare and serve special cakes. Almost every household in the area participates with the exceptions made up of a few immigrants who do not have a family burial plot in the area. The day before Ch'ing Ming Chieh, about one third of the households build no fires and therefore, eat only cold food in remembrance, villagers say, of an event during the period of the "Warring States." On the day of Ch'ing Ming Chieh itself, many villagers who have migrated permanently to the city return to Sanlei Ts'un for worship and celebration.

796 The second most important yearly event in Sanlei is the Matsu procession which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month and as previously stated, is the only religious affair for which cooperative activities extend beyond the confines of Talei Li. Beyond the li boundaries, the cooperation in the touring entertainment and god's procession lasts only one day, but inside Talei Li as well as inside several other li in the Hsin Tien area, the celebration usually lasts three days. There are usually elaborate hired entertainment programs such as an opera, many dinners

and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be most general. Village women now make special worship offerings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves. An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Haiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

796 796 821 the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

796 562 [801] The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

796 782 [262] Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

796 796 The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
241 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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The Function of Religious Holidays

121 461 There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
466 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others
464 which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

the extra hours were not compensated on an hourly basis. Rather, work went on until dark (with a dinner break) and the day's labor was counted as a long day. It had to be repaid with either another long day or a regular day plus something extra such as an afternoon of a second day. Even when working on his own fields, a man would not average ten hours a working day over an extended period of time as assumed in the above described research project.

The work year of 330 days, allowing 35 holidays, also appears to be rather high. As described above, there are regularly scheduled religious holidays which yield about 15 days per year when there is no work. There are periodic but unscheduled holidays which add another two days per year to the vacation schedule. Life crises events such as funerals and weddings also detract from the regular work schedule for funerals take at least one full day and weddings another. Weddings are usually scheduled such that they fall in a relatively slack agricultural period. In Sanlei, the weddings and funerals of both relatives and neighbors are usually a customary obligation. Also, there are some regular reductions in work activities related to the bi-monthly worship days and on Sundays. In all, it appears that the number of regular work days in a single year, given a high demand for labor would still be less than 330.

There was a second method employed in examining the normal number of work days. Some li men are full-time

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency .

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

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221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

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221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that
464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main
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243 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro-
464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

Tea was added later and since the demand for labor inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not crucial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

This ecological and technological adjustment has been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea picking and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

178
562 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512 [518] [262] [443] [782] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [514] [515] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] [264] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
801 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

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512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
(625) rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
46 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
521 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

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CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

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Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

114 in Chinese society would be to provide a series of direct
562 quotations from the literature. Although these have been taken out of context, efforts have been exerted not to distort the impression created by the original author. Although many of the statements may appear to be over-simplified and absolutistic, i.e., without exception, the fault is that of the author and not mine. The eight examples are as follows:

> The domination of age over youth within the old-style family was matched by the domination of male over female. Chinese girls in the old days were more likely than baby boys to suffer infanticide. A girl's marriage was, of course, arranged and not for love. The trembling bride became at once a daughter-in-law under the tyranny of her husband's mother. In a well-to-do family she might see secondary wives or concubines brought into her household, particularly if she did not bear a male heir. She could be repudiated by her husband for various reasons. If he died she could not easily remarry. All this reflected the fact that a woman had no economic independence. Her labor was absorbed in household tasks and brought her no income. Peasant women were universally illiterate. They had few or no property rights. . . The inferiority of women imposed upon them by social custom was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of a society of status. . . While male and female were both necessary and complementary, one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of Chinese male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity which was to be expected of women. These patterns subordinated girls to boys from infancy and kept the wife subordinate to her husband and the mother to her son. Forceful women, whom China has never lacked, controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat (Fairbank, 1958:30-1).

> In China, the expression "an article on which money has been wasted" is a common paraphrase for designating a young girl; and the most ideally perfect daughter, viz. she who possesses the virtues of the

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562 eighteen Lohans according to a Chinese proverb, is not equal to a club-footed son. . . A Chinese woman may even be repudiated by her mother-in-law; a Chinese who admits to having beaten his wife to death escapes any penalty if his pretext for doing so is that she failed in her filial duty towards his parents. . . A Chinese husband would blush if he were surprised in the act of conversing with his wife. In a group composed of several couples, the women always keep to themselves and the men do the same without any communication between the two sides or any sign which would betray who is married to whom. . . If the Chinese woman has no son and gives birth to a series of daughters her existence in the home becomes a hell (Herbert, 1965:221-36).

Girls have been generally regarded as much less valuable than boys and sayings in common circulation appraise sons as infinitely preferable to daughters. One such proverb states in effect that the most beautiful and gifted girl is not so desireable as a deformed boy. . . Among the very poor, the killing of female infants has been by no means unknown. While statistics are lacking, it seems, indeed, to have been very common. . . In ordinary homes, especially of most of the farmers and the poor, girls and women have led a life of hard labor (Latourette, 1959:679-80).

The present position of woman in China is a heritage of the remote past, as is illustrated by the most ancient Chinese literature . . . The essence of Chinese classical teaching on this subject is, that woman is as inferior to man as the earth is inferior to heaven; and that she can never attain to full equality with man. According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the Yin, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the Yang, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. . . We must, therefore, regard the position of women in China, as the ultimate outcome and a most characteristic fruitage of Confucianism. In our view it has been a bitter fruit (Smith, 1899: 305-6).

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562 The low status of Chinese women whether in the family or in society is proverbial. In traditional Chinese fiction the female character was frequently introduced by the line "unfortunately she was born a woman." K'ang Yu-wei, the precursor of modern reformers at the end of the last century, listed being born a woman as one of the calamities of life. . . To hold women in general, and young and middle-aged wives in particular, to an inferior status where mistreatment abounded and even death lurked, the authority of the family was supported by all the repressive features of the traditional institution of arranged marriage. . . In addition to concubinage, which posed a constant threat against the wife, and the absence of freedom of divorce, which served to block the wife from a peaceful means of escape from an unpleasant situation, there were three other traditional limitations which applied not only in marriage but to the general status of women in Chinese society: loss of her name, seclusion, and lack of education (C. K. Yang, 1959:106-111).

The second element [in summarizing the culture of West Town] is what I call estrangement between the sexes. On the one hand this pattern prescribes sex inequality, and on the other it necessitates the elimination of all erotic expression. Both measures are means for subordinating the husband-wife relationship and enhancing the father-son relationship. In West Town we see an outright superiority of men over women. Not only are husbands above their wives, but brothers are also superior to their sisters. This inequality is implied in the life of the people and clearly stated and recognized by both sexes without reserve or hesitation (Hsu, 1949:241).

The low position of women in China is due to a combination of several economic and ideological factors. . . The traditional Chinese philosophy provided a theory of women's inferiority that was an ideological justification of her lower status in the society of imperial times, and helped to perpetuate it. . . Buddhism, in which woman is the personification of all evil, added new ideological propositions to the idea of woman's inferiority. For twenty-two centuries, hundreds of male and female Confucian writers wrote scores of books on the position of women and their role in family and society, and devised practical rules for their

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education and conduct. With slight variations all these books presented the same teachings. Obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability were the main virtures of women. Three rules of obedience to man shape a woman's life, "An unmarried girl should obey her father and elder brother, a married woman--her husband, a widow--her son." . . . The legal status of a woman was inferior to that of her husband. . . Chinese women had practically no property rights. . . It is not surprising that girls were the main, if not exclusive, victims of infanticide, which was practiced in the poor families of China from time immemorial (Lang, 1946:42-6).

A woman's social position in ancient China was even more deplorable [than her legal position]. Politically, she was a mere nonentity but socially, she was an inferior species of mankind--a human chattel, slave of men's caprices. Being considered inferior to men, she was regarded with indifference, if not with studied contempt, not only by the men but also by her own kind. Her birth was an unimportant event and even the name that was given her by her father at the time of her birth was not supposed to be known beyond the family threshold, and the education she received, or was entitled to receive, was negligible; for it was deemed improper for women to possess too much knowledge. . . The so called "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," which have shackled the Chinese women for thousands of years, derive their origin from the belief in the superiority of men over women and from the attempt of the ancient moralists to hold women in lifelong subjection. By means of the three obediences a woman is constrained to obey the paterfamilias at home, to render obedience to her husband after marriage and to be obedient to her eldest son after the death of her husband. By means of the four virtues a woman is made to preserve her feminine qualities, to be gentle in disposition and pleasing in appearance, to be chary of speech, and to be assiduous in the performance of her domestic duties (Chiu, 1966:18-20).

An easily-provided larger listing of many more examples by other equally renowned authors with similar viewpoints and arguments would only provide quantitative rather than

114 qualitative changes for I feel the above sample is repre-
562 sentative of a wide body of literature. The above authors are drawn from such fields as anthropology, history, religion, sociology, law, and philosophy and are members of such nationality groups as French, English, Chinese, Russian, and American. In each case the cited item was written after extensive field work in Chinese society or by a sinologist who has extensive familiarity with Chinese sources.

In spite of the fact that lengthy segments were used in order to preserve the author's intent, in all fairness to the cited individuals, it should be made patent that several did list exceptions to the dominant patterns. For example, although stressing that such women were exceptions, Herbert does state that China has had many female priests (1956:223), empresses (1965:225), and poets (1965:227). In a chapter solely devoted to what he describes as the degraded situation of women, Smith (1899:258-311) scatters about contra-indications such as in his discussion of noisy women and their "hen-pecked" husbands (1899:304-5). The anthropological accounts in particular appear much more sophisticated in this regard with a greater recognition of actual variation and a lesser emphasis on the ideal patterns.

In summary, China is usually described as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. Females were always inferior to men and at birth, boys were desirable and appreciated

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually involved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive. 114 562

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are 121 562

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children
[212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for
[178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the
[582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should
[581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[591] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
174 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
871 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
182 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 562 593 [341] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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[606] a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to sup-
562 port in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury
593 his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

562 However, the most important relationship under con-
593 sideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

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593 also serves to maintain the pretense. A casual observer may easily be fooled for in many cases, it appears that the villagers are actually fooling themselves. There is no common kinship term that a man can use to address his wife. Until the children are born, permitting teknonymy through them, a man avoids using any term at all other than the equivalent of "hey you." However, the wife can both address and refer to her husband as "Lord and Master." While the idea of subordination-superordination is conveyed by the term, it may be used by a domineering wife as part of an order to her husband to perform some task. To illustrate, Liao Wei-yu (one of the men in the six-family compound described in Chapter V), his cousin Liao Wei-I, and I spent about four hours one afternoon sitting in his courtyard trying to repair a tea presser. During the first three hours, his wife sent Wei-yu on several errands such as fetching water, bringing wood to the kitchen, putting up a bamboo pole for drying clothes, etc., each time ordering the task in an imperious tone although the command was prefaced by the usual "Lord and Master." Wei-yu complained to us, softly so his wife would not hear, that to refuse her requests would only cause trouble. After about three hours, the li secretary stopped by to review some tax record changes with Wei-yu, a village lin chang (neighborhood leader). Because the secretary is an important official, the four of us went into the kung t'ing and sat around the table while Wei-yu ordered

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
542 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
597 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
58 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593 alike in Sanlei village:
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> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all
591 houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562 [591] [595] 562 592

number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many households have officially registered female heads. W. Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

562 well as illustrated by the fact that they have no "face" to protect and that only men were admitted to the traditional examination system. There are many notable exceptions however. Many women hold high political offices in Taiwan today and throughout history, there have been periodic Chinese empresses as rulers of the kingdom and more often, females existing as powers behind the throne, engaging in palace intrigues and influencing men.[7] To my knowledge, only one period in Chinese history prior to the present was witness to significant efforts to establish the equality of women to men. During the Taiping rebellion, the rebels claimed that:

> Women, like men, . . . could take the state examinations and could hold civil or military offices; there were special female contingents in the Taiping army. Foot binding, so common among the higher classes since the twelfth century, was strictly forbidden, as was prostitution; white slavery and rape was punished by death. Monogamy was obligatory; women and girls who did not have the protection of male family members were particularly taken care of (Franke, 1958:47-64).

Both the Nationalists in Taiwan and the Communists on the Mainland, following the lead advocated by Sun Yat-sen, are promoting the establishment of the equality of women.

562 M6 As we have seen, there are several females numbered among the most important dieties in the Chinese pantheon of gods. It appears that currently, two of the most important gods in Taiwan are females, Kuan Yin and Ma Tzu. The degree of emphasis on female gods in China is revealed by the fact that Kuan Yin is the Chinese name for the male Indian god

[7] [This should be footnote 6--Analyst]

562 Avalokitesvara who "hears the complaints of mankind" (Eich-
776 orn, 1964:192). Although originally male, in about the eleventh century in China, Avalokitesvara becomes a female divinity who is the embodiment of beneficence (Eichorn, 1964:192).

562 In the practice of religion, although the majority
771 of religious functionaries are men, there have always been a number of temples and monasteries staffed entirely by women. In Sanlei, as in most other Chinese villages, women actually perform much of the ritual activities in spite of the value which specifies that they should be performed by men, especially the required ritual. One merely has to observe celebrants in any Chinese temple a few hours to find that a majority of the worshippers tend to be women.

Some writers have claimed that Confucius and Confucian doctrines are responsible for the lack of esteem in which Chinese women are regarded and the comparatively low position they are said to have in society (Smith, 1899: 305-6; Lang, 1946:42-6; Straelen, 1936:43) but the evidence is not certain. O'Hara, for example, cites a great body of Confucian teachings supporting the opposite position (1955; 1963). For example, O'Hara cites the stories of Confucius and his relationships with women (1955:163-4) in which he acceded to their wisdom. Confucius also taught that wives and favorite concubines were responsible for ruling the inner apartments and encouraging men to behave properly (1963: 79-80).

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

121 considered axiomatic in anthropology that there will be cul-
562 tural elaboration around items and problems which are considered important in the society. These items are subject to fads and fashions, that is, they may change with time. For example, pollution is recognized as a major problem today in the United States and one finds an enormous amount of material discussing it although twenty years previously, there was little material in spite of the fact pollution levels were nearly identical. The very great quantity of literature in China, most of it written by men, encompassing extended periods of time, devoted to the lowly position of women, describing their proper relationships to men, setting forth a multitude of laws to insure proper behavior, etc., may well be because women simply refused to behave as men demanded. In other words, there is so much literature on the ideal level because the behavior of women on the actual level so rarely conformed.

In addition to the above, there appears to be a frequent failure to come to grips with conflicting statements in a single account with the goal of resolving them. This failure may be related to the segmental personality, the situation-centered phenomena described by Hsu (1953; 1963) which I considered in Chapter VII. Several examples have been presented in this section but to emphasize the point, one more will be considered in some detail.

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With regard to divorce, Ch'ing law states that a man can divorce a woman for seven reasons which are known as the Ch'i Ch'u or Seven Ousts: (1) Failure to serve the husband's parents and disobedience to them. (2) Failure to give birth to a son. (3) Dissoluteness of manners. (4) Jealousy. (5) Malignant disease. (6) Loquacity. (7) Larceny (Chui, 1966:61-8). Adultery is not listed here but was also a compelling reason for divorce. However, in the same law may be found the San Pu Ch'u or Three Non-Ousts, reasons why a wife cannot be divorced by her husband except on the grounds of adultery: (1) Mourned her husband's parents for three years. (2) Husband's poor family became rich after marriage. (3) She has no home to return to (Chiu, 1966:69-71). Chiu makes the point repeatedly that according to the law, men have "an exclusive right of divorce in ancient China" (1966:58). Even in divorce by mutual consent, traditionally permitted in China, the divorce is "effected in the name of the husband" (1966:60). Other scholars consistently agree, i.e., "divorce became exclusively the man's privilege and was practically equivalent to repudiation of the wife by the husband" (Lang, 1946:40).

However, a careful reading of Ch'ing law together with analysis of a sample of court decisions, does not support the above argument. All of the above facts are true but important omissions were made. The usual presentation implies the husband had the power to divorce his wife on the

562 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San
586 Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all
671 such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

114 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect
562 of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have con-
586 sidered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the
671 primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

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562 section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely
586 a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth
671 with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 [114] 121 562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

121 562 [178] school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated that although changes leading to increased status for women are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 184 562 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

121 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to sup-
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562 port any claim that the research results were not reasonably applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null
562 hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of
114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both
121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the
562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

114 121 862 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

121 562 Now that the particular problem of conflicting interpretations of the nature of female roles in Chinese society has been identified, future field research hopefully will settle the issue. As more scholars focus on the role of women,[91] both in current field research and reconsideration of previous data, I am sure that my delineation of the nature of women's roles will be confirmed.

121 There is a larger problem of which this whole case is merely an example, how did such errors of interpretation occur and what can be done to prevent similar errors in the future? The mechanism leading to misinterpretation was suggested in the introductory chapter and is briefly reviewed below:

1. Every civilization has a Great Tradition expressed in a literary record which sets forth the society's "ideal" value system.

2. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture delineated in the Great Tradition.

3. As explained by means of cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome a belief once it is internalized, i.e., evidence which is contrary to existing knowledge will be denied.

4. Therefore, it is likely that both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "experts" in the culture will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

In addition to the above, there is a kind of style in anthropological research which contributes to the problem: an emphasis on social organization and social structure. There has been an attempt to find and describe that which persists

[91] [This should be footnote 8--Analyst]

121 in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive 114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro- 121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[This should be footnote 9--Analyst]

12 discussed briefly in turn below.

The enumeration of examples and/or rates would increase confidence in the author's abstraction or summary. For example, assume an investigator reports that the oldest male in the senior generation is usually the head of the lineage. Doubt derives from the term usually. The information that there were but three exceptions out of 225 surveyed lineages would produce a picture quite different from a statement there were 100 exceptions. We would feel the latter, at least, required explanation and the author would also likely feel some constraint not to dismiss the exceptions. I am also assuming the original author is particularly sophisticated and thorough for he added a key word in the original statement, "usually." In fact, we often find absolute statements in the anthropological literature while there are few absolutes in real social life.

To illustrate this point consider one example from Fei Hsiao-tung whom I regard as a competent and honest anthropologist. In one ethnography he claims an expanded family is "the basic social group in the village" (1939:27), but after discussing its importance, he does provide the data that this basic group constitutes less than ten per cent of the village families (1939:28). It is only because of his thoroughness and enumeration of cases that we discover his apparent dismissal of 90% of the data in favor of the 10% which exemplifies the Great Tradition. It is

12 probably true that the extended family is the "ideal" social group in the village Fei studied. Fei's concrete data (1939:29) claiming 223 of 359 families contain a single married couple and 99 more do not include a married couple at all does not support his argument the extended family is "basic," at least on the "actual" level.

In the processural approach, extensive detailed case studies often provide enough data for a second investigator to make his own analysis rather than relying on the presented abstractions and more than one interpretation should aid in preventing errors. In each historical case of a restudy of the same community by different anthropologists, i.e., Lewis and Redfield or Goodenough and Fisher, contrary interpretations have been offered. Presentation of extensive detailed case studies which is characteristic of the processural approach permits a kind of restudy because it is one level closer to the actual social facts than is normally presented, i.e., observation rather than interpretation. In other words, there are social events which occur in the village; the anthropologist records these more or less completely in his field notes; and finally, he usually furnishes an interpretation in his presentation. In many accounts, we rely primarily on the interpretation of the anthropologist. In accounts featuring a processural approach, we often find the extended observational reports which furnishes, so to speak, an

12 examination of the author's field notes. These may still be incomplete, i.e., the reporter was a poor observer, or they may be unrepresentative, i.e., the author has not selected the proper cases, but nevertheless, they are less abstract and closer to reality than most former approaches.

As a secondary effect, the processural approach which includes "real" cases rather than mere abstract principles will aid in the misplaced concreteness on "ideal" culture.

The third and fourth suggestions are two sides of the same coin. A traditional belief in anthropology is that some research should be conducted in a society other than the society in which the investigator was originally enculturated. It appears that it may be possible for the anthropologist to become socialized in terms of the Great Tradition of the society under consideration to such an extent that he loses the objectivity which constituted the rational for the original insistence on cross-cultural research. Yet, history and the Great Tradition are sufficiently complex to require years to master reasonably and so important that they cannot be ignored. This apparent impasse may be overcome by (a) developing specialists in great civilizations but strongly encouraging them to conduct field research in a third culture to provide comparatively-derived objectivity, and (b) encouraging anthropologists to conduct field research in a Great Civilization in which they are non-specialized. In other words, the

12 anthropological study of China would likely be improved if the Sinologist were more often to punctuate his research in China with a venture into another area such as India or Africa and if a specialist in Indian or African cultures were more often to conduct a field study in China. Too narrow a specialization in one society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as it is currently practiced.

Finally, as anthropology matures, it is becoming increasingly concerned with research methodology and techniques. It is possible to go too far down this road which may become a blind alley as perhaps has happened in mathematical sociology and experimental psychology. Yet, we have probably not gone far enough. I believe the above suggestions would eventuate in improvements but I am not unduly pessimistic with reference to the ability of anthropologists specializing in great civilizations to break through with new interpretations of cultural material using current techniques. For example, in spite of the Great Tradition and the concomitant problems such as those discussed above, anthropological sinologists have recently "discovered" and reported the true composition of the Chinese family (Hsu, 1943), the importance of affinal relatives (Gallin, 1960), the nature of lineage organizations in South Eastern China (Freedman, 1958; 1965), and the nature and importance of clans and lineages in the urban areas (Fried, 1968). The

12 nature of female roles in Chinese society presented in this dissertation should add to our understanding of Chinese society in spite of the contrast with "The Great Tradition."

NOTES

Chapter I: Problem and Approach

1 The role of women as portrayed in the traditional literature is abstracted more fully later in this Chapter and in Chapter X.

2 The concept of the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition" are explicated in Redfield (1956).

3 Although the emphasis on the word typical was not in the original presentation, the term was used in the title and the introductory remarks.

4 The concept of "social distance" was developed by Bogardus to measure the degree of closeness or acceptance members of one group feel towards members of other groups (1958; 1959).

5 See Chapter V for a fuller discussion of the nature and function of sworn brothers associations which are perceived as pseudo-kinship groups.

Chapter II: The Setting

1 Although the population figures for Sanlei reflect the actual residence in the village, those for Talei Li are based on registration records in the township office and therefore are inaccurate as will be discussed.

2 "Restoration" is the official term employed to refer to the passing of control from the Japanese to the Chinese and the anniversary date is currently a national holiday celebrated with appropriate rituals.

3 For more complete accounts of the history of Taiwan, any of the following could be consulted: Davidson (1903), Grajdanzev (1942), Riggs (1952), Barclay (1954), Hsieh (1964), Kerr (1965), or Koo (1968).

4 Because of the Communication Bureau and a secret military base in the area, most government information was restricted for security reasons. Although we were not permitted to examine the local histories, an official briefly summarized them for us orally. Similar procedures were in effect for all other data except that we were permitted one day to examine household registration records for our two villages only in the township office and one day, the same for the land registration in the land office. Family histories are not very accurate but because of the shallow depth of the

settlement, older informants had heard tales of the founding directly from the original migrants.

5 G. Myrdal explains that under British control, the petty officials at lower levels were usually members of the indigenous population and higher levels were British. There were also attempts to work through the previous political infrastructure. He contrasts this with the French rule in Vietnam where almost all levels were controlled by the French and therefore, had the highest ratio of foreign officials to indigenous citizens in the East (1968:123-4,187-9). L. Mair (1969:32) also stresses indirect rule as a general British policy in most colonial territories. Taiwan appears intermediate between the French and British extremes for almost all government officials were Japanese, but the traditional local infrastructure of political control continued to be important.

6 The pao chia system is based on a Chinese imperial edict in the eighteenth century but it is far from clear how it was applied for conflicting data exists from various areas (Freedman,1958:65). It appears to be a system of units organized in hierarchal order to maintain control. In Taiwan under the Japanese, it functioned as follows: each chia (family or household) had a chia chang (head) who was responsible for the actions of its members. About ten contiguous chia were combined into lin headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who was selected by a process of consensus and held responsible for the lin. About ten lin were combined into pao with an elected or appointed pao chang (head or mayor) responsible for communicating and carrying out government programs. Each pao consisted of about 100 chia. Since there were more than 150 chia in Talei Li, it was split into two pao.

7 The average rate for all Europe is about 10 and for North America, just over 9 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook,1966:103). The lower rate in Taiwan is primarily due to its relatively young population.

8 Early in the Twentieth century, flour was sacked in colorful cotton bags as a sales promotion device in the United States. The material was salvaged to make clothes which were very similar to underclothes now worn in Taiwan in terms of color and patterns.

Chapter III: The Economic Base

[192] 1 P'eng lai and tsai lai are both generic names for a large set of sub-varieties.

2 To facilitate comprehension, all dates in this chapter are furnished according to the Western solar calendar. [805] The lunar calendar is extremely important for village affairs and is considered in Chapter IX.

000 3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.
4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."
5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).
6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.
2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.
3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.
[556] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?
5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).
[212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.
[787] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).
2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."
3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the

modern use of the term, "extended family."

4 The reader is referred to the original article for the detailed analysis. In brief, the restraints are related to the fact that a Stage III society is large, complex, and possesses a large number of various role specializations.

5 This would assume that the "ideal" is larger than a nuclear unit; otherwise there would be no pressure for a change.

6 The increased prosperity is demonstrated for both Taiwan as a whole and for the subject village in particular in Chapter III.

7 It will later be demonstrated that the biological constraints may be overcome by such traditional practices as adoption and matrilocal marriage.

8 The role of the potmaster and assistant potmaster are considered more fully in Chapter VI and a description of a recent Fire Purification Ceremony may be found in Chapter VII.

9 The significance of the ancestral pot or censer is discussed in the last part of this chapter.

10 For example, Morioka (1967:595-606) reports the number of stages for the family cycle in the United States is nine, Japan three, and China four. Each investigator for a single society often sets out his own conception of the number of stages so that there is little agreement. Glick and Parke (1967:187-8) for example, claim the United States has six stages rather than the nine cited above.

11 No villagers participate in the Liao temple affairs and no one could direct me to it. The last visit was over ten years previous to my study when Liao Mo-tu copied down the next four words in his poem. He went with a Liao in Hsin Tien who is now dead. Liao did tell me we could probably find it if we just ask enough people surnamed Liao for someone was sure to know.

12 There were two levels of people named Liao. One was merely those who possessed the same surname and were called ch'in tang. The other level included those who shared a known ancestor (demonstrated descent) and were called ch'in tsu although I found that in actual practice, either term might be used interchangeably. Tsu has been translated as both clan and lineage.

13 Feng shui (geomancy, literally wind and water) is discussed more completely in Chapter VII.

Chapter VI: Voluntary Associations

1 The "Fire Purification Ceremony" is an important religious event periodically held in the area and is described in Chapter VII.

2 Gods are used in the same manner employed by people in the village. Westerners might call them god's statues

∞ but the statue is something more than a mere representation, it actually possesses some of the god's essence (See Chapter VII).

3 Shen pei may be used to question the gods with a fifty per cent probability of success (See Chapter VII).

4 Potmasters and assistant potmasters (the pot refers to the bowl which holds the ash of an incense stick) are considered in Chapter VII.

5 This is usually an informal village leader or elected official. The current li chang (mayor) lives in Sanlei and is often an ex officio member of various temple committees, particularly in connection with the financial records. The membership appointment is on a consensus basis rather than on the "god's selection" as with the shen pei.

6 For example, many villagers unfairly blame him for the loss of the temple-owned land during the Land Reform programs of the national government. Villagers believe a good head could have circumvented the law.

Chapter VII: Religion

1 The explanation to follow in game theory is not, to my knowledge, original but I am unable to recall where I first heard it.

2 In terms of game theory, answers to the two questions allow a four-celled double binary outcome. A rational player will attempt to maximize his gain and simultaneously, minimize his loss (a minimax solution). The only logical choice is thus to be a believer.

3 According to Joseph Payne, an American who has made a hobby of collecting and identifying photgraphs of god's statues on Taiwan with the aid of Fr. Michael of the Asian Studies Department, Sophia University, one of the two appears to be an aborigine god. Two older men in the village claimed this was impossible but were not able to offer an alternative explanation.

4 Pai pai is either a bow or a dipping of the hands or both simultaneously but the term has been generalized to refer to all worship activities for a single affair and to the party and dinner which may be a part. In this latter respect, someone will say he is going to a pai pai, meaning, he is going to a party.

5 The incense pot or censer (hsiang lu) is a receptacle which holds ash from burnt incense sticks. When new sticks are lit, they are thrust into the ash for support in an upright position while burning. The ash may only be discarded on special occasions with proper ritual.

6 Of the remaining two spirits, one goes to hell and one to the grave (Gallin,1966:220).

7 As a term paper project in my undergraduate class, the late Joseph Payne conducted 50 surveys of ancestral shrines in the city of Taipei and found only 37 had ancestral tablets but all 50 had censers.

8 The question as to whether or not Confucianism is a religion has not yet been settled (C.K.Yang,1967:26-7). Villagers believe that Confucius is a god who has the power to do good.

9 "Bad-hearted" is a literal translation. The idea which is conveyed seems to be a combination of insincerity and impropriety. On the other hand, a "good-hearted" person is usually one who does the right thing at the right time, quietly and modestly.

10 When invited to a wedding, the guest is expected to pay an amount in cash (enclosed in a red envelope) which is sufficient to cover the cost of his food and drink. The size of the donation which is proper varies but an informal communication system conveys the amount. I use donation advisedly for in practice, one often does not recieve the formal invitation until after the donation has been delivered.

Chapter VIII: The Life Cycle

1 Subsequent to the completion of the study, the change to nine years has been officially inaugurated.

2 The children sleep in bed with their parents until about age ten (See subsequent section of this chapter).

3 He was often consulted by other villagers with regard to the accuracy of some line of poetry or quotation from the classics.

4 Wine houses serve drinks and food along with entertainment by prostitutes. Although use is made of the prostitutes, many trips are merely to drink, eat, and joke with the girls while sitting at a table with male friends.

5 There are a very few wealthier families who celebrate a man's fiftieth birthday.

6 Over age 60, everyone is considered to be old. Some people argue that old age commences at age 50.

7 This would mean that the 60th, 80th, and 100th are more important than the 70th or 90th although the increment of importance added by the greater age overwhelms the differences from the belief in numbers.

8 No one was sure what would be the nature of a ceremony for a married person who died young without having any children. The only cases of married barren people in recent memory were all those who married late in life and were both poor and with a small network of kinsmen. The ceremonies in each case were simple but this could be related to the latter two factors rather than the lack of descendants alone.

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring

in one short period of history and which emphasizes women's roles, see M. Levy (1958).

7 For example, a woman is the actual domineering head of the household and a major character in the greatest of all Chinese novels, Dream of the Red Chamber.

8 Norma Diamond of the University of Michigan is currently conducting research into women's roles in Taiwan and Margery Wolf, author of House of Lim is doing a study of women's roles based on field work conducted previously in Taiwan.

9 See discussion of M. Levy's approach to family composition in terms of the "ideal" versus "actual" level in Chapter V.

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GLOSSARY A

PROPER PLACE NAMES

103

二垂村	Erhlei (Erh Lei Ts'un)	四垂村	Szulei (Szu Lei Ts'un)
福建	Fukien	臺北	Taichung
河南	Honan	臺南	Tainan
新店	Hsin Tien	臺北	Taipei
花蓮	Hualien	臺中	Taitung
高雄	Kaohsiung	大垂里	Talei (Ta Lei Li)
基隆	Keelung	臺灣	Taiwan
廣東	Kwantung	頭垂村	T'oulei (T'ou Lei Ts'un)
頭化村	Pouti (Pou Ti Ts'un)	五垂村	Wulei (Wu Lei Ts'un)
三垂村	Sanlei (San Lei Ts'un)		

GLOSSARY B

CHINESE TERMS AND SHORT PHRASES

104 Characters	Romanization Mandarin	Taiwanese	English Equivalent
章	Chang	Chiu	Signature stamp
招夫	Chao fu	Chiao hu	Adopted-in husband
拆伙	Ch'ai hwo	Chiat hoe	Family division (Separation of stove)
招弟	Chao ti	Chiao ti	Adopt a child in order to attact a baby brother
旗袍	Ch'i pao	Tng sa	Tight-collared slit-sided dress
吉壽	Chi shou	Kea shu	Ninetieth birthday (senior longevity)
甲	Chia	Ka	Unit of land measure equal to about 2.39 acres
家	Chia	Ka	Family
家長	Chia chang	Ka taung	Head of family
甲子	Chia tzu	Ka' chu'	First term in the 60-year cycle of years, calandar
結拜兄弟	Chieh pai hsiung ti	Kea pai' hia ti	Sworn brothers association
斤	Chin	Kin	Unit of weight equal to about one and one third pounds
親戚	Ch'in Ch'i	Chhin Chiang	Affinal Relative

104 親堂	Ch'in t'ang	Chhin tung	Agnatic kinsmen by virtue of possession of a common surname
親族	Ch'in tsu	Chhin tsou	Agnatic kinsmen with demonstrated descent
清明節	Ch'ing ming chieh	Chin meng tast	Clear and Bright Festival
豬人	Chu jen	Ti lang	Village to-fu salesman (pig man)
中秋節	Chung chiu chieh	Tiong chiu tast	Mid-Autumn or Moon Festival
中壽	Chung shou	Tiong shu	70th Birthday (middle longevity)
中元	Chung yuan	Tiong kuang	Festival of the Hungry Ghosts
耳手	Erh tzu	Hi tsa	Handles on censer of ancestors (ears)
法師	Fa shih	Hoat su	Shaman
房	Fang	Bong	Branch of a Clan
風水	Feng shui	Fung tsui	Geomancy (wind and water)
府	Fu	Hu'	Government district
好兄弟	Hao Hsiung Ti	Ho hia ti	Good brothers (unworshipped ancestors)
黑頭	Hei t'ou	O tao'	Priest important for funerals (black headed Taoist0
喜沖喜	Hsi chung hsi	Hei chon hei	Good counteracts good
稀飯	Hsi fan	Moi	Rice gruel
小壽	Hsia shou	Shia shu	60th birthday small longevity)
香爐	Hsiang lu	Hiu lo	Ancestral censer

104	新年	Hsin nien	Chian goeh	New Year
	戶	Hu	Hou	Household
	紅頭	Hung t'ou	Han tao'	Priest important for curing illness (red-headed Taoist)
	義警	I' Ching	I' Keng	Voluntary policemen
	感情	Kan ch'ing	Koung chin	Emotional relationships or feelings
	乾杯	Kan pei	Kan poe	A toast - bottoms up
	高鼻子	Kao pi tzu	To' phi a	Westerner (big nose)
	觀音	Kuan yin	Kuamg yim	Goddess of Mercy
	鬼	Kuei	Kuei	Malevolent divine powers
	公廳	Kung t'ing	Kong Taing	Central room in house
	國語	Kuo yu	Kok gi	Mandarin (national language)
	里	Li	Li'	A political unit smaller than a township
	里長	Li chang	Li' taung	Mayor (head of a li)
	隣	Lin	Lin	Neighborhood, an official government unit
	隣長	Lin chang	Lin taung	Head of a lin
	爐主	Lu chu	Chan tsu	Pot master (official in charge of a religious ceremony)
	滿月	Man yueh	Moun goeh	Ceremony for the 30-day-old baby (full month)
	媽祖	Matsu	Ma tsou	An important goddess

104閩南話	Min nan hua	Tai oan oe	Southern min, a Chinese dialect
八字	Pa tzu	Peh li	Year, month, day, and hour of birth (eight characters)
拜拜	Pai pai	Pai' pai'	A ritual or the celebration part of a ceremonial event
半杯	Pan pei	Pang poe	A Toast - half a glass
保甲	Pao chia	Pou ka'	Traditional system of local government
蓬來	P'eng lai	Pung lai	Variety of rice
上壽	Shang shou	Shoung shu	80th birthday (high longevity)
上水	Shang shui	Siong tsui	Village neighborhood in Sanlei (above the water)
上元	Shang yuan	Shoung Kuang	Lantern Festival
神	Shen	Sin	Gods or good divine powers
神杯	Shen pei	Sin poe	Spirit sticks for communicating with the gods
神位	Shen wei	Sin we	Ancester or soul tablet
壽	Shou	Shu	Long life
養媳	Siaosiv	Yong shin Po	Adopted Daughter Marriage
隨便	Swei bien	Chhin Chhai	A toast - as much as you like
下水	Sya shui	Ha tsui	A village neighborhood in Sanlei (below the water)
香肉	Syang shou	Kou ba	Dog meat (fragrant meat)
大家庭	Ta chia ting	Tua Ka teng	Extended family

104	大生日	Ta sheng jih	Tua sian jit	Big Birthday
	歌仔戲	Taiwan Hsi	Goa a hi	Taiwanese Opera
	胎神	Tai shen	Tai' sin'	God of the pregnant womb
	太陰	Tai yin	Tai yin	Goddess of the moon
	道人	Tao jen	To jin	Priests (Men of the Tao)
	地支	Ti chih	Te che	Twelve terrestial branches
	地理	Ti li	Te li	Variant form of geomancy, activities not related to dead
	頭腐	To fu	Tao hu	Bean Curd
	再來	Ts'ai lai	Tsai lai	Variety of Rice
	村	Ts'un	Chhun	Village
	族	Tsu	Tsuo'	Clan or lineage
	土地公	T'u ti kung	T'ou te kong	Earth God
	土地婆	T'u to Po	T'ou te ma	Wife of Earth God
	端午節	Tuan Wu Chieh	Leng chiu tsat	Dragon Boat Festival
	冬節	Tung chieh	Tang tsat	Winter solstice
	五行	Wu hsing	Go chhian	Five primary elements: fire, water, earth, wood, metal
	陽	Yang	Yong	Male principle of yin-yang dichotomy
	陰	Yin	Yim	Female principle of yin-yang dicotomy

GLOSSARY C

CHINESE SENTENCES AND LONGER PHRASES

104

你最知道 You know best.

不论你怎麼想 Whatever you think.

把鞋子放在床下 Putting the shoes under the bed.

把他们推在一起 Pushing them together.

我会太不安 I would be too embarrassed.

这不会很有趣 It would not be interesting.

今日的青年做更多的决定 Young people make more decisions now.

可能女孩比男孩有价值 Perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

好比豬那一樣 That is just like the pigs.

今天你不是只能拿那一个 That is not the only one you will get today.

104 当两个人到法庭时，他们都是输者 When two men go to court, both loose.

近亲不如近邻 A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative.

打破饭碗 Breaking someone's rice bowl.

敢花钱 Dare to spend money.

你看起来好像娼妓 You look like a prostitute.

我会买便宜一点 I could get it cheaper.

你买了什麽？多少钱？ What did you buy? How much was it?

你到那里？你做了什麽？ Where have you been? What did you do?

你要到那里去？你要去做什麽？ Where are you going? What do you intend to do?

4: Barnett

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

571
575

[Different associations may be found under variety of categories. For Money Lending Club category 525 has been used; for Sworn Brothers Association category 573, 561; for God's Association and Temple Association category 474.]

613

[Information on tsu has been filed in category 618.]

• 12 The population of the genealogies used in the study consists of a total of 843 persons. Some of these people were born in the village of Hsiachichou and died there; others lived in the village only before or after their marriage; still others were born in the village but given away in adoption within a year or two of birth. The entire population with which we will be concerned does, however, have at least two traits in common. At one time or another in their lives all were members of a family living in Hsiachichou, and if they were not living there themselves in 1960 they did have at least one primary relative living in the village at the time, a father or mother, a son or daughter, a brother or sister, or a husband or wife. Although our genealogies refer to a number of people who have moved away from the village or who have died so long ago as to have no surviving primary relative, we have excluded these cases from our analysis, assuming that such information as we have about them is untrustworthy. For various reasons we were unable to obtain the precise date of birth of a number of people included in our genealogies. Nonetheless, we are able to estimate within a year or two the birthdates of the great majority of our population, since we usually know the ages of their children and their spouse. According to these estimates, 20 of these 843 people were born in the years 1871-1880, 22 in 1881-1890, 56 in 1891-1900, 79 in 1901-1910, 80 in 1911-1920, 134 in 1921-1930, 133 in 1931-1940, 104 in 1941-1950, and 215 in the decade 1951-1960. The time [101] period with which we will be concerned is therefore the ninety year period between 1870 and 1960, although it must be noted that by and

12 large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900
[101] will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

[621] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

12 checked with various members of the village and then rechecked by a Chinese scholar who grew up in the community, we are confident that they are reasonably valid, but nonetheless some errors undoubtedly remain. The genealogical affairs of Hsiachichou are extraordinarily complex, so complex in fact that one of our informants suggested that we provide the village with a copy of our genealogies in order to help the natives of the place keep track of their own histories. When faced with conflicting reports from members of their own families, several village women admitted that they weren't really certain as to how many girls they had given in adoption. As one informant explained, "There were so many of them, and it was a long time ago. I know I I gave away the first three, and I may have given away the fourth, but then again she may be the one who died."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

FOREWORD

I shall not disguise my pleasure in being able, by writing a foreword to this admirable book, to contradict its author. Mrs. Wolf tells us in her preface that she is not an anthropologist and goes on to set out her three aims: to offer us a case study of a large Chinese family; to "provide another account of village life for those with a general interest in China"; and to "tell a good story." The charming simplicity and modesty of these brief statements may seduce the unwary reader into believing that the ease with which the subsequent narrative flows has been the happy result of literary skill coming upon a ready-made story. If anybody closes this book thinking that it is the Lims who have enlightened and entertained him, he will (I suspect) have fallen into a trap cunningly laid for him by the author. It is my job to put him on his guard and to force him to pay Mrs. Wolf the tribute that she seems unwilling to claim for herself.

This is a very cleverly constructed book in which the facts—so far from speaking for themselves—are made eloquent by the ideas which inspired their collection and arrangement. Of course, if Mrs. Wolf insists that she is not an anthropologist, then we must respect her disavowal. (It is perhaps a sign of the times. In the good old days people had less respect for professional degrees and licenses to practice.) I think it is all the more necessary for me to show how important anthropology has been both in her choice of problems and in the methods she has used to study them. I shall come back to the problems; let me say a word on methods.

Professor and Mrs. Wolf lived for two years in the household described in this book. In that period, while they were engaged in the investigation of many aspects of village life, they had the opportunity to study their immediate hosts and friends at close quarters. The word "study" may chill some readers, especially if they think of themselves as being in the position of the Lims and wonder how they would feel if their domestic life, quarrels and all, were under the cool gaze of foreign observers. But anthropology is a science in which the common humanity of the observer and the observed does not allow the one to make an object of the other. The investigator and the investigated are in a social relationship; and it follows that the facts about those under study must

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

121 During the first nine months, we lived in the city
122 of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

121 in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive 114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro- 121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[This should be footnote 9--Analyst]

12 discussed briefly in turn below.

The enumeration of examples and/or rates would increase confidence in the author's abstraction or summary. For example, assume an investigator reports that the oldest male in the senior generation is usually the head of the lineage. Doubt derives from the term usually. The information that there were but three exceptions out of 225 surveyed lineages would produce a picture quite different from a statement there were 100 exceptions. We would feel the latter, at least, required explanation and the author would also likely feel some constraint not to dismiss the exceptions. I am also assuming the original author is particularly sophisticated and thorough for he added a key word in the original statement, "usually." In fact, we often find absolute statements in the anthropological literature while there are few absolutes in real social life.

To illustrate this point consider one example from Fei Hsiao-tung whom I regard as a competent and honest anthropologist. In one ethnography he claims an expanded family is "the basic social group in the village" (1939:27), but after discussing its importance, he does provide the data that this basic group constitutes less than ten per cent of the village families (1939:28). It is only because of his thoroughness and enumeration of cases that we discover his apparent dismissal of 90% of the data in favor of the 10% which exemplifies the Great Tradition. It is

12. probably true that the extended family is the "ideal" social group in the village Fei studied. Fei's concrete data (1939:29) claiming 223 of 359 families contain a single married couple and 99 more do not include a married couple at all does not support his argument the extended family is "basic," at least on the "actual" level.

In the processural approach, extensive detailed case studies often provide enough data for a second investigator to make his own analysis rather than relying on the presented abstractions and more than one interpretation should aid in preventing errors. In each historical case of a restudy of the same community by different anthropologists, i.e., Lewis and Redfield or Goodenough and Fisher, contrary interpretations have been offered. Presentation of extensive detailed case studies which is characteristic of the processural approach permits a kind of restudy because it is one level closer to the actual social facts than is normally presented, i.e., observation rather than interpretation. In other words, there are social events which occur in the village; the anthropologist records these more or less completely in his field notes; and finally, he usually furnishes an interpretation in his presentation. In many accounts, we rely primarily on the interpretation of the anthropologist. In accounts featuring a processural approach, we often find the extended observational reports which furnishes, so to speak, an

• 12 examination of the author's field notes. These may still be incomplete, i.e., the reporter was a poor observer, or they may be unrepresentative, i.e., the author has not selected the proper cases, but nevertheless, they are less abstract and closer to reality than most former approaches.

As a secondary effect, the processural approach which includes "real" cases rather than mere abstract principles will aid in the misplaced concreteness on "ideal" culture.

The third and fourth suggestions are two sides of the same coin. A traditional belief in anthropology is that some research should be conducted in a society other than the society in which the investigator was originally enculturated. It appears that it may be possible for the anthropologist to become socialized in terms of the Great Tradition of the society under consideration to such an extent that he loses the objectivity which constituted the rational for the original insistence on cross-cultural research. Yet, history and the Great Tradition are sufficiently complex to require years to master reasonably and so important that they cannot be ignored. This apparent impasse may be overcome by (a) developing specialists in great civilizations but strongly encouraging them to conduct field research in a third culture to provide comparatively-derived objectivity, and (b) encouraging anthropologists to conduct field research in a Great Civilization in which they are non-specialized. In other words, the

12 anthropological study of China would likely be improved if the Sinologist were more often to punctuate his research in China with a venture into another area such as India or Africa and if a specialist in Indian or African cultures were more often to conduct a field study in China. Too narrow a specialization in one society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as it is currently practiced.

Finally, as anthropology matures, it is becoming increasingly concerned with research methodology and techniques. It is possible to go too far down this road which may become a blind alley as perhaps has happened in mathematical sociology and experimental psychology. Yet, we have probably not gone far enough. I believe the above suggestions would eventuate in improvements but I am not unduly pessimistic with reference to the ability of anthropologists specializing in great civilizations to break through with new interpretations of cultural material using current techniques. For example, in spite of the Great Tradition and the concomitant problems such as those discussed above, anthropological sinologists have recently "discovered" and reported the true composition of the Chinese family (Hsu, 1943), the importance of affinal relatives (Gallin, 1960), the nature of lineage organizations in South Eastern China (Freedman, 1958; 1965), and the nature and importance of clans and lineages in the urban areas (Fried, 1968). The

12 nature of female roles in Chinese society presented in this dissertation should add to our understanding of Chinese society in spite of the contrast with "The Great Tradition."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

T 121

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix I.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The community study provides firsthand data essential to gaining a better perspective of the culture. It suggests that for some areas of life our image of traditional culture, on which any analysis of the dynamics of contemporary China must be based, may not be accurate. Eventually it can stimulate us to reassess some of our most basic conceptions of Chinese culture.

Thus, for example, while examining the interplay of the many aspects of village life, this book, like some before it, explores in detail some of the traditional truisms and assumptions usually made about Chinese culture and society. In some instances it validates some traditionally based assumptions, as when it reports the continued significance of family and patrilineal kinship groupings even in present-day changing rural life. At the same time, much as Fried (1953) has enlightened us on the importance of non-kin interpersonal relations (*kan-ch'ing*), so this book presents subjects previously neglected, such as the significance of kinship relationships which are not based on the patrilineal kin tie and the nature of some traditional attitudes and ways of life.

The community study technique enables us to apprise significant cultural facts as they may have actually existed in the past and now exist for the masses of Chinese peasantry. It provides the data necessary for a perceptive inquiry into the dynamics of Chinese culture. Through it one becomes aware of facts which may yield insights into the larger society. It is this which I hope to provide in this book.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:57; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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[For theoretical orientation on social institutions, specifically marriage and adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, see category 116, pp. 1-18, 37-40, 84-86, 140-142, 183-199, and 269-289.]

4599 most villagers account for their motives. The most common reasons given
3362 for deciding to give a daughter in adoption are just those reasons which
• 121 we have already described in our analysis. When asked why she gave away all but one of her four daughters, a village mother answered, "Why should I want all of those daughters? I exchanged them for two adopted daughters. Your own daughters are of no use if you have sons." Another informant told us that she had given away all of her later born daughters as a means of saving the family the expense of feeding them. "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. We'd just have to give them away when they grew up, and so when someone asked for them we gave them away. Think of all the rice we saved." While we hope the reader will have found something new in our analyses, it must be admitted that to the people of Hsiachichou there is nothing here which is not obvious and commonplace.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

ABSTRACT

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF
SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN
WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES**

**OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS
CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF
A GREAT TRADITION**

By

William Kester Barnett

121 Evidence from a 1965-67 field study conducted in a rural Taiwanese village suggested that the structural position of women was not inferior to men to the extent described in most previous reports or the literature of the Great Tradition of China. A detailed statement of the discrepancies, reasons for their occurrence, and suggestions for reducing misinterpretations in the future are provided.

128 The largest portion of the four logical divisions of this report contains a typical ethnography of a Hokkien village in the rice-tea-orange region of northern Taiwan, based on nineteen months of field work employing standard anthropological techniques such as participant-observation, mapping, census, life histories, and open-ended interview schedules.

121 128 The second portion contrasts the canons of the Great Tradition which contend Chinese women were expected to be uneducated, economically useless, subordinate, submissive, obedient, reticent, passive, and timid, with research data from Sanlei Ts'un where many women were educated, most were

[Introductory piii]

121 economically important, and several were family despots.
128 Other Chinese ethnographies indicate that Sanlei is not deviant for each contains considerable data which support the latter description despite the fact the data is in conflict with the author's summary regarding female status. A few sources explicitly claim the case for the lowly position of women in China has been overstated.

The third portion establishes how the errors in interpretation come about. One primary cause relates to the frequent anthropological emphasis on persisting aspects of social structure with a corresponding, but not necessary, focus on "ideal" rather than "real" culture; but more important, the presence of a Great Tradition which is expressed in a literary record generates problems for valid anthropological research in high civilizations. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture described by a society's Great Tradition before commencing field work. According to cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome any belief once it becomes internalized, i.e., any evidence contrary to existing knowledge tends to be ignored or denied. Therefore, both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "specialists" probably will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

The last major section is devoted to four suggestions for preventing further misinterpretations. The first supports added attention to concrete enumeration of rates

• 121 and cases as part of the increased attention to research
128 methodology and reduced reliance on impressions.

The second advocates increased employment of the processural approach featuring extended case studies which place other analysts one step nearer to the social facts than conventional approachese, i.e., at the level of reading observational reports rather than abstractions.

The third and fourth proposals are two sides of the same coin. In order to maintain traditional anthropological objectivity which was customarily partially based on cross-cultural research, and yet, in order to obtain the advantages accruing from specialization in a Great Tradition, specialists should be encouraged to punctuate field activities in their special civilization by entering a third culture for comparative purposes, and conversely, other ethnographers should be encouraged to conduct research in high civilizations outside their areas of expertise. Specialization in a single society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as presently practiced.

Nevertheless, undue pessimism is not fully warranted as demonstrated by several breakthroughs with new interpretations of Chinese cultural materials despite their conflicts with ideals expressed in the Great Tradition, i.e., in family composition, importance of affinal relations, nature of lineage organizations, etc. Further research is expected to support the contention that the status of women in China is not actually as low as was commonly accepted.

[Introductory p.v]

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Overview of the Theoretical Problem

121 562 In a field study, I found that the actual role of women in contemporary rural Taiwanese society was significantly different from my expectations which were based on an analysis of the traditional literature.[1] In brief, the structural position of women was not inferior to the position of men to the degree expected. Although part of the differences between the observed and predicted patterns was due to socio-cultural change and regional variation, a significant portion is due to errors in abstraction by former reporters. The theoretical problem for this study is the delineation of the inconsistencies and an explanation of the reasons for the errors.

121 One of the foundations of the anthropological approach to research is involvement in a culture foreign to that of the investigator. This requirement is based on the belief that a minimum level of dissimilarity is necessary for both objectivity and awareness. That is, it is necessary that behavior be sufficiently different from that normally encountered by the investigator so that

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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• 12| assumptions about human nature are called into question. It will be demonstrated that this ideal approach is not realized in some kinds of societies.

In the early history of anthropology, most research focused on primitive or tribal groups. Commencing in the nineteen-thirties, anthropologists were led by Redfield (1930), Fei (1939), and Embree (1939) to the study of major civilizations, particularly peasant societies. As Geertz has written, "The peasant is an immemorial figure on the world social landscape but anthropology noticed him only recently" (1962:1). The interest in peasants gradually increased, particularly in the last twenty years. Foster argues that problems of peasantry now occupy the attention of more anthropologists than any other (1967a:2).

There is a qualitative difference between peasant societies and primitive societies which has not been sufficiently considered: the possession of a "Great Tradition" which is clearly expressed in a literary record. There has been some research with regard to the degree which the "Little Tradition" of a local community expresses the "Great Tradition" of the society in which it is embedded.[2] Yet, what is often seemingly overlooked is that the "Great Tradition" and the literary record usually concern only the elite classes in a society, the bearers of the "Great Tradition." The existence of a record of this

• 12 type has important implications for anthropological research.

An anthropologist prepares to study a great civilization by reading as much of its record as possible including the great novels, poetry, songs, history, philosophy, and the like. This is inevitably accomplished even though a small rural community research project is planned. It was suggested by implication in the above paragraph that the relationship between the "Great Tradition" expressed in this literature and the "Little Tradition" to be discovered in the village is problematical. It is possible that the study of the "Great Tradition" may create a bias in the observer which psychologists refer to as creation of a "psychological set." Kendler (1968:319-20), for example, argues that once the subject has internalized one set of concepts or responses, it is extremely difficult for him to learn to reverse his knowledge. In simple terms, it is implied that the investigator will discover exactly what he expects to discover. He may make good observations in the field. Nevertheless, his conclusions are likely to be consistent with the knowledge he derived from his preparations before going to the field. Two cases will illustrate this problem.

For the first, both the "Great Tradition" of China and the anthropological reports agree that the dominant residence pattern in China is patrilocal. A recent

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12 description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were [591] provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the [595] described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, [17] a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

• [2] observed fifteen weddings; two brides wore a red dress and thirteen, a white gown. He concluded that there were two typical weddings and thirteen exceptions. His summary is a good illustration of the argument--his data were good, furnished without hesitation in spite of the fact the data did not support his abstraction. His abstraction was consistent with the "Great Tradition" which I argue creates a personal bias difficult for the investigator to overcome. He, for example, displayed no anxiety when I confronted him with the fact that his "typical" wedding should reflect the white gown worn in 13 cases rather than the red dress worn in two.

The kind of preparation described above for study in a civilization contrasts significantly with that by an anthropologist planning a tribal study. He too reads all that is available but most of what he reads are observational reports rather than a body of indigenous literature. He probably still brings to his study his own biases for after all, "No man looks at the world with pristine eyes" (Benedict, 1935:4). However, the biases were derived from a cultural background distinct from the focus of the field study.

It is probable that the anthropologist interested in one of the great civilizations brings to the field not only the biases derived from his own culture but biases from the culture in which he plans to conduct research.

[2] Also note that this second type of bias is derived from a subculture of the elite classes rather than from the peasant masses. It is probably significant that many anthropologists who study China are known as "Sinologists" but there is no equivalent term for those who study the Zuni or the Nuba.

However, once a bias derived from the "Great Tradition" is overcome and reported in the literature, other investigators soon discover the fact in their own research This does not imply that there is any falsification; rather, that once the importance of some social fact is drawn to the attention of the investigator, he looks at its implications for his own research. This latter belief is supported by the fact that when ethnographies written before its recognition are re-examined, they often provide support for the new discovery through concrete details although the original author may have reached the opposite conclusion.

[2] 59 Let me illustrate with the case of the Chinese family. Almost all early descriptions of the Chinese family emphasized its nature as a large extended family unit. In a demographic survey of 2,866 farm families in China, Buck revealed that most of the families were nuclear and smaller than previously suggested (1930). However, Buck's report did not have much effect on the literature until discovered and reported with further data by

121 59 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 602 For another illustration, consider the only recently realized importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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supposed overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality, have been "discovered" to be important in economic and political spheres as well as in such other spheres as marriage, funerals, education, certain birthdays, childbirth, etc. Subsequent reports take Gallin's discovery into account. For example, A. P. Wolf (1968) stressed the importance of the need to establish a network of affinal relations as one factor promoting traditional marriage forms in a Taiwanese peasant village.

As suggested previously, the re-examination of earlier reports also reveals clues to the importance of affinal relatives. The partnership which dominates Lin Yueh-hwa's study of Chinese familism (1947) consisted of a pair of affinal relatives. Although Fei placed great emphasis on agnates, he does indicate some significance for affinal extensions (1939:86-7). Finally, Freedman concludes (1957:225-31) that the kinship system in Singapore does not place an emphasis "on the groupings of people into agnatic groups" which is found in Fukien and Kwangtung. The importance of affinal relatives is one of the factors negating this expected emphasis. Because his conclusions which were based on observation are different than his expectations which were based on the literature, he considers Singapore to be deviant (1957:225). In the terms of the concept previously delineated, it may well be the case that if he were to make observations in Fukien and Kwangtung, he might also conclude that they too were

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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deviant from the model he furnishes for them, a model which he derived from the traditional literature.

I wish to strongly emphasize that careful analysis of earlier reports usually reveals support for each of these new discoveries in spite of the fact they were contrary to conventional literature and the "Great Tradition." It is discovered that the old data lends itself to a fresh interpretation in light of the new discovery. The original interpretation was incorrect or perhaps, neglected certain key aspects.

The above kinds of errors are now less likely to eventuate. Probably to a greater degree than ever before in the history of anthropology, there is an emphasis on science and a scientific approach. It is my belief that observations today include a greater amount of factual detail such as enumeration of examples than previously. Moreover, extended case studies provide detailed data previously available only to the original observer. There is correspondingly less emphasis on impressions. It is felt that this newer approach will help overcome the errors in previous ethnographies.

Attention is also being focused on research methodology. In a recent introduction to a work on methods, Epstein remarked on the "curious dearth of publications devoted specifically to the problems of fieldwork" (1967: vii). Malinowski has been held up as an excellent observer

• 12| worthy of emulation by most of my generation of anthropologists and those of one generation earlier. Yet, there are now second thoughts with regard to his reports. He was a romantic, reporting on what the society was like in the past and not on what he really observed. Where were the western soldiers, traders, trading posts, etc.? Mair (1969:135) claims that although Malinowski taught us "to look at society ' as a going concern,' what he described in the Trobriand Islands was 'the going concern' as it must have been just before a Colonial ruler began to interfere with it." A romantic ideal and glorification of the past has often been a part of anthropology. An indication of this previous emphasis may be found in the frequent use of the term the "ethnographic present" rather than the "past."

In this dissertation I plan to explore one of the kinds of error previously described. Given the current state of awareness about the small size of the Chinese family, it is time for a detailed re-examination of consequent differences in its internal roles and role relationships. By means of a community case study, I focus on the role of women in rural Chinese society and how the role differs from that reported in the traditional accounts. In addition to the particular case study, traditional literature will be re-examined for supporting evidence in spite of the original author's own abstractions and conclusions.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 562 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[121] several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo
562 the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature.
[122] The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

121 abusive or authoritarian in their relations with men. It
562 is nearly impossible to spend more than five minutes in a busy market without hearing a woman arguing with a man and even berating him loudly. My wife was taught certain curses, to be addressed only to males such as a salesman or taxi driver. If the curses would not make a taxi driver operate his vehicle at a slower rate, she was told to hit him. We observed women hitting men with their umbrellas on at least five occasions although in only two of these cases did we collect data other than the observation. In one, a woman hit her husband because he had spent too much money drinking in the afternoon, apparently a frequent occurrence. In the other, a woman hit a pedicab driver whom she had not seen prior to that day in a dispute over a fare. When asked if she feared physical retaliation, she said that men seldom returned women's blows.

As we established intimate friendships in the cities and became intensively involved in the villages we studied, we continued to find that the behavior of women was consistent with our initial observations rather than the literature. For example, women were the most outspoken--men seldom raised their voices or verbally abused women; women frequently screamed at men, relatives and strangers alike. In the homes, women often controlled the family budget. I never saw a woman locked out of her

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 183 562 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine students agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

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12 illustrate both of these possibilities. It appears that the normal tendency is to "deny" the conflicting interpretation. When one individual does make a breakthrough and changes his belief, it is easy for others to follow suit, assuming the new belief is supported by the evidence. It is much easier to join at least one partner in oppositition to the opinion of a group than to stand alone (Asch, 1955:35).

Taiwan as a Research Site

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12 Most sinologists are extremely frustrated by the fact that they are not permitted to conduct research in Mainland China, primarily because of their inability to obtain the permission of the Communist government. This problem is particularly acute for anthropologists because of their research orientation which favors an intensive study of a single community by means of participant observation. A number of approaches have been employed in an attempt to overcome the frustration.

There have been studies of Chinese culture by means of documents at a distance (Freedman, 1958; 1966). There have been a few community studies in Mainland China but these are of questionable reliability due to the lack of the professional qualifications of the investigator (J. T. Myrdal, 1965), the personal ideologies of the investigators (Crook and Crook, 1959; 1966), or the extremely

short period allowed for the investigation (Geddes, 1963).

The most common approach has been to study a Chinese community outside of mainland China. Sometimes the communities function as sub-cultures in very different societies such as Indonesia (Tan, 1963) or Thailand (Coughlin, 1960; Skinner, 1957). In other cases, the communities are in areas of mixed political history and domination but which appear to have significant Chinese characteristics: Singapore (Freedman, 1957; Elliott, 1955), Hong Kong (Ward, 1954; Potter, 1968; Baker, 1968), or especially Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Cohen, 1969; Wolf, 1968; Pasternak, 1969; Diamond, 1969).

All of the above communities have been strongly affected by foreign influences. This does not imply that mainland China has not been influenced; rather, extreme caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the research site to mainland China for the extent of foreign influences are significantly different, both in quantity and quality.

There are good reasons why Taiwan is the most popular of these research locations. It is inhabited by Chinese people living in a Chinese cultural context under a Chinese government. The only official language is Mandarin Chinese. Six years of education are compulsory, nine years since 1968, and only in officially accredited government schools.

T H 121 T 648 17 However, Taiwan has serious drawbacks. Fried believes the relatively shallow period of Chinese residence is the most serious of these (1966:285). Also, Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese for a fifty year period, a situation not dissimilar to the American occupation of the Philippines. Although Japanese immigration never reached high levels, contacts with mainland China during this period were nearly as restricted as they have been during the last twenty years. For the most part, there were only minor efforts expended to Japanize the island and these occurred primarily in the last portion of the period of occupation, since the nineteen-thirties, as part of the war effort. However, the degree of Japanization was quite unevenly applied, strongest in the urban and suburban areas of large cities. A successful individual had to become quite Japanese for education was in the Japanese language in a Japanese school system. During the fifty years, officialdom was Japanese or at the very least, Japanese-oriented.

T 648 [175] T 162 [167] Aside from the short period between the restoration in 1945 and the Communist conquest of the mainland in 1949, contact with the mainstream of Chinese culture has been almost completely curtailed. There were large numbers of people who migrated permanently from the mainland to Taiwan during that short period of four years. These migrants and their descendants are known as "Mainlanders"

villages. Other Western goods may be purchased in the cities and towns. Movie houses all over Taiwan frequently run American movies, usually with Chinese subtitles. On television in rural villages, a favorite show was the American program "Combat" with Chinese subtitles. In these kinds of contacts and in the extent and depth of their influences, there are significant differences between Taiwan and the Mainland.

Finally, economic conditions are significantly different from those found on the Mainland. Taiwan has a relatively high standard of living as compared with the bulk of Asia. There is more industry, better educational opportunities, better transportation systems and better health care accompanied by lower mortality rates and longer life expectancy.

In spite of these problems, as previously argued, Taiwan remains the best site outside of the Mainland for research into Chinese culture. As claimed by Freedman, "Taiwan is China--that at least is not in dispute . . ." (1963:4). Even if it is eventually realized that research on Taiwan is not directly relevant to the processes of the mainstream of Chinese history, it is an excellent research site on its own terms, an example of a developing peasant society, a former colony, rapidly undergoing transformation and entering the mainstream of world change towards development of a modernized industrialized nation.

• 121 Constraints on the Selection of a Research Site

My original goal was to prepare a standard ethnography of a Taiwanese village. Ethnographic data normally may be used in a number of ways to further achievement of a number of goals. Some of these uses are planned and explicit; others are generated out of the field experience; and still others are not realized until later, after analysis by the original investigator or others. The latter use is especially dependent on the comprehensiveness of the original data. Every ethnography is necessarily highly selective. Out of a huge mass of behavior, the ethnographer abstracts selected aspects which he believes to be relevant in terms of his theoretical orientation or which bear on the problems under investigation. Since I originally had three major problems under consideration, they will be discussed briefly below because they affected the quality and quantity of the data and were important considerations in selection of the research site.

For the first, I am cooperating with my major professor, Dr. Bernard Gallin, senior investigator in a study of rural-to-urban migration and urban influences on rural village life, especially as the city becomes a stimulus for change. This research is primarily related to Taiwan but eventually may be extended to include other peasant societies. The first village studied for this purpose

121 (Gallin, 1966) was located many miles from a large city and required several hours travel to reach by local transportation.

To contrast with the kind of location studied by Gallin, it was desired to select a village which would be within commuting distance of a large city such that village residents could travel daily to work. Yet, to control as many other relevant factors as possible, it was necessary that village residents be descendants of Hokkien families who had migrated from Fukien at least one hundred years previously, whose primary occupations were in agriculture, and who possessed a clear identity as a community. In addition to the constraints on site selection, this cooperation in a study of rural-urban factors necessitated the collection of data comparable to that acquired in the original study conducted in 1957-58 (Gallin, 1966) as well as his follow-up study in 1965-66. The latter required duplication of one questionnaire administered to a sample of the villagers and another, to a sample of villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei.

The second problem interest was due to the stimulation of Dr. John Gullahorn. I have a major interest in the computer simulation of human social behavior with a long-term goal of the eventual use of the data to build a computer model of the village which would simulate human

decision-making processes. Dr. Gullahorn's original simulation model involved a small number of people, three, who were artificial, and with considerable detail for each one (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; 1964). In complementary fashion, my intended simulation would involve more people, real rather than artificial constructions, and fewer details for each individual. This second problem interest necessitated selection of a fairly small village of manageable proportions, and the acquisition of a considerable amount of detail regarding every individual villager. Finally, to simplify the simulation, a relatively fixed structure and process would be an ideal. The fewer the changes that had occurred over the past fifty years, the better.

Finally, I and my wife, also a graduate student in anthropology, were both in the field at the same time and for the same general purpose, to conduct research on which to base our dissertations. The process required two independent community studies. However, since we were both interested in cultural and social change, it was possible to select sites which would maximize possibilities for understanding the processes of change. We decided to select two villages that represented relative extremes on a modern-to-traditional continuum. However, the two communities would be selected so that they would be nearly identical for as many other factors as possible: size,

12 age, ecological setting, etc., in order to allow for a "controlled comparison" (Eggan, 1954).

In order to meet the conditions imposed by the above three projects the object village would ideally have the following characteristics:

1. Population: 350 to 500
2. Reference Location to Large City: Daily commuting distance
3. Age: 100 to 250 years
4. Primary Occupational Structure: Agricultural
5. Primary Language: Taiwanese (Min-nan hua)
6. Place of Origin of Original Settlers: Fukien
7. Orientation: Traditional
8. Neighboring Village: Paired with one which shares a nearly identical ecological setting and as many of the other characteristics listed above as possible except that it should be relatively modern rather than traditional.

Except for the terms traditional and modern, all the above items were relatively easy to operationalize. Traditional is employed in the sense of emphasizing notions of continuity and stability (Sampson, 1964:723) and modern is its opposite, emphasizing change although no value judgment is intended. These terms are "ideal types" in a logical sense which provide limiting cases at each end of a continuum (Lockwood, 1964:312). No community fits at any one location on the continuum in every aspect, i.e., the more modern community with regard to most traits may be more traditional with regard to others, but two locations, in

general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illustrate with one concrete example. In the traditional village, mid-wives attended at births which have usually been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

122 of eighteen months, it was necessary that we locate within reasonable commuting distance of an American school. This requirement restricted the locations to the countryside surrounding the large cities of Taipei and Taichung, each of which possessed an appropriate school.

Selection of the Subject Village

121 Due to the difficult terrain and state of the roads
122 and transportation facilities in the main possible locations, investigation revealed that distances should be specified in terms of travel-time rather than mileage. It was arbitrarily decided that a minimum of one-half hour travel-time probably separated village from city life. Maximally, as travel-time approached or exceeded one and one-half hours, it appeared unlikely that the village would contain any daily commuters. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction) a pair of irregular concentric lines were drawn on maps of the areas surrounding Taipei and Taichung delineating the requisite distances of one-half to one and one-half hours travel-time. Demographic and ecological characteristics of all villages bounded by the lines were analyzed in a preliminary fashion with officials of the J.C.R.R. and with Professor Chen Shao-hsing of the Sociology Department at National Taiwan University.

121 We also discussed potential sites with officials
122 in each township office and the local farmer's association linked with villages within the specified areas although at this period of first contact, our requirements were not revealed to consultants in the detail listed above. We then visited any villages within the area that remotely approached the specifications. On all occasions, we were accompanied by a minor official of the local farmers' association. The latter individuals have comprehensive knowledge of the local community and moreover, usually have good relations with most villagers.

Some sites were discarded immediately for such obvious defects as size, too large or too small, or economy, i.e., a factory located within village limits. More promising ones received a visit with local officials, a walking tour through the village, and chats with several residents. Such investigations took from thirty minutes to an hour and a quarter with an average of about 45 minutes each. There was the inavitable cup of tea with the mayor or some other important resident. In these investigations, the farmers' association official was invaluable for almost everyone knew the representative by name and wanted to talk with him. These investigations took one to three days for each township area. After examining the data upon completing a township area, most sites were eliminated. Those villages which still seemed promising were

121 revisited for a period of three to five hours. Finally,
122 before going on to the next township, these latter sites were discussed again with senior officials who were familiar with demographic and economic details. Ten potential pairs of villages reached this level of analysis.

After completing the entire circuit surrounding Taipei and Taichung, more thorough analysis reduced the ten to a final three, one in the Taichung area and two in the Taipei area. Seven of the ten sites were eliminated solely because of the desire to minimize differences between the pairs of villages as discussed in connection with one research goal of a controlled comparison. For example, one village was considerably larger than the other; or one village was next to the river and the other was not.

We spent two full days in each of the remaining three pairs of villages. One of these was eliminated because it was too close to two communities in which many Americans resided and several of its residents were either working or had worked in American households as servants or gardeners. It was a "toss-up" between the final two. The one we selected saved a move of 100 miles and was nearest the school (1-1/2 hours) we thought best for our children.

121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

121 122 During the first nine months, we lived in the city of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

121 men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month
122 a different house. In this room I conducted some interviews but primarily it was used for writing, organizing data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals with the household in which I had a room. This technique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in several different households. People could be on their best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own. Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both located in the same li, and the village centers were separated only by the equivalent of one and a half city blocks, the particular village location did not appear to be important. We were quite surprised at the differences resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei
123 Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although we felt we had already established excellent relations. We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Although our children had visited the villages many times, they quickly established their own network of friends and associates and our son attended the local school one day a week.

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

121 368-9). I include the concept of role-set in my definition of role for there would be few roles which would not involve several social positions. A public school teacher in American society necessarily relates to such positions as student, colleague, and principal. She also probably relates on a secondary level to parents, board members, union officials, etc.

Since this study is of a small rural village, most relationships are inclusive and serial, termed by Gluckman "multiplex" (1964). By this he means that when two people interact in a multiplex relationship, it is likely that a large number of role relationships are involved. Although roles are not synonymous with people, each person may be examined analytically as if he were a bundle of roles. The characteristics of the bundle effect role behavior as does the personality of the individual. Part of the concept of role includes the idea of a script for acting. Some scripts are very explicit and others, quite general. Each individual follows his script somewhat differently. The major role I examine in the study is that of adult female. This role can be divided analytically into narrower roles such as wife, mother, aunt, girl-friend, customer, etc. The major relationship studied is between the adult female and the adult male, the latter similarly susceptible to finer distinctions. Abstraction at the highest level, i.e., male-female relationships, is attempted

• 121 although detailed data at lower levels are provided.
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The next eight chapters contain an ethnographic description of Sanlei, a village in Taiwan, with particular emphasis on the role of women. The last chapter presents the general abstraction discussed in the above paragraph and contrasts it with an abstraction from the traditional literature. Possible reasons for the discrepancy between the two abstractions are considered and rejected in favor of the theoretical position advanced at the beginning of this chapter, i.e., the presence of a "Great Tradition" and its effects on the anthropological field worker. Implications for future research are then considered and a series of suggestions for reducing future errors are advanced.

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese b 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

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461 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
464 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
121 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

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621 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
461 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

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241 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
462 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
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632 as regional basis to the competition.

628 The ideological differences between these factions
665 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end
621 of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

621 The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

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121 **Ideological Factions in the Li**

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

665
632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
• 121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local
632 affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in dis-
• 121 putes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was
632 from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

121 665 571 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and fluency [212] [191] in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth requirements [554] for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

• 121 591 626 This section deals with the formal agencies of social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

• .21 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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576
626

121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

121 602 According to Marion Levy (1967:67-83) perhaps the most significant feature of traditional China was that it was family oriented to an overwhelming degree. The family was an overriding focus for individual loyalty, the basic unit for production and consumption, and finally, the basic unit in terms of which the allocation of power and responsibility took place. Further, the family was a basic building block in larger agnatic groups. Implicit in Levy's discussion is the importance of kinship in village life.

Although kinship units in Sanlei Ts'un are a significant factor in the social life of the village, the above picture exaggerates their importance. Even Marion Levy points out (1967:69) his description is an ideal seldom approached by the peasant. Since Sanlei is a peasant village which does not contain any wealthy individuals, it would not be expected to approach the ideal. Yet, kinship groups are singularly important in village social life.

the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	5.8
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

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In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size[5] towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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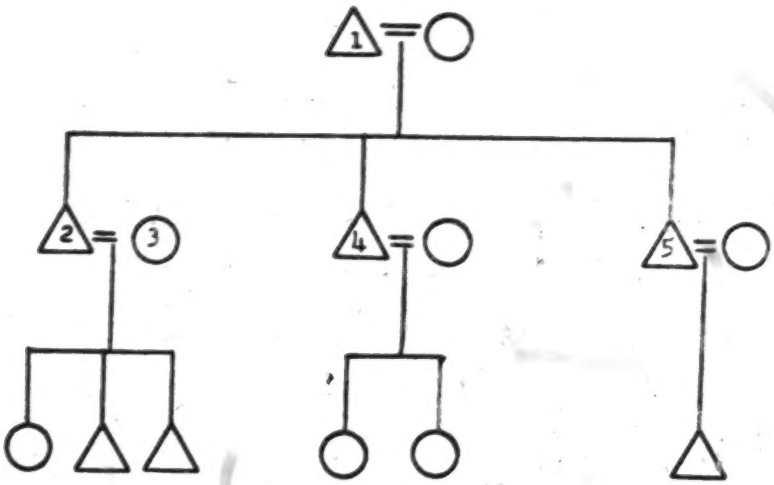

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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• 121 178 59 larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

• 121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
602 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and
59 Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[887] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 888 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 289

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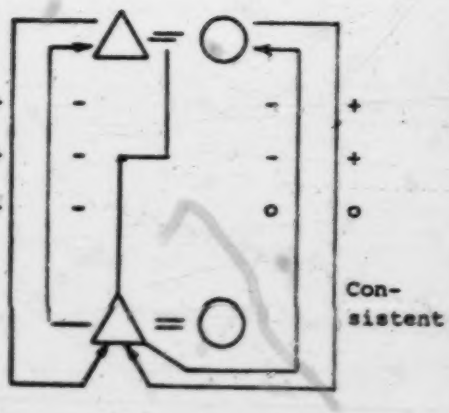
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes + - o o

Summary: Consistent Consistent



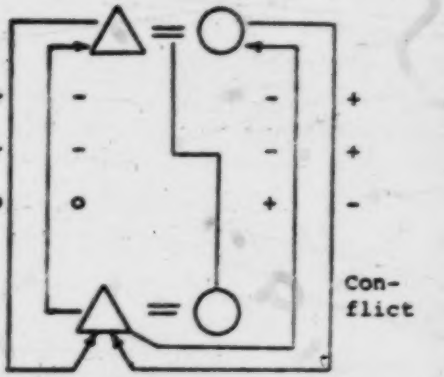
REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations + - - +

12 - Between Age Levels + - - +

13 - Between Sexes o o + -

Summary Consistent Conflict



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

• 121 596 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 596 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'ing) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 769 596 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58) since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 182 613 621 794 noted for its single lineage villages, there was considerable previous experience with lineage structures and, as noted previously, the home village on the mainland had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover, there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

The significance of religion in Chinese social life has often been undervalued in the conventional analyses. In one of the first assignments in my formal university study of China, a noted sinologist had written:

> The Chinese have been less concerned with the world of the supernatural than with the worlds of nature and of man. They are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life . . . (Bodde, 1951:18).

Reischauer and Fairbank, in a classic work (1960:30), add that Confucianism was a "great ethical institution, which in a sense occupied in China much of the place filled by both law and religion in the West . . ." A similar thread of the insignificance of religion is woven throughout the accounts of Western scholars and is even more strongly a part of the literature of modern Chinese intellectuals (C. K. Yang, 1961:4).

The attitudes towards religion and the observances of religious rites and rituals found in Sanlei Ts'un would not support the above positions. I do not believe that Sanlei Ts'un is unique in its strong emphasis on religion as compared with other Chinese villages, i.e., I believe

• 121 most Chinese villages have a strong emphasis on religion. 771 I discuss below four primary reasons for this discrepancy between published accounts of its non-importance and the actual practice.

The first reason is identical to one contributing to the errors in interpretation of the role of women, the problem focus of this dissertation. In accordance with the concepts of Redfield (1956), every civilization has a "Great Tradition" found predominantly among the educated elite which is contrasted with a "Little Tradition" or series of "Little Traditions" found among the masses. The relationships between the two levels are problematical although almost all of the classical literature and historical records in China are devoted to the bearers of the "Great Tradition." In other terms, this has been succinctly stated by Reischauer and Fairbank:

> The common people who formed the mass of Chinese society did not bulk large in the cultural record, which has come down to us chiefly from the brushes of scholar-officials. Most Chinese were neither scholars nor Confucian gentlemen, and had very little, if anything, to do with officialdom. For the common people, Taoism and Buddhism still supplied the principle explanations of the cosmos and the family and village still were the focus of everyday living. But it is not yet possible to reconstruct with verisimilitude the daily life of the average Chinese villager in the pre-modern centuries. What we know most about is the educated, urban upper classes . . . (1960:383).

In respect to the practice of religion, it appears there is a significant difference between the elite and the masses. At least, even on Taiwan today, great differences

• 121 771 can be found between the religion of the masses, particularly in rural areas, and that of college-educated urban dwellers.

A second reason is due to a great difference in the structure of the typical Western as opposed to Chinese religion. C. K. Yang has discussed this difference on a structural-functional basis as the differences between "institutionalized" and "diffused" religion:

> In institutional religion, the theology, the organization of personnel, and the cultic symbols and practices are separate from the secular social institutions, thus making religion an independent social institution. In diffused religion, these factors have no separate institutional existence but are diffused into the concept and structure of several different institutions. In Nanching and in Chinese society as a whole, diffused religion represented the structurally stronger and more pervasive force in the lives of the common people (1965:192-3).

Western religion tends to be highly institutionalized as opposed to the strongly diffused Chinese pattern. An institutionalized religion is much more obvious to the cross-cultural observer. It will be demonstrated that religion in Sanlei Ts'un is diffused into many different aspects of social life as has been described in most ethnographic accounts of Chinese villages.

The third reason, also related to the difficulty of the Westerner in understanding Chinese religion and appraising its role in society, is due to the eclectic nature of religion in China. Eclecticism refers to the fact that Chinese religion is made up of elements from many

• 121 different sources including both Great and Little Traditions and also, that the Chinese are non-exclusive with reference to a commitment to a particular religion. It is not only possible to believe in two conflicting ideologies, it may well be prudent as I shall illustrate.[1] When exposed to a new religion, an individual may ask two central questions: (1) Is it the one true religion? (2) Should I become a believer? Man can never be certain of the answer to the first question but he does have control over his actions relating to the second. If the answer to the first question is no (the new religion is false), then the answer to the second is irrelevant (believing or not believing). However, if the answer to the first question is true (the new religion is the one true religion), then the answer to the second is crucial: a man can be a believer in the one true religion and be rewarded; or he can be a non-believer in the one true religion and be punished. Therefore since man has control over only one of the two questions, it is prudent to answer it in only one profitable way--be a believer.[2]

The above rational process could be applied to a series of individual beliefs or constellation of beliefs and in each case the outcome would be the same: become a believer. On several occasions, villagers asked how to be a Christian or perform Christian ritual. They had heard of Christianity and would like to add it to their belief

121 systems.
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If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
391 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
395 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
181 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused
156 to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
391 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

but such an objective approach has not always been realized. Many of the earliest Western studies were by Christian missionaries, a group not likely to be unbiased with regard to reports on religion. In one of the best known nineteenth century rural studies, Arthur Smith (1899:343) argued that the Chinese neglected the spiritual nature. Modern sinologists treat magic and religion as a single loose system (Gallin, 1966:232) or a complex of attitudes and beliefs (Kulp, 1952:284). The former separation of magic from religion and then labeling most items as magic and thereby superstition is not reasonable as a basis for declaring that religion is not important in China. C. K. Yang claims that because of the large numbers of magical practices and beliefs to be found in the study of Chinese religion which carry no ethical connotations:

> . . . The Chinese people were generally regarded as a superstitious lot who had yet to experience an ethico-religious life of a higher order. This view was most familiar to the Western world, as it was popularized for over a century by Western missionaries who found this situation to be wholly incompatible with the Christian faith and took it as the most convincing justification for their evangelical zeal (1961:3).

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that religion is very important in Sanlei village. There are few households in the village in which a religious act is not performed at least twice each day. Religion is used to bolster the family and the larger kinship organizations. Religious observances legitimize and mark key steps in the

life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 562 79b I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

79b Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

648 769 Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

• 12.1 769 On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral [775] tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

• 12] includes an incense pot but no ancestral tablets (1945:93). 709 Instead there is a general scroll on the wall to represent the ancestors. Hu (1948:32) notes that many people had no tablets, merely writing ancestor's names on pieces of paper and burning them in worship. Freedman remarks on the frequent absence of tablets in Hong Kong households (1958:83). In a general religious account, C. K. Yang (1961:39) also emphasizes the importance of tablets but claims that the simplest form of worship to ancestors might consist of the daily burning of incense to a symbol of the spirit "which was usually a wooden tablet or a portrait." Hsu states that every house in West Town has a household shrine (1967: 50) and that in every shrine there are two incense burners, one for ancestors and one for gods (1967:184). However, he also states that not every house has tablets; often there is only a large scroll (1967:184). Lang, too, discovered in a survey that worship of ancestors was performed by burning incense before either a tablet or a photograph (1946:162). She also cites an example of a retired official who worshipped ancestors after merely writing their names on a piece of paper (1946:163). Since these authors have not generally considered the direct significance of ancestral tablets versus the censer, the question can not be definitively answered at this time.

[728] My own data on the above point, both from Sanlei Ts'un and the City of Taipei,[7] reveals that the censers

121 769 778 but not the tablets are vital. That is, I viewed many shrines that did not have tablets, but every shrine had at least one censer and often had two or more. In place of the tablets, there may be nothing but quite often, there was the shou scroll which features 100 classical variations of the character shou (long life) or alternatively, a scroll with one large shou character in red.

769 In Sanlei, most shrines have at least two censers: one for gods and the other for ancestors. Each ancestral censer has a name, the family surname. Ancestral censers always have handles which villagers call erh tsu which means ears although alternative definitions of the word (Mathews, 1963:245-6) include ear, handle, and grandson of a great-great-grandson, certainly representing a long line of descendants. The censer contains the residue (ash) of burning incense sticks. It can be cleaned only on regular occasions with due reverence and is never fully emptied. It is believed thereby that the ash extends back to the first worship of the founder of the line. When a new worship center is established after a family division, the new censer will be endowed with some ash from the old censer (transferred from house to house in a red envelope) so that each censer maintains continuity with the past. If tablets are destroyed, new ones can be made. If the ash is lost--it is lost forever and misfortune is certain unless some can be obtained from the worship center of a cadet branch

769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

121 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [111] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

• 121 769 [171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782 592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

• 121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of 121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the 882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years. [212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

The Function of Religious Holidays

121 46d There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
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464 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually involved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive. 114 562

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are 121 • 562

inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
562 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
198 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

• (2) 562 considered axiomatic in anthropology that there will be cultural elaboration around items and problems which are considered important in the society. These items are subject to fads and fashions, that is, they may change with time. For example, pollution is recognized as a major problem today in the United States and one finds an enormous amount of material discussing it although twenty years previously, there was little material in spite of the fact pollution levels were nearly identical. The very great quantity of literature in China, most of it written by men, encompassing extended periods of time, devoted to the lowly position of women, describing their proper relationships to men, setting forth a multitude of laws to insure proper behavior, etc., may well be because women simply refused to behave as men demanded. In other words, there is so much literature on the ideal level because the behavior of women on the actual level so rarely conformed.

In addition to the above, there appears to be a frequent failure to come to grips with conflicting statements in a single account with the goal of resolving them. This failure may be related to the segmental personality, the situation-centered phenomena described by Hsu (1953; 1963) which I considered in Chapter VII. Several examples have been presented in this section but to emphasize the point, one more will be considered in some detail.

562 586 671 [114] 121 562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

121 562 [178] school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated that although changes leading to increased status for women are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 184 562 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

121 184 562 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to support any claim that the research results were not reasonably applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 562 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of 114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both 121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the 562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

114 121 562 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

124 562 Now that the particular problem of conflicting interpretations of the nature of female roles in Chinese society has been identified, future field research hopefully will settle the issue. As more scholars focus on the role of women,[91] both in current field research and reconsideration of previous data, I am sure that my delineation of the nature of women's roles will be confirmed.

121 There is a larger problem of which this whole case is merely an example, how did such errors of interpretation occur and what can be done to prevent similar errors in the future? The mechanism leading to misinterpretation was suggested in the introductory chapter and is briefly reviewed below:

1. Every civilization has a Great Tradition expressed in a literary record which sets forth the society's "ideal" value system.

2. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture delineated in the Great Tradition.

3. As explained by means of cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome a belief once it is internalized, i.e., evidence which is contrary to existing knowledge will be denied.

4. Therefore, it is likely that both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "experts" in the culture will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

In addition to the above, there is a kind of style in anthropological research which contributes to the problem: an emphasis on social organization and social structure. There has been an attempt to find and describe that which persists

[91] [This should be footnote 8--Analyst]

12| in the dynamics of relationships between people. There is no necessary causal relationship between a structural approach and an emphasis on "ideal" culture rather than "actual" culture[10] with a concomitant dismissal of exceptions. Nevertheless, there tends to be a strong positive
114 relationship. According to Firth (1951:31), some anthro-
121 pologists have attempted "to see a social structure in sets of ideals and expectations alone." Firth goes on to distinguish between structure and organization, largely on the basis that social structure is timeless, persisting, and not concrete (1951:31-40).

Marion Levy provides one of the most convincing demonstrations of the anthropological emphasis on "ideal" rather than "actual" culture patterns (1965:1-63). In essence, Levy claims that the vast majority of the population in any society is likely to spend the bulk of their lives in elementary family units. Nevertheless, anthropological accounts are likely to focus on the cultural ideal, i.e., the unilineal extended or polygynous household, which constitutes a small minority and seemingly ignore the dominant (in terms of quantity) pattern.

12 I would suggest that the number of misinterpretations could be reduced by the following techniques: (1) enumeration of rates and cases, (2) a processural approach, (3) reduced emphasis on a single culture, and (4) comparative field studies by non-specialists. Each is explained and

[10] [This should be footnote 9--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

Much of the analysis, additional library research, and the writing and preparation of the book was made possible by a grant from the Asian Studies Center, Office of International Programs, Michigan State University. I am indebted to the center for its support and to its director, Dr. William T. Ross. Also, during the final period of the writing of this book, a number of people provided me with the benefit of their helpful comments and suggestions; for this I owe thanks to Professors Charles C. Hughes, John Donoghue, Ralph Nicholas, Joseph Spielberg, Warren I. Cohen, all of Michigan State University, and Herbert P. Phillips of the University of California at Berkeley. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Hilda Jaffe of Michigan State University for her dedicated editorial assistance on the final manuscript.

The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

B. G.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant. 124

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations. 123 124

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques. 124 126

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose. 124 122 [123]

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men. 114 [122] [124] [123]

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arthur P. Wolf was born in Santa Rosa, California, on March 2, 1932. After graduating from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1952, he was granted Preferment by the Telluride Association and transferred to Cornell University. He graduated from Cornell in 1953 with English literature as his major. The following fall he entered the Cornell Graduate School as a student in the Department of Anthropology, and held a Teaching Assistantship in that Department during the years 1954-56. In 1956 he was awarded a Foreign Area Training Fellowship for a year of graduate study at Stanford University, and in the following year an Inter-University Fellowship for Field Training in Spoken Chinese. The period 1958-1961 was devoted to a field study of a Hokkien village in Northern Taiwan, again under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Program. The completion of his graduate study was supported by a Fels Fellowship for the academic year 1961-62. He is at present a Lecturer in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, and for the past two years has held an appointment in these Departments as an Assistant Professor.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and Dr. Arthur Vidich for his many valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to the Cornell committee of the London–Cornell Project for the funds they made available to me for secretarial help.

M.W.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114 This study is based on field work conducted in the Republic of China (Taiwan) between September, 1965, and
• 122 January, 1967. The generous financial support for travel, subsistence, and research expenses was realized from the following sources: National Science Foundation Cooperative Fellowship, Michigan State University Asian Studies Center, National Defense Education Act Loan, and an International Development Fellowship, Institute of Advanced Projects, Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West. The latter also provided six months in residence to organize field notes, review library materials, and consult with visiting and resident scholars. Finally, the period spent in writing after my return was partially supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship. My appreciation is considerable for it simply would not have been possible to accomplish the research without this aid.

114 The field work was facilitated by the hearty coopera-
122 tion of many people in Taiwan. Although operating under the constraints of the "period of rebellion," pertinent data was provided whenever consistant with the security of the country. Officials in such Hsin Tien offices as those of the mayor, clerk, council, farmers' association, police, and land all made us welcome. Scholars at National Taiwan University

114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
• 122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu, an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Professors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the United States Information Service. Our major assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people who lived in the village I studied and in the other four villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it is located. They took us into their homes and into their hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University. Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental structural and organizational problems. In the time available to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 562 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

12| several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo
562 the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature. [12] The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illustrate with one concrete example. In the traditional village, mid-wives attended at births which have usually been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

122 of eighteen months, it was necessary that we locate within reasonable commuting distance of an American school. This requirement restricted the locations to the countryside surrounding the large cities of Taipei and Taichung, each of which possessed an appropriate school.

Selection of the Subject Village

121 Due to the difficult terrain and state of the roads
122 and transportation facilities in the main possible locations, investigation revealed that distances should be specified in terms of travel-time rather than mileage. It was arbitrarily decided that a minimum of one-half hour travel-time probably separated village from city life. Maximally, as travel-time approached or exceeded one and one-half hours, it appeared unlikely that the village would contain any daily commuters. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction) a pair of irregular concentric lines were drawn on maps of the areas surrounding Taipei and Taichung delineating the requisite distances of one-half to one and one-half hours travel-time. Demographic and ecological characteristics of all villages bounded by the lines were analyzed in a preliminary fashion with officials of the J.C.R.R. and with Professor Chen Shao-hsing of the Sociology Department at National Taiwan University.

121 We also discussed potential sites with officials
122 in each township office and the local farmer's association linked with villages within the specified areas although at this period of first contact, our requirements were not revealed to consultants in the detail listed above. We then visited any villages within the area that remotely approached the specifications. On all occasions, we were accompanied by a minor official of the local farmers' association. The latter individuals have comprehensive knowledge of the local community and moreover, usually have good relations with most villagers.

Some sites were discarded immediately for such obvious defects as size, too large or too small, or economy, i.e., a factory located within village limits. More promising ones received a visit with local officials, a walking tour through the village, and chats with several residents. Such investigations took from thirty minutes to an hour and a quarter with an average of about 45 minutes each. There was the inavitable cup of tea with the mayor or some other important resident. In these investigations, the farmers' association official was invaluable for almost everyone knew the representative by name and wanted to talk with him. These investigations took one to three days for each township area. After examining the data upon completing a township area, most sites were eliminated. Those villages which still seemed promising were

121 revisited for a period of three to five hours. Finally,
122 before going on to the next township, these latter sites were discussed again with senior officials who were familiar with demographic and economic details. Ten potential pairs of villages reached this level of analysis.

After completing the entire circuit surrounding Taipei and Taichung, more thorough analysis reduced the ten to a final three, one in the Taichung area and two in the Taipei area. Seven of the ten sites were eliminated solely because of the desire to minimize differences between the pairs of villages as discussed in connection with one research goal of a controlled comparison. For example, one village was considerably larger than the other; or one village was next to the river and the other was not.

We spent two full days in each of the remaining three pairs of villages. One of these was eliminated because it was too close to two communities in which many Americans resided and several of its residents were either working or had worked in American households as servants or gardeners. It was a "toss-up" between the final two. The one we selected saved a move of 100 miles and was nearest the school (1-1/2 hours) we thought best for our children.

121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

121 During the first nine months, we lived in the city
• 122 of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month a different house. In this room I conducted some interviews but primarily it was used for writing, organizing data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals with the household in which I had a room. This technique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in several different households. People could be on their best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own. Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both located in the same li, and the village centers were separated only by the equivalent of one and a half city blocks, the particular village location did not appear to be important. We were quite surprised at the differences resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although we felt we had already established excellent relations. We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Although our children had visited the villages many times, they quickly established their own network of friends and associates and our son attended the local school one day a week.

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 115 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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• 123 to be quite pleased that we had decided to live in their village. A number of them actually pointed out that life was now much more interesting and exciting for them. For one thing, our presence in Hsin Hsing (we were the only Westerners ever to have lived anywhere in that area) resulted in an increased number of visits from outside relatives and friends. Many of these people came to visit in the village with the idea of at least getting a view of the foreigners. Not long after our arrival we learned that some Hsin Hsing villagers, upon meeting or visiting relatives or friends from other villages, would actually extend an invitation to them to "come visit and I'll take you in to have tea with the Americans." While some villagers or their guests would be too embarrassed to actually come into our house, they were not too embarrassed to stand at the windows or doors and peer in at us for a length of time. When this occurred, we would frequently issue a personal invitation to come in and sit awhile. This kind of entertaining proved to be quite fruitful in that early in our stay we got a very good idea of the extent, the nature, and the kind of relationships that Hsin Hsing villagers have beyond their own village. It also gave me some opportunities for entree into the other villages from which these people came and therefore served as an important means for gathering information and pictures of the area villages. On the basis of such contacts and others we were then frequently invited to visit neighboring villages and even some not so near.

During the early part of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers generally tried to keep us from witnessing or even hearing about the various and frequent magical rituals which most often took place late in the night. Gradually, as we began to make several friends in the village who took an interest in us and our work, we were quietly informed of the performance of these rituals. Once we had managed to be present at one or two of these rituals, our presence became an accepted matter-of-fact occurrence. After a brief time I was even able to take photographs of the various magical activities which are described in some detail in later chapters.

[126]

Within a month after we had taken up residence in the village, apparently as a matter of courtesy we were invited to a wedding festival in Hsin Hsing. Our presence seemed to make a big hit with the villagers and especially with their guests, who soon happily engaged me in various kinds of drinking games. With this initial contact experience over, there was scarcely a single festival or a happy occasion or even a funeral ceremonial to which we were not invited. It was not at all unusual for me to be asked to make a brief public talk to congratulate the newlyweds or to take part in a funeral by wearing a mourning band for the deceased. When village festivals were being planned and money collected from each village family to finance the occasion, after

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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several months in the village we were asked to pay the head tax for all members in our household in much the same way as the villagers paid it. We were considered by the Hsin Hsing villagers as part of the population. 123 •

In the later part of the fieldwork, I was at times actually asked by villagers, including the village mayor, to advise them on the settlement of a conflict in which at least part of the village was engaged with another village. However, our virtually complete acceptance by the villagers did not come until we had been in the village nearly a year, when I was unavoidably involved in a conflict in which at least part of the Hsin Hsing villagers were engaged with a neighboring village. In the situation, which concerned the Li Fan case discussed in Chapter 6 (and which has been described in detail in an article I wrote in 1959), I did find it necessary and perhaps even desirable to render some advice and assistance. Once this had been done successfully, I found that what formerly had been a good situation for fieldwork had now turned into an excellent relationship with almost the entire village. Thus, whereas until that time I was still recording interview notes in private, I could now record interviews as they were carried on. Most villagers who would usually spend time talking with me only when they had nothing else of importance to do now willingly made themselves available for interviews whenever it was at all possible. What I had earlier recognized as a good field situation, and it was, had now turned into an ideal one.

Relations with the local officials in the district Public Office (similar to our town hall), the district police, the district Farmers' Association, and the local land records office were of course also extremely important. Access to public and private records such as demographic data, maps and surveys, and land tenure data records depended upon my relationships with these people. For the most part, I was able to secure all the necessary available official records, though this always entailed the utmost patience. 123 127

However, the availability of written historical records, documents, and statistics for the period prior to about 1950 was unfortunately rather limited. While a great deal of literature written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Ch'ing dynasty, e.g., *Changhua Hsien Chih*, about Taiwan in general is available, such writings seldom deal with specific local areas. This seems true also of Japanese material. In addition, it has been a frequent Chinese historical practice to copy the material for such books from older chronicles. Therefore, books about Taiwan do not adequately describe the particular area during the period prior to 1950. (This problem is further discussed in a note for Chapter 2.) 127

The absence of family records in Hsin Hsing village makes it diffi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

159 boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin
312 Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was
628 at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than pub-
lic water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan
[474] had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was
not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his
father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

159 The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is
312 located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most
628 of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several
474 members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing.
685 Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu
villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from
other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative
policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel
that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative
had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the coopera-
tive's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the
association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any
trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father
several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

159 When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word
628 quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once
685 incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be
625 punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to
123 treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I
was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and
also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

159 The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the
625 local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded
694 the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when
554 an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted
628 that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-
defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his
father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not neces-
sarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential
man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station
cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were
therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li
and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta
Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the
cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the
government district knew how to handle such matters. And although
the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt
in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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115 Just as my wife and I came to
123 be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter. His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The villagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

124 On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview
[126] does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1980–1981, has told me that Matsu is not considered

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
• 123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and
[197] their relatives. With many members of the family my communication was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

chapter 12

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A GIFT OF PRIDE

During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

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more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

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people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

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package. We took our leave of the deacendants of old Lim Han-ci as they wished us to take it, carrying an image of a family given dignity and honor by remaining united where others had failed. People in China make no effort to remove the price tags from the gifts they give. The fact that we could calculate so closely the cost of the image the Lims wished to send with us only added to its value, for them and for us.

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epilogue

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SEPARATE STOVES

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A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

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Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

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Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month a different house. In this room I conducted some interviews but primarily it was used for writing, organizing data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals with the household in which I had a room. This technique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in several different households. People could be on their best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own. Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both located in the same li, and the village centers were separated only by the equivalent of one and a half city blocks, the particular village location did not appear to be important. We were quite surprised at the differences resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although we felt we had already established excellent relations. We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Although our children had visited the villages many times, they quickly established their own network of friends and associates and our son attended the local school one day a week.

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in someone's house for locations at the table are ranked in order of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [60] A final key may be found in the term of address which

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name).
My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 . We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
127 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

123 Finally, mention must be made of the fact that there were two anthropologists in the family, one male and one female. There are some situations in which a male has a significant advantage, and others, a female. For example, I had a distinct advantage with regard to men's drinking parties, dirty-story telling, sex life, etc. On the other hand, it proved exceedingly difficult for me to interview women under 30 on many subjects and with regard to sex, almost any female at an age under 70 was nearly impossible. Indeed, for an anthropological study of Chinese society, I believe a Western woman has an advantage. She is fully accepted as a woman by the women and simultaneously is almost accepted as a man by the men. Although we each studied separate villages, we inevitably participated in the affairs of both. Discussion of data and interpretations constantly stimulated and encouraged both of us for each could bring a fresh insight into the other's problems.

124 In addition to the usual techniques, there were
125 three special approaches. Because we eventually desired to compare the two villages, ten months after commencing field work, we jointly prepared an open-ended interview schedule which was independently administered to all adults in each of the two villages. An interview schedule prepared by Dr. Gallin was administered to a sample of village
124 residents. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

• 123 423 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 127 651 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded because the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry [654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United [651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
463 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next village was very good at that kind of work, if he was employed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

Other similar examples were witnessed. The village barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Everyone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realisation of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in husbands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has important implications for the role of women. There are probably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Michigan State University
June, 1965

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

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In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

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Just as my wife and I came to be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter. His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The villagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

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may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

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114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
• 124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and
[197] their relatives. With many members of the family my communication was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

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interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

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chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

• 124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

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simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

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*596 ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy.
*159 By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a
• 124 girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

562 As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

*596 Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim
*159 Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as
584 a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a
584 "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-
554 law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local
183 custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

*596 In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim
*159 Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's fam-
584 ily. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was
597 born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 12

[p.141]

A GIFT OF PRIDE

During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
127 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 115 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.

123 Finally, mention must be made of the fact that there were two anthropologists in the family, one male and one female. There are some situations in which a male has a significant advantage, and others, a female. For example, I had a distinct advantage with regard to men's drinking parties, dirty-story telling, sex life, etc. On the other hand, it proved exceedingly difficult for me to interview women under 30 on many subjects and with regard to sex, almost any female at an age under 70 was nearly impossible. Indeed, for an anthropological study of Chinese society, I believe a Western woman has an advantage. She is fully accepted as a woman by the women and simultaneously is almost accepted as a man by the men. Although we each studied separate villages, we inevitably participated in the affairs of both. Discussion of data and interpretations constantly stimulated and encouraged both of us for each could bring a fresh insight into the other's problems.

124 In addition to the usual techniques, there were
125 three special approaches. Because we eventually desired to compare the two villages, ten months after commencing field work, we jointly prepared an open-ended interview schedule which was independently administered to all adults in each of the two villages. An interview schedule prepared by Dr. Gallin was administered to a sample of village
124 residents. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

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146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 591 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 162 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966, the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 [183] The villagers believe the patrilineal extended family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. [621] There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

• 125
592 Again, because of the errors associated with the official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[597] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

183 178 842

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

123 to be quite pleased that we had decided to live in their village. A number of them actually pointed out that life was now much more interesting and exciting for them. For one thing, our presence in Hsin Hsing (we were the only Westerners ever to have lived anywhere in that area) resulted in an increased number of visits from outside relatives and friends. Many of these people came to visit in the village with the idea of at least getting a view of the foreigners. Not long after our arrival we learned that some Hsin Hsing villagers, upon meeting or visiting relatives or friends from other villages, would actually extend an invitation to them to "come visit and I'll take you in to have tea with the Americans." While some villagers or their guests would be too embarrassed to actually come into our house, they were not too embarrassed to stand at the windows or doors and peer in at us for a length of time. When this occurred, we would frequently issue a personal invitation to come in and sit awhile. This kind of entertaining proved to be quite fruitful in that early in our stay we got a very good idea of the extent, the nature, and the kind of relationships that Hsin Hsing villagers have beyond their own village. It also gave me some opportunities for entree into the other villages from which these people came and therefore served as an important means for gathering information and pictures of the area villages. On the basis of such contacts and others we were then frequently invited to visit neighboring villages and even some not so near.

During the early part of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers generally tried to keep us from witnessing or even hearing about the various and frequent magical rituals which most often took place late in the night. Gradually, as we began to make several friends in the village who took an interest in us and our work, we were quietly informed of the performance of these rituals. Once we had managed to be present at one or two of these rituals, our presence became an accepted matter-of-fact occurrence. After a brief time I was even able to take photographs of the various magical activities which are described in some detail in later chapters.

[126]

Within a month after we had taken up residence in the village, apparently as a matter of courtesy we were invited to a wedding festival in Hsin Hsing. Our presence seemed to make a big hit with the villagers and especially with their guests, who soon happily engaged me in various kinds of drinking games. With this initial contact experience over, there was scarcely a single festival or a happy occasion or even a funeral ceremonial to which we were not invited. It was not at all unusual for me to be asked to make a brief public talk to congratulate the newlyweds or to take part in a funeral by wearing a mourning band for the deceased. When village festivals were being planned and money collected from each village family to finance the occasion, after

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

115 Just as my wife and I came to
123 be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter.
His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The vil-
123 lagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely
124 to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

124 On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview
[126] does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

[121] While we cannot agree with their curious assumption that the term "psychological" labels a form of behavior rather than an interpretation of behavior, it is nonetheless interesting to see how far one can go towards an interpretation of decisions about marriage and adoption without reference to psychology. Are the concepts developed in structural studies entirely adequate to account for such decisions, or must one also refer to the needs of the individual as an organism and the dispositions formed by the experiences of a lifetime?

Our strategy in attempting to answer these and other questions which we will raise along the way will be to compare the decisions made by families of varying types. Do those families who choose to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for their son differ in any way from those who decide to marry their son in the preferred way? Are there any consistent differences between those families who marry their daughters matrilocally and those who do not? Do those girls who are raised by their natal families possess any characteristics which distinguish them from girls given in adoption? Unfortunately, we do not always know as much about these decisions as we would like to know. Many of them were made as long as seventy years ago, and the persons responsible were either dead or unavailable at the time of our study. [123] Although it would be ideal to have detailed information about the [126] situation of the family at the time each decision was made, we will ordinarily have to depend upon after the fact statements and such information as is contained in genealogies collected in 1960.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 173 • 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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several months in the village we were asked to pay the head tax for all members in our household in much the same way as the villagers paid it. We were considered by the Hsin Hsing villagers as part of the population. 123

In the later part of the fieldwork, I was at times actually asked by villagers, including the village mayor, to advise them on the settlement of a conflict in which at least part of the village was engaged with another village. However, our virtually complete acceptance by the villagers did not come until we had been in the village nearly a year, when I was unavoidably involved in a conflict in which at least part of the Hsin Hsing villagers were engaged with a neighboring village. In the situation, which concerned the Li Fan case discussed in Chapter 6 (and which has been described in detail in an article I wrote in 1959), I did find it necessary and perhaps even desirable to render some advice and assistance. Once this had been done successfully, I found that what formerly had been a good situation for fieldwork had now turned into an excellent relationship with almost the entire village. Thus, whereas until that time I was still recording interview notes in private, I could now record interviews as they were carried on. Most villagers who would usually spend time talking with me only when they had nothing else of importance to do now willingly made themselves available for interviews whenever it was at all possible. What I had earlier recognized as a good field situation, and it was, had now turned into an ideal one.

Relations with the local officials in the district Public Office (similar to our town hall), the district police, the district Farmers' Association, and the local land records office were of course also extremely important. Access to public and private records such as demographic data, maps and surveys, and land tenure data records depended upon my relationships with these people. For the most part, I was able to secure all the necessary available official records, though this always entailed the utmost patience. 123 127

However, the availability of written historical records, documents, and statistics for the period prior to about 1950 was unfortunately rather limited. While a great deal of literature written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Ch'ing dynasty, e.g., *Chang-hua Hsien Chih*, about Taiwan in general is available, such writings seldom deal with specific local areas. This seems true also of Japanese material. In addition, it has been a frequent Chinese historical practice to copy the material for such books from older chronicles. Therefore, books about Taiwan do not adequately describe the particular area during the period prior to 1950. (This problem is further discussed in a note for Chapter 2.) 127

The absence of family records in Hsin Hsing village makes it diffi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been reestablished. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:15). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:15).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:15).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

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Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 13) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.
127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 13 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

127 The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this
161 section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 5 on
162 social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

161 [9] Based on a discussion in May, 1959, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, soci-
164 ologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the
702 social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1955. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.53 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*or shih sze chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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000 [3] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

[1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

[2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[3] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

[4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

175 It is important to realise that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

• 127 175 The local history of the village naturally meshes with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 167 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830) in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
• 127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

family, there is listed an identification number, relationship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In summary there is both under-registration and over-registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

Information regarding individuals is also frequently inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

NOTES

Chapter I: Problem and Approach

1 The role of women as portrayed in the traditional literature is abstracted more fully later in this Chapter and in Chapter X.

2 The concept of the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition" are explicated in Redfield (1956).

3 Although the emphasis on the word typical was not in the original presentation, the term was used in the title and the introductory remarks.

4 The concept of "social distance" was developed by Bogardus to measure the degree of closeness or acceptance members of one group feel towards members of other groups (1958; 1959).

5 See Chapter V for a fuller discussion of the nature and function of sworn brothers associations which are perceived as pseudo-kinship groups.

Chapter II: The Setting

1 Although the population figures for Sanlei reflect the actual residence in the village, those for Talei Li are based on registration records in the township office and therefore are inaccurate as will be discussed.

2 "Restoration" is the official term employed to refer to the passing of control from the Japanese to the Chinese and the anniversary date is currently a national holiday celebrated with appropriate rituals.

3 For more complete accounts of the history of Taiwan, any of the following could be consulted: Davidson (1903), Grajdanzev (1942), Riggs (1952), Barclay (1954), Hsieh (1964), Kerr (1965), or Koo (1968).

4 Because of the Communication Bureau and a secret military base in the area, most government information was restricted for security reasons. Although we were not permitted to examine the local histories, an official briefly summarized them for us orally. Similar procedures were in effect for all other data except that we were permitted one day to examine household registration records for our two villages only in the township office and one day, the same for the land registration in the land office. Family histories are not very accurate but because of the shallow depth of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957–1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957–1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years.

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words.

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance.

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful.

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

Much of the analysis, additional library research, and the writing and preparation of the book was made possible by a grant from the Asian Studies Center, Office of International Programs, Michigan State University. I am indebted to the center for its support and to its director, Dr. William T. Ross. Also, during the final period of the writing of this book, a number of people provided me with the benefit of their helpful comments and suggestions; for this I owe thanks to Professors Charles C. Hughes, John Donoghue, Ralph Nicholas, Joseph Spielberg, Warren I. Cohen, all of Michigan State University, and Herbert P. Phillips of the University of California at Berkeley. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Hilda Jaffe of Michigan State University for her dedicated editorial assistance on the final manuscript.

The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

B. G.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

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The Setting

T
128 In any community study there is always the question of where to begin outlining the picture of village life: on what does one focus first? While the question is perhaps just as urgent during the actual fieldwork, in the field it is possible to observe and ask questions on many subjects at the same time and to move from one subject to another in the course of an interview. But in attempting to put the ethnography down on paper, the decision must be made where to begin.

I have chosen to begin this book as I began my fieldwork—with a general picture of village life that will provide a context which can give meaning to particular aspects of village life. This picture will be followed in Chapters 3 and 4 by a description of the village livelihood, although it has perhaps been more common to begin Chinese ethnographies with a discussion of family and kinship (here Chapters 5 and 6). The importance of the economic sphere in Hsin Hsing is explicit in the very purposes of this book as noted in Chapter 1 and the conclusions of Chapter 9; its importance was implicit throughout the fieldwork as it will be throughout this book. We now turn then to the setting of the village so that specific topical chapters which follow will have some contextual meaning.

T
131 Travel to Hsin Hsing village from the capital city, Taipei, is neither easy nor brief. The approximately one hundred and seventeen-mile
F trip to Chang-hua, the closest major city, must be made mostly by
497 train via the seacoast or by the interior route through Taichung City. This takes about three hours by diesel express or six hours or more by a local train. It is generally possible to find a seat on the diesel express, but on the local trains one must almost always stand a good part of the way.

F
311 Once out of Taipei the countryside is almost all rice paddies and farmland. Even in the mountain area between Taipei and Taichung,
F terraced rice paddies form a part of the green and lush vegetation
499 typical of Taiwan. The train goes through a series of tunnels in these
175 rugged mountains, and if one happens to be traveling with a
648 Taiwanese companion, he will probably point out that these tunnels, like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

	1949–1951		1957	
Land classification	Area *chia*	Number of families	Area *chia*	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	62
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[3]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

NOTE

• 128 The informants' names given in the text are coded names. If some person now living in the village of Hsiachichou or its vicinity should bear a name appearing here, this should be regarded as an accidental association. The author has in no case used the actual name of any informant quoted in this work.

[121] areas of China allowed several distinct forms of marriage. Aside from [121] [191] what we will hereafter refer to as the preferred patrilocal marriage, in which an adult woman married and became a member of her husband's household, customs in most areas of the country also recognized some form of matrilocal marriage.[2] On the plains west of Kunming Fei and Chang found that families who had no sons, and sometimes even those who did have sons, could arrange for a daughter to "take a husband into her father's house, so that she may have children to perpetuate the family line." According to local custom, the man who entered into such a marriage "changes his surname and retains the name he receives from his father as the last word of his personal name." His first son would usually "take his mother's surname, but subsequent children are free to choose their father's original surname." "If they do so, however, they will not be entitled to inherit land from their mother's line."[3] Similarly, a family in North China might "adopt" a son-in-law for a daughter if they did not have male offspring of their own, and in at least some regions of the north a family whose married son died might arrange a matrilocal marriage for their daughter-in-law. Among the southern Chinese matrilocal institutions were even more common and more highly differentiated. Maurice Freedman finds that even today the Hokkien farmers of Singapore recognize at least three distinct

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[128] [2] Since the use of the terms "patrilocal" and "matrilocal" is standard in anthropological writing on China, I have here preferred them to the more current terms "virilocal" and "uxorilocal."

[3] Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), p. 113.

[12] While we cannot agree with their curious assumption that the term "psychological" labels a form of behavior rather than an interpretation of behavior, it is nonetheless interesting to see how far one can go towards an interpretation of decisions about marriage and adoption without reference to psychology. Are the concepts developed in structural studies entirely adequate to account for such decisions, or must one also refer to the needs of the individual as an organism and the dispositions formed by the experiences of a lifetime?

Our strategy in attempting to answer these and other questions which we will raise along the way will be to compare the decisions made by families of varying types. Do those families who choose to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for their son differ in any way from those who decide to marry their son in the preferred way? Are there any consistent differences between those families who marry their daughters matrilocally and those who do not? Do those girls who are raised by their natal families possess any characteristics which distinguish them from girls given in adoption? Unfortunately, we do not always know as much about these decisions as we would like to know. Many of them were made as long as seventy years ago, and the persons responsible were either dead or unavailable at the time of our study. [128] [126] Although it would be ideal to have detailed information about the situation of the family at the time each decision was made, we will ordinarily have to depend upon after the fact statements and such information as is contained in genealogies collected in 1960.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 3

THE PREFERRED MARRIAGE

The institutions of the village of Hsiachichou are similar to those of China in general in that they allow a variety of means of marriage and adoption. A family with a son may adopt a female child and raise her as his wife, or they may wait until he is an adult and then look for a wife. A family with a daughter may give her away in adoption as a child, or they may raise her as a member of the family and later choose between a patrilocal or matrilocal marriage. The institutions of the community give scope for the formation of a great variety of genealogical patterns. Our task here will be to trace the genealogical history of Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years in an attempt to determine what some of the factors were which went into the formation of this particular pattern. Given the existence of institutions which encourage certain social arrangements and discourage others, and recognizing that the range of choice is partially determined by vagaries of human genetics, we will attempt to discover why the people of Hsiachichou chose to arrange their social world in the way they did.

Our first step in this direction willbe to describe the institutions of marriage and adoption as they existed in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. The genealogical decisions made by individual families arose as choices between alternative forms of marriage and adoption, and we will need to understand the nature of these institutions

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is the form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

poor to adopt a child simply to aid with household chores, and in the post-war years government regulations have discouraged those few families who might have considered such an adoption. Our concern here will therefore be primarily with four forms of adoption, two forms of male adoption and two forms of female adoption. Since English does not provide vocabulary adequate for labeling these institutions, we will have to employ the Chinese terminology in order to avoid long and clumsy paraphrasing. The adoption of a male child from an agnate, we will refer to as the kha-páng-kià: form of adoption, and the adoption of a male child from a non-agnate, the biēng-liēng-kià: form of adoption. The form of adoption which makes a female child a potential wife of a son of the adopting family we will term the sīm-pûà form of adoption, or the sim-pua form of marriage, since it is both; and the form of adoption which gives a female child the same status she would have had if she had been born into the family we will refer to as the lâng-lù form of adoption, although it must be remembered that in Hsiachichou adopted daughters of this kind are more commonly referred to as sīm-pûà and are treated ritually as though they were sīm-pûà.

in which all of the members of the kê have a legitimate interest. Who actually makes these decisions depends upon the composition of the kê at the time the decision is made and who at that time is responsible for family policy. If a man's father and mother are members of the kê at the time his wife bears a child, and if they also occupy positions of authority in the family, the decision to give the child away may be their decision; but, on the other hand, if the man's parents are not members of his kê, or if the authority of the kê is at that time no longer in their hands, the decision may be made by the man or his wife. Both situations occur commonly in Hsiachichou.

This variation obviously complicates the analysis of the problem we set for ourselves. In attempting to analyze the factors which enter into decisions about marriage and adoption, we are asking what people's motives are for choosing between various institutionalized alternatives, and these are obviously going to vary with the identity of the decision makers. A man looking for a wife will probably consider different qualifications than will his mother looking for a daughter-in-law, and a mother thinking of giving away one of her children is likely to be influenced by very different considerations than her mother-in-law might be in deciding whether or not to give away a grandchild. Ideally, we would like to know who made each of the decisions with which we are concerned. Unfortunately, this information is not available. Many of the decisions were made fifty or sixty years ago, so that even if they were willing to tell us, no one in Hsiachichou knows the answer. Furthermore, the original research from which these

data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we do not have complete information for even those recent dicisions which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kê and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate, they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives, but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally significant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the kê at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made. We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made because the composition of the kê varies over time in a cyclical manner. Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases, the joint family, the stem family, and the elemmentary family. In the joint family phase, the kê typically consists of a man and his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

the local booligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations, however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walking together toward the local market town. Some of the young people from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without completely destroying their good names.

In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940 have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51 marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abrogation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more

+584 178 • 128 detail when in later chapters we turn to the effect of these changes upon the marriage patterns.

+592 +584 +599 178 To summarize, then, we may say that at the time at which most of the decisions which interest us here are made the kē includes at least two adult generations. In the case of marriage they are the parents and their adult children, and in the case of adoption they are the foster parents and the foster grandparents. When we ask which of these people made the decision we must specify the period of time at which the decision was made. By and large, the decisions about marriage and adoptions that were made before 1930 were made by the senior generations, while after 1930 these decisions were made by the younger people in the family. We shall see later that this change has had an important effect upon the kinds of decisions which are made and upon the kinds of considerations which enter into these decisions.

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advantages of the sĪm-pûa marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sĪm-pûa marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sĪm-pûa, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sĪm-pûa marriage.

When asked why they adopted a sĪm-pûa for a son, villagers usually begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

*583 *584 553 554 Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social position. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day, but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common. In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned the sīm-pûa marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the [556] compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should therefore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīm-pûa form of marriage. Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou. [128] We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930 period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

only a very few sīm-pûa adoptions took place. These do all happen to be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relationship. Until such time as data is collected in other communities which are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago, we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which they took into account in making their decisions.

One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that economic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pûa marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou adopted a sīm-pûa for one of their sons, and the three families with the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted sīm-pûa for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no question that these families could have afforded the more prestigious preferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less prestigious sīm-pûa marriage. We also know of several cases of truly wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pûa for one or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest landowner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 183 58 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however, it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that [546] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes. Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption. To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children, and what are some of the considerations which enter into their decisions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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128 [122] and Dr. Arthur Vidich for his many valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to the Cornell committee of the London–Cornell Project for the funds they made available to me for secretarial help.

M.W.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding personal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* (Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin, using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua

128 Li Guat-ngo — Adopted daughter of Lim A-pou

115 Lim A-bok — First born son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim A-hua — Adopted daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan

Lim A-ki — Wife of A-bok

Lim A-pou — Lim Han-ci's first adopted daughter; wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Bieng-cu — Second daughter, fifth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Chieng-cua — Second son of Lim Han-ci; present head of the house of Lim

Lim Chui-ieng — Wife of Lim Chieng-cua

Lim Cin-hok — Fourth son, sixth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Gioq-ki — Oldest daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan; only child born to them

Lim Han-ci — The father

Lim Hue-lieng — Eldest son of Lim Han-ci

Lim Kim-hok — First born son of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Kui-hok — Third son, fourth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Le-cu — First daughter, second child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Masa — Second son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim So-lan — Second wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Thiam-hok — Second son, third child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Ng Kok-hua — Son of Ng Kui-lian; proprietor of Peihotien's store

Ng Kui-lian — Go-between for marriage of Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng

Tan A-hong — Lim Han-ci's second adopted daughter who was re-sold when his own daughter was returned

Tan Chai-ngo — Second-born daughter of Tan A-hong

Tan Chun-ieng — First-born daughter of Tan A-hong

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

ABSTRACT

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES

OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF A GREAT TRADITION

By

William Kester Barnett

121 Evidence from a 1965-67 field study conducted in a rural Taiwanese village suggested that the structural position of women was not inferior to men to the extent described in most previous reports or the literature of the Great Tradition of China. A detailed statement of the discrepancies, reasons for their occurrence, and suggestions for reducing misinterpretations in the future are provided.

• 128 The largest portion of the four logical divisions of this report contains a typical ethnography of a Hokkien village in the rice-tea-orange region of northern Taiwan, based on nineteen months of field work employing standard anthropological techniques such as participant-observation, mapping, census, life histories, and open-ended interview schedules.

121 The second portion contrasts the canons of the Great 128 Tradition which contend Chinese women were expected to be uneducated, economically useless, subordinate, submissive, obedient, reticent, passive, and timid, with research data from Sanlei Ts'un where many women were educated, most were

[Introductory piii]

121 economically important, and several were family despots.
• 128 Other Chinese ethnographies indicate that Sanlei is not deviant for each contains considerable data which support the latter description despite the fact the data is in conflict with the author's summary regarding female status. A few sources explicitly claim the case for the lowly position of women in China has been overstated.

The third portion establishes how the errors in interpretation come about. One primary cause relates to the frequent anthropological emphasis on persisting aspects of social structure with a corresponding, but not necessary, focus on "ideal" rather than "real" culture; but more important, the presence of a Great Tradition which is expressed in a literary record generates problems for valid anthropological research in high civilizations. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture described by a society's Great Tradition before commencing field work. According to cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome any belief once it becomes internalized, i.e., any evidence contrary to existing knowledge tends to be ignored or denied. Therefore, both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "specialists" probably will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

The last major section is devoted to four suggestions for preventing further misinterpretations. The first supports added attention to concrete enumeration of rates

121 and cases as part of the increased attention to research
128 methodology and reduced reliance on impressions.

The second advocates increased employment of the processural approach featuring extended case studies which place other analysts one step nearer to the social facts than conventional approachese, i.e., at the level of reading observational reports rather than abstractions.

The third and fourth proposals are two sides of the same coin. In order to maintain traditional anthropological objectivity which was customarily partially based on cross-cultural research, and yet, in order to obtain the advantages accruing from specialization in a Great Tradition, specialists should be encouraged to punctuate field activities in their special civilization by entering a third culture for comparative purposes, and conversely, other ethnographers should be encouraged to conduct research in high civilizations outside their areas of expertise. Specialization in a single society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as presently practiced.

Nevertheless, undue pessimism is not fully warranted as demonstrated by several breakthroughs with new interpretations of Chinese cultural materials despite their conflicts with ideals expressed in the Great Tradition, i.e., in family composition, importance of affinal relations, nature of lineage organizations, etc. Further research is expected to support the contention that the status of women in China is not actually as low as was commonly accepted.

[Introductory p.v]

114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu, an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Professors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the United States Information Service. Our major assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people who lived in the village I studied and in the other four villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it is located. They took us into their homes and into their hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University. Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental structural and organizational problems. In the time available to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

these suggestions although I believe that they would have made the thesis significantly better than it is now. I apologize to Professor Gallin and to readers for defects that could have been remedied if I had made the improvements that he suggested. I plan to make the recommended changes as portions of the dissertation are revised for publication.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my family. My wife, Nancy McMillin Barnett, provided professional assistance as a fellow anthropology graduate student as well as incredible amounts of patience, encouragement, and understanding. My two children, Beth and Sidney, not only endured what might have been regarded as the relative hardship of life in a rural Taiwanese village, they thoroughly enjoyed it, made many friends of their own, and helped make our stay a most enjoyable one. My parents, Betty and Bill, and my mother-in-law, Mary, never deviated from a constant faith in my ability far beyond my own.

Please forgive the unfortunate errors of omission for my debt to so many is too great to be recognized or repaid other than indirectly, by a dedication to scholarship and service to others, in order to transmit the benefits to the next generation.

Iowa City, Iowa
May, 1970

WKB

LIST OF SYMBOLS

• 128
601

Male

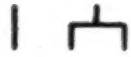
Female

Deceased Male

Deceased Female

Marriage

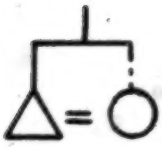
Divorce



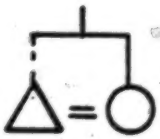
Descent

Adoption

Departed via Migration or Adoption



Adopted Daughter Marriage (Siaosiv)



Adopted-in Husband Marriage (Chao fu)

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

PREFACE

128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Fort Li).

128 104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
104 Ts'un (Third Port Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned name is used consistently throughout the report with reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any material which might be considered injurious or which could prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa (Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A consists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters. Since the names are in common use in literature and for postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided. Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

121 368-9). I include the concept of role-set in my defini-
• 128 tion of role for there would be few roles which would not involve several social positions. A public school teacher in American society necessarily relates to such positions as student, colleague, and principal. She also probably relates on a secondary level to parents, board members, union officials, etc.

Since this study is of a small rural village, most relationships are inclusive and serial, termed by Gluckman "multiplex" (1964). By this he means that when two people interact in a multiplex relationship, it is likely that a large number of role relationships are involved. Although roles are not synonymous with people, each person may be examined analytically as if he were a bundle of roles. The characteristics of the bundle effect role behavior as does the personality of the individual. Part of the concept of role includes the idea of a script for acting. Some scripts are very explicit and others, quite general. Each individual follows his script somewhat differently. The major role I examine in the study is that of adult female. This role can be divided analytically into narrower roles such as wife, mother, aunt, girl-friend, customer, etc. The major relationship studied is between the adult female and the adult male, the latter similarly susceptible to finer distinctions. Abstraction at the highest level, i.e., male-female relationships, is attempted

121 although detailed data at lower levels are provided.
• 128 The next eight chapters contain an ethnographic description of Sanlei, a village in Taiwan, with particular emphasis on the role of women. The last chapter presents the general abstraction discussed in the above paragraph and contrasts it with an abstraction from the traditional literature. Possible reasons for the discrepancy between the two abstractions are considered and rejected in favor of the theoretical position advanced at the beginning of this chapter, i.e., the presence of a "Great Tradition" and its effects on the anthropological field worker. Implications for future research are then considered and a series of suggestions for reducing future errors are advanced.

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

• 128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128 621 571 602 182 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

• 128 602 [769] This chapter provides a picture of the family and larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values, particularly the worship of ancestors, support continuation of the family along the male line.[1] Families are combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these general values are important, it will be demonstrated that compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and adoption are all processes which can be used to create and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units use these processes strategically to achieve certain goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of family head, particularly with reference to sex differences. A discussion of the forms and processes which change the family composition and their present distribution in the village completes the static picture of the family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific underlying values in the village, the cultural processes available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

128
602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217
659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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562 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

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562 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. 13 •
On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over
13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and [491]
south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The
mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant
trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine
different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipi-
tous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto
a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of
this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants
make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and
under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a
few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and
banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a
paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull,
humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air,
distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season
is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming
is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern 633
tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it [361]
is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland
but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like pass-
• 13 ing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, window-
less brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town
and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the
loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are
now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the
distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy
of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines.
But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede,
become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese
scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more
precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but
actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui
River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu
turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the
601 district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record
173 the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies,
613 thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the impor-
175 tant part of the document is the long family tree which traces their
line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies
there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the
location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more
distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.
124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations
173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the
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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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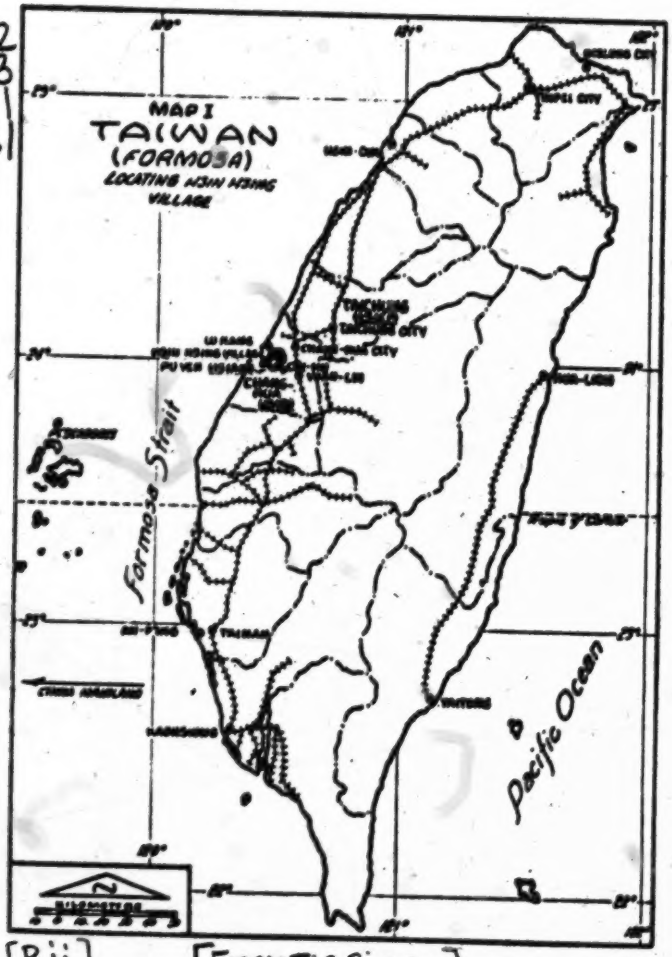

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

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The Setting

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In any community study there is always the question of where to begin outlining the picture of village life; on what does one focus first? While the question is perhaps just as urgent during the actual fieldwork, in the field it is possible to observe and ask questions on many subjects at the same time and to move from one subject to another in the course of an interview. But in attempting to put the ethnography down on paper, the decision must be made where to begin.

I have chosen to begin this book as I began my fieldwork—with a general picture of village life that will provide a context which can give meaning to particular aspects of village life. This picture will be followed in Chapters 3 and 4 by a description of the village livelihood, although it has perhaps been more common to begin Chinese ethnographies with a discussion of family and kinship (here Chapters 5 and 6). The importance of the economic sphere in Hsin Hsing is explicit in the very purposes of this book as noted in Chapter 1 and the conclusions of Chapter 9; its importance was implicit throughout the fieldwork as it will be throughout this book. We now turn then to the setting of the village so that specific topical chapters which follow will have some contextual meaning.

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Travel to Hsin Hsing village from the capital city, Taipei, is neither easy nor brief. The approximately one hundred and seventeen-mile trip to Chang-hua, the closest major city, must be made mostly by train via the seacoast or by the interior route through Taichung City. This takes about three hours by diesel express or six hours or more by a local train. It is generally possible to find a seat on the diesel express, but on the local trains one must almost always stand a good part of the way.

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Once out of Taipei the countryside is almost all rice paddies and farmland. Even in the mountain area between Taipei and Taichung, terraced rice paddies form a part of the green and lush vegetation typical of Taiwan. The train goes through a series of tunnels in these rugged mountains, and if one happens to be traveling with a Taiwanese companion, he will probably point out that these tunnels, like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Location and Physiography

131 The island of Taiwan (or Formosa) lies on an arc which is convex to the Asiatic mainland and is bisected by the Tropic of Cancer. At its closest point, Taiwan is 90 miles from the province of Fukien on the Chinese mainland and nearly equidistant between Shanghai and Hong Kong, each 400 miles distant (Cressey, 1964:174). Six hundred miles up the arc to the northeast through Okinawa is the Japanese island of Kyushu. Down the arc in the other direction is Luzon in the Philippines a distance of only 200 miles (Cressey, 1955:234). Taiwan is shaped roughly like a tobacco leaf, about 245 miles long and 90 miles wide at its widest point. Its coastline of 700 miles is exceptionally smooth and unindented (Tregear, 1965:304). With a total area of 13,800 square miles, it is about the size of Holland or Massachusetts (See Figure 1).

133 The island, for the most part, is very mountainous. There are thirty peaks exceeding 10,000 feet in elevation

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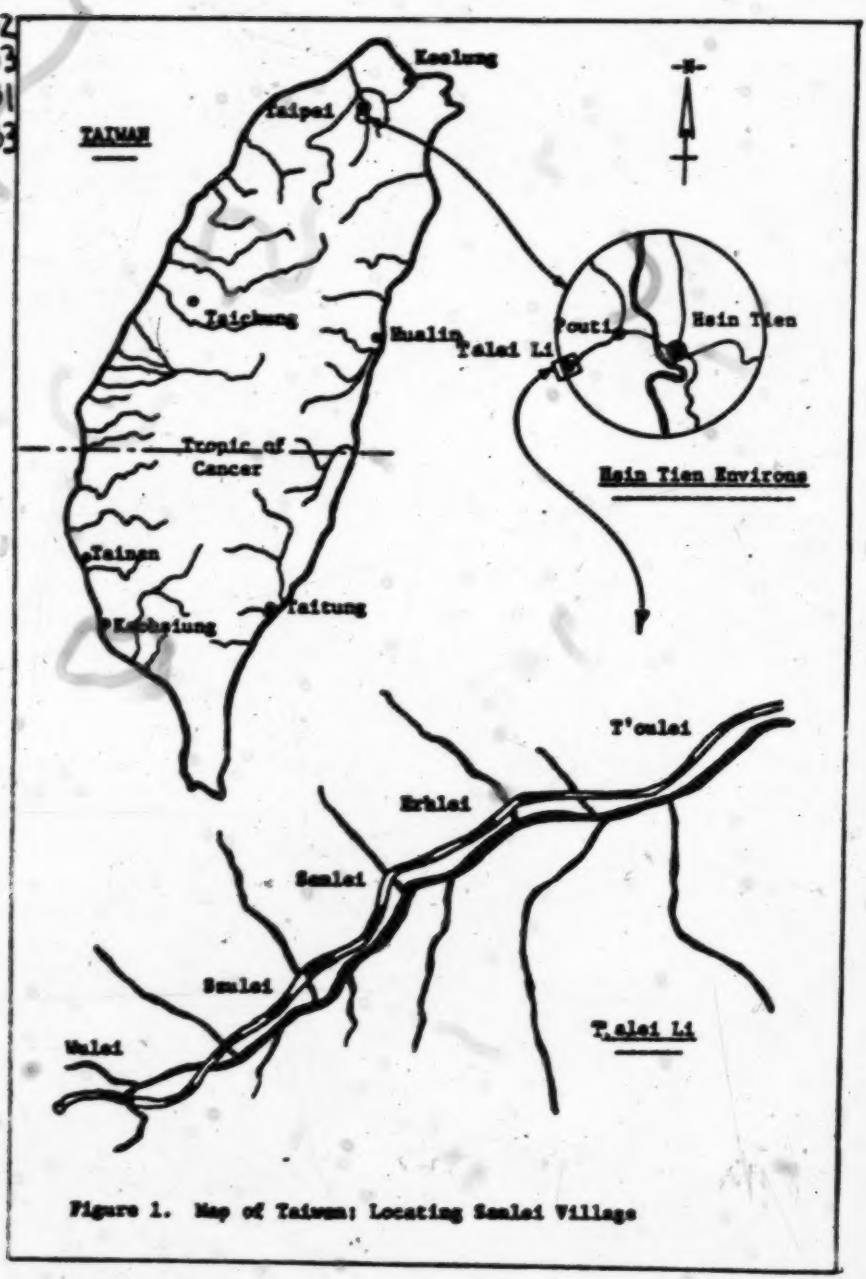

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan: Locating Sanlei Village

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

000 contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1] Sanlei vil-
361 lage is long and narrow. To the right is a single line of houses following the road with the first and last two separated from the remaining houses which are very close together. On the left, the distance from the road to the creek ranges from 50 to 125 feet. The majority of village buildings are in this area, many fronting on the road, others on one of the five paths from road to creek, and the rest on the courtyard in front of the temple. Three buildings are located across the creek (see Figure 2).

Weather

• 132 Taiwan lies off the east coast of Asia athwart the Tropic of Cancer and is surrounded by warm ocean currents. The northern and summer monsoons influence the weather although all weather is conspicuously modified by Taiwan's rugged topography (Cressey, 1955:238). The north is subtropical and the south, tropical. In the north, winters are cold but rarely does the temperature extend below 40° F. Summers are long and hot, but the temperature reaches 95° F infrequently in the village. Most nights are cool due to the ever present winds. Humidity is nearly always high. Taiwan is in the prime typhoon belt and about three typhoons a year usually pass directly over some part of the island and many others pass nearby. Typhoons dump copious quantities of rain and the winds often cause extensive damages.

132 Village men agree that about once every three years, one crop is seriously reduced by typhoon damage.

Temperature and rainfall in the village are not too unlike those in Taipei although the village and Taipei are separated by the chain of foothills (see Table 1 for official Taipei records). Rain is fairly constant in the northern part of Taiwan. During the last twelve months of our stay, there was rain on 191 different days. Although the yearly mean for rain is 72.4 inches, the year with the least amount totaled only slightly less, 65.3 inches.

Table 1. Taipei Climatic Averages for 56 Years (Taken from Nuttanson, 1963:128)

Month	Temperature High (Mean)	Inches of Rain	Per Cent Humidity
January	59.3	3.1	83
February	58.9	5.2	85
March	62.8	7.0	84
April	69.2	6.8	83
May	75.9	8.7	82
June	79.9	11.2	82
July	82.6	7.5	79
August	82.4	9.3	79
September	79.8	6.4	80
October	73.9	3.1	80
November	68.5	1.9	80
December	62.4	2.3	82
Year	71.3	72.4	82

During the heaviest year, one with three typhoons in the northern area, rainfall reached 124.9 inches. Except when typhoons are nearby, rain is usually in the form of a drizzle. The average number of days with precipitation

• 132 is about 184.4 (Nuttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

• 132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei 101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the 133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou 178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui 487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the 178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place 487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan 496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half [829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down 823 track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place 975 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Location and Physiography

131 The island of Taiwan (or Formosa) lies on an arc which is convex to the Asiatic mainland and is bisected by the Tropic of Cancer. At its closest point, Taiwan is 90 miles from the province of Fukien on the Chinese mainland and nearly equidistant between Shanghai and Hong Kong, each 400 miles distant (Cressey, 1964:174). Six hundred miles up the arc to the northeast through Okinawa is the Japanese island of Kyushu. Down the arc in the other direction is Luzon in the Philippines a distance of only 200 miles (Cressey, 1955:234). Taiwan is shaped roughly like a tobacco leaf, about 245 miles long and 90 miles wide at its widest point. Its coastline of 700 miles is exceptionally smooth and unindented (Tregear, 1965:304). With a total area of 13,800 square miles, it is about the size of Holland or Massachusetts (See Figure 1).

133 The island, for the most part, is very mountainous. There are thirty peaks exceeding 10,000 feet in elevation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 42]

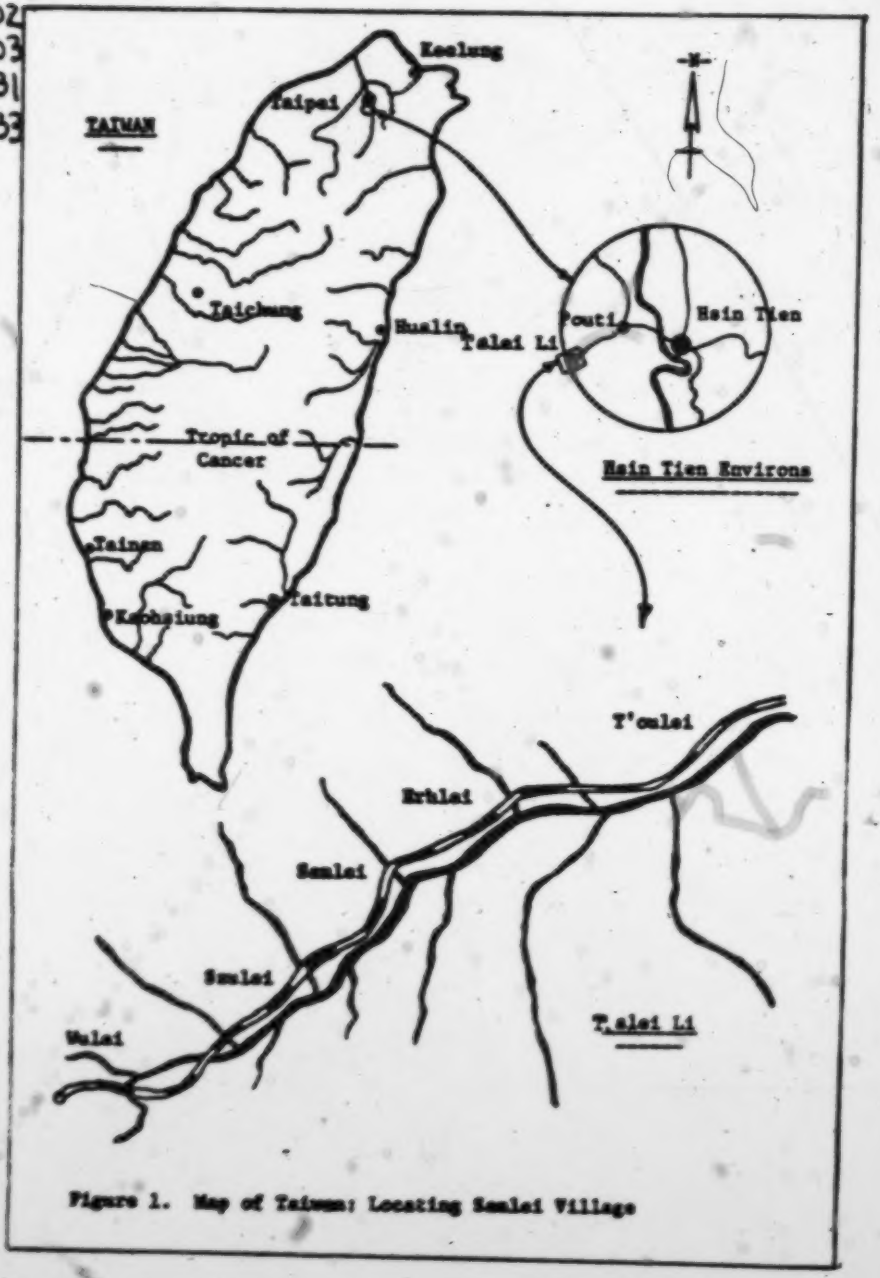

Figure 1. Map of Taiwan: Locating Sanlei Village

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fifteen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertiliser (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
494 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
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Rice

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243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
311 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has al-
243 ways permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[177] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialise in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertiliser, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

• 137
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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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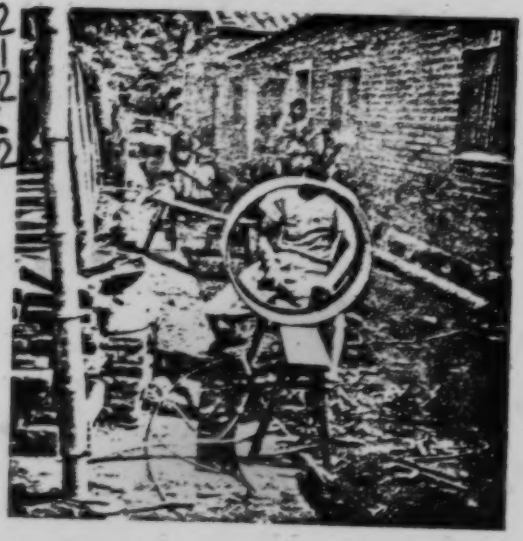

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

251
516
291
142
342
415

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

142
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777
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→

585
292
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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

782
142
352
373
415
291

[P.148-E]

142
269
516
415

798
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142
291

ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

585
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793

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hún Hiang to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*159 former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles
• 142 far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and
*159 firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that fam-
157 ily's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

*159 At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages
*593 were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage
178 partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were bal-
582 anced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts
584 she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

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#159 between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I
+593 said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married
597 when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all
584 because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

#159 I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her
+596 husband whispering to him about various things and she answered
#593 indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

[124] My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens.
• [142] He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a
#159 handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength
+596 and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The
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she resorts to attacks on their possessions, their smaller siblings, or to vicious cursing from a safe distance. She is disliked by most of the village children and finds her only companionship with Tan A-hong's youngest daughter. Chai-ngo is gradually rejecting her as she becomes better acquainted in the village, leaving Bieng-cu to her own devices which consist mainly of tormenting the last born of Lim Chieng-cua's children, Cin-hok. When I left the village, Cin-hok was the four-year-old stereotype of all last-born boys in Chinese families. He acts much younger than his age and takes full advantage of his position. He cries more than any child I have ever known, but his tears can be turned on and off at will. To stop them one need only comply with the demand that started them, and that is exactly what everyone in the family does. What A-bok's young son achieves with insolent charm, Cin-hok gets with long, sullen crying. Both Bieng-cu and Cin-hok are lacking in the family good looks. They resemble neither parent but are square, stocky-looking peasants.

After Cin-hok's birth, Lim Chui-ieng entered a hospital and had an hysterectomy. When she left the hospital she went to her adoptive parents' home and informed them that she never intended to step foot in her husband's house again. I have no idea what plans she had for supporting herself, but after a few weeks her foster brothers told her firmly that she must return to her husband. Even if she believed them far superior to her husband's family, they could not afford to support another man's wife for the rest of her life. Poor Chui-ieng's last attempt to reject her "fate" ran head on into reality. Personally, I question the sincerity of her avowed intention of severing her relations with the Lim family. I am more inclined to believe it was just another attempt to bring trouble and humiliation upon what she considered the unjustifiably proud head of her husband. She returned to him and her children just over a month after her operation.

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but he rarely takes the lead and never seems to expect it. He is content to think up new variations on old games and let the others carry them out. Thiam-hok often sits alone daydreaming or perhaps thinking. I have seen this kind of behavior in other village children, children suffering from the debilitation of frequent illness and inadequate diet, but with Thiam-hok one senses activity behind his withdrawn face. Several times I have come upon him hiding in a quiet corner, hunched over a piece of paper. Before he could conceal it, I saw that he was sketching with a stubby pencil and sketching with a certain amount of talent. My sincere praise did nothing to lessen his embarrassment—I had stumbled into what he evidently considered a secret, sinful pleasure. I later heard his siblings and even his mother teasing him about his pictures, but he did not abandon the activity. He only became more circumspect. To the initial amusement of his parents, he announced at the age of eight that he would no longer eat any form of meat, including vegetables fried in pig fat, a Taiwanese family's most common source of animal protein. He wished to live the life of a Buddhist. Lim Chui-ieng humored him for a few weeks, but when it became clear that he was serious, she forced him to return to normal eating habits for fear of damage to his already delicate constitution. He finally submitted, although he vowed to return to the stern discipline of Buddhism when he was fully grown. In determination he is definitely a Lim, but in him, the family character is taking a curious twist.

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Lim Chieng-cua's fourth child and third son is my favorite. Even the most persistent teasing of his elder siblings fails to ruffle Kui-hok's good humor. He has none of Thaim-hok's dreaminess but his face nearly always has a shy smile on it. He was not yet in school when I lived with his family, so I saw a good deal of him. He came to our office nearly every day to collect curly pencil shavings which he distributed to all of his friends. Although he is not beyond the usual teasing of younger siblings, he always gives in when they show signs of tears and leaves if they begin to vent their rage on him. Either his emotions burn with a cooler flame or he has already found a method for controlling them. One day when I was walking along a path I found him energetically slashing the tops off some long grass with a toy wooden sword. I asked conversationally what he was doing and he said, "Cutting off heads." I fumbled linguistically and quite by accident blurted out, "Whose?" He promptly gave me the name of Lim A-

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All vil- 855 lagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-ziât, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu ziât, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
• 152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

606 that she was so happy her son was marrying soon "because now I will have somebody to help me cook and take care of this large family." She was naturally very much disappointed when her daughter-in-law turned out to be no better prepared than she herself had been, and as a result she was constantly complaining that her daughter-in-law was a "useless girl who doesn't know how to do anything but eat rice."

Listening to the daily bickering among the women of the household, one gets the impression that the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is primarily a matter of conflict over household routine. The mother-in-law complains that her son's wife "doesn't know how to do anything," that "she is lazy and stupid," that "she doesn't know the worth of money," and so forth. For her part, the daughter-in-law accuses the older woman of "really being able to scold," of not giving her son "enough money to buy anything," and of being generally demanding and bad tempered. But while these daily encounters over matters of household management and the domestic division of labor do add to the tensions between the two women, they are more the topics of the conflict than the real cause of the tension. 593 The origins of the tension between the two women would seem rather to 606 be a competition for the loyalty of the young man who is the older • 152 woman's son and the younger woman's husband. A woman proves herself as a woman and secures her position as a wife by bearing male children. It is through her sons and by means of her sons that a woman finds a place in life. Moreover, given the ideal of an expressionless and unemotional relationship between husband and wife, a woman's male

*593 children are often the only appropriate objects for her affections.
606 It is not surprising then that she is jealous of the woman who enters
• 152 her son's life and threatens to replace her in his sympathies, and this jealousy finds expression in an exaggerated reaction to the irritations of life in the kitchen. For her part, the daughter-in-law soon learns that her husband is the only potential ally she has in her new home. Although her father-in-law may sympathize with her predicament, the expectation of avoidance prevents him from ever playing a protective role, and the inevitable conflicts between brothers effectively precludes any possibility of a sympathetic relationship with her husband's sisters-in-law. The young woman therefore turns to her husband as her confidant and her resource, hoping that she will be able to talk him into leaving the larger family, thus freeing herself forever of the tyranny of her mother-in-law. This tactic naturally serves to confirm the worst of her mother-in-law's fears, and her irritation and resentment of the daughter-in-law is increased proportionately. The result is a conflagration that feeds on its own flames. The more resentful and jealous the mother-in-law, the more she tyrannizes her son's wife; and the more she is victimized, the greater the daughter-in-law's efforts to pry her husband out of his natal family, this effort serving to confirm the older woman's suspicions and intensify her resentment.

This more basic cause of the conflict between the two women is often laid bare in times of crisis. In their daily encounters both women express themselves in the rhetoric of the kitchen, but when these

*593 606 152 minor encounters boil up into a crisis the real cause of their differences comes to the fore. When a village mother who was having great difficulty with her daughter-in-law seemed to be losing control of the situation, her complaint was not that the daughter-in-law was lazy or incompetent, but rather that her daughter-in-law "is trying to steal my son from me." She told her son, "I'll go kill myself, and then the two of you can be alone and not be bothered with a mother." In this particular case the son responded in terms of the ideal role for a son, assuring his mother that he would send his wife away rather than cause his mother pain. In his own words, "How can I let you do that? If she isn't good to you, then I'll send her back to her family. How can I let you kill yourself?" Such a response naturally encourages a mother and temporarily calms her fears, but there is always the worrisome possibility that someday her daughter-in-law will alienate her from her son. To bear sons is a woman's first great trial in life; to maintain their loyalty and affection is the second and more difficult trial. As a well known proverb tells, "You can bear a son's body, but you can never know a son's heart." In sympathizing with a neighbor who was having trouble with her son's wife, a village woman expressed what is probably the most basic fear of every mother with a married son.

> "You raise your children, and then when they grow up they are always someone else's. Your daughter belongs to your son-in-law, and your son belongs to his wife. Especially those men who always listen to what their wives say. If you say two words to your daughter-in-law, then they'll get mad and move out of the family."

*597 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential ally and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sīm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis-

[601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sīm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sīm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 • 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

+597 +593 • 152 for mistreating them. After relating at some length her unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one young village woman then went on to describe her relationship with her two sets of parents as follows:

> "I used to get so mad at my parents because they gave me away. Even now I sometimes feel that it is all their fault. If they hadn't given me away, I probably would have had a very happy life. I'm sure that it wouldn't have been like this. I can still remember when I was a little girl. My parents and my foster parents were good friends, and so my parents used to often come here. I remember once when I was playing out in the yard with a mat. I saw my mother coming down the road, and so I rolled up in the mat and hid. I didn't want to see her... If my parents had just opened their eyes and looked before they gave me away, it wouldn't have been so bad. If they had given me to a family that didn't have any children they would have liked me, but they gave me to a family that didn't need children, and wanted me to marry one of their sons. When I wouldn't do it, my foster mother tried to get my real mother to come and talk me into it, but there was nothing that she could do. I hated her much more than I hated my foster parents. I could never get used to the idea of having two mothers. I used to think, 'Everyone else has only one mother. Why should I have two mothers.' I knew that she was my real mother, but I would make myself think, 'This is my mother (her foster mother. She isn't my mother.'"

This tendency for adopted daughters to lay the greater blame on their biological parents was also affirmed by the mothers of several adopted daughters. A village woman who had given one of her daughters to a family living on the other side of the village told us that the girl "seems to hate me."

> "Whenever I bring her home to visit she doesn't want to stay here and when I go to get her she gives me a hateful look and turns her head away. I don't know why this is. Usually at that age they don't understand. I don't know whether she is mad because I gave her away or what. She just doesn't like me. She plays with her brothers and sisters fine, but she just doesn't like me. Whenever someone asks her about me, she tells them that I'm not her real mother, but her other sister's real mother."

597 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment
• 152 toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon
155 the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who
597 hates her foster parents. At the beginning of the last chapter we
855 quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as
152 "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-pûa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pûa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pûa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pûa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûa. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûa did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple in flagrante delicto in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûa form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûa marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûa marriage have always

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*583 had to be "pushed together", and why is it that young people refused
831 to make such marriages as soon as they were in a position to do so?
• 152 The answer would seem to be simply the one they themselves give.
Such marriages are "uninteresting" and "embarrassing." To marry a man
or woman with whom one has lived from childhood is too much like
marrying a brother or sister. Such marriages lack the interest and
excitement of marriage with a person from another family, and to some
extent the idea of such a union may even arouse feelings of positive
revulsion.

*583 The two cases in which men born after 1910 did later marry their
*597 sīm-pûà tend to support rather than weaken this argument. Unlike the
other fourteen cases in which the young people refused to make a sīm-
pûà marriage, these two couples did not grow up as members of the same
household. In both cases the son was the offspring of a woman who had
married as a sīm-pûà, and the adopted daughter a child which the
husband had adopted while living with another woman. In one case the
future wife did not enter her husband's household until the time of
their marriage, and in the other they did not begin to live under the
same roof until the girl was seventeen years of age. Since it would
be impossible for the couple to marry if the girl was not thought of
as a sīm-pûà, the two marriages were both defined by the family and
by the couples themselves as sīm-pûà marriages. We therefore have in
these two cases instances of sīm-pûà marriages without the usual con-
ditions of early and constant association as brother and sister.
The fact that these were the only two sīm-pûà marriages among those

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki was further humiliated. Chang did not return that night either. I heard a pathetic exchange the next day between Gioq-ki and her favorite aunt.

The aunt: "Don't you worry about whether he comes home or not. You know when he gets paid so you can just go get the money each month."

Gioq-ki: "Yes, I'll go for his money and if he won't give it to me, I'll leave him the children to take care of. I don't care anymore. But I'm sure he will come back tonight because tomorrow is our eldest son's birthday."

The aunt: "Why do you think he will come back for that?"

Gioq-ki: "Well, he was asking me last week before all this started what day it was. . . ."

Chang did not return for his son's birthday. A few days later, I asked another of Gioq-ki's relatives what the latest news was. She told me, "I haven't been out much because I have a cold so I don't know how Gioq-ki is feeling now about these things. Everyone is talking about them, but no one saw the whole thing or knows whether all of these things are true or not.

"When you look at Chang Jong-kuei, he seems like a man with a good enough temper, but when he gets mad he is really enough to scare anyone. Gioq-ki's temper is just as bad. Her nature is just like her father's—no matter what it is, she has to be the head.

"As soon as a man has a family and his wife isn't there, this kind of thing happens. Gioq-ki has only a small family so why doesn't she move to Taipei and live with him there. He works in Taipei and of course he is tired and sometimes doesn't want to come all the way out to the village. If she really believes all the things people here are saying, and I'm not sure I do, she ought to move to Taipei and see if it is really true or not."

When I left the village a few months later, Gioq-ki had not yet followed her relative's advice, but Chang had returned and seemed to be around more often in the evenings. What has happened since, I have no way of knowing.

The reaction of the women in the main Lim family to Gioq-ki's troubles was that of sympathy, which surprised me somewhat, and non-involvement, which I expected. The men, of course, publicly ignored the situation. Even Lim Chieng-cua's wife, notoriously lacking in sympathy for anyone but herself, felt sorry for Gioq-ki. Lim A-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim A-pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

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Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, borrowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood association. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

brother and sister to marry. The effect of their childhood association is to create conditions which result in a generalization of the incest taboo. Another possible interpretation is that the very fact of their intimate childhood association is itself directly responsible for this feeling of aversion. As Edward Westermarck suggested some eighty years ago, it may be that the incest taboo is a consequence of "intimate and prolonged childhood association." In Westermarck's words, "the fundamental cause of exogamous prohibitions seems to be the remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood, leading to a positive feeling of aversion when the act is thought of."[1] The first hypothesis suggests that foster siblings are averse to the idea of their sexual union because they consider themselves brother and sister, while the second hypothesis suggests that they reject the idea of their union because they have lived together as brother and sister.

Which of these two interpretations is correct must unfortunately remain a moot question so far as these data are concerned. The two crucial variables are experimentally confounded. The parties to the sim-pûh marriage grow up in conditions which identify them as brother and sister, and they also experience a prolonged and intimate association from early childhood. But regardless of whether the crucial antecedent condition is their sibling identification or their early and prolonged contact, it seems clear that most of the parties to the sim-pûh marriage do experience a real aversion to the idea of their sexual union. Aside from the reports of many villagers that such marriages

[1] Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1921), Vol. II, p. vi.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*ja feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

*597 152 • 155 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who hates her foster parents. *597 895 152 At the beginning of the last chapter we quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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systems.

If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
771 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
715 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
181 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused
156 to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
771 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

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[For additional information on personality traits see category 159.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

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We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

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and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

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*159 former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles
142 far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and
*159 firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that fam-
● 159 ily's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

*159 At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages
*593 were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage
178 partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts
582 she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were
584 cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

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#159 between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I
+593 said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married
599 when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all
584 because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

+159 I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her
+596 husband whispering to him about various things and she answered
+593 indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

[124] My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens.
[142] He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a
+159 handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength
+596 and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The
• 159

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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

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but he rarely takes the lead and never seems to expect it. He is content to think up new variations on old games and let the others carry them out. Thiam-hok often sits alone daydreaming or perhaps thinking. I have seen this kind of behavior in other village children, children suffering from the debilitation of frequent illness and inadequate diet, but with Thiam-hok one senses activity behind his withdrawn face. Several times I have come upon him hiding in a quiet corner, hunched over a piece of paper. Before he could conceal it, I saw that he was sketching with a stubby pencil and sketching with a certain amount of talent. My sincere praise did nothing to lessen his embarrassment—I had stumbled into what he evidently considered a secret, sinful pleasure. I later heard his siblings and even his mother teasing him about his pictures, but he did not abandon the activity. He only became more circumspect. To the initial amusement of his parents, he announced at the age of eight that he would no longer eat any form of meat, including vegetables fried in pig fat, a Taiwanese family's most common source of animal protein. He wished to live the life of a Buddhist. Lim Chui-ieng humored him for a few weeks, but when it became clear that he was serious, she forced him to return to normal eating habits for fear of damage to his already delicate constitution. He finally submitted, although he vowed to return to the stern discipline of Buddhism when he was fully grown. In determination he is definitely a Lim, but in him, the family character is taking a curious twist.

Lim Chieng-cua's fourth child and third son is my favorite. Even the most persistent teasing of his elder siblings fails to ruffle Kui-hok's good humor. He has none of Thaim-hok's dreaminess but his face nearly always has a shy smile on it. He was not yet in school when I lived with his family, so I saw a good deal of him. He came to our office nearly every day to collect curly pencil shavings which he distributed to all of his friends. Although he is not beyond the usual teasing of younger siblings, he always gives in when they show signs of tears and leaves if they begin to vent their rage on him. Either his emotions burn with a cooler flame or he has already found a method for controlling them. One day when I was walking along a path I found him energetically slashing the tops off some long grass with a toy wooden sword. I asked conversationally what he was doing and he said, "Cutting off heads." I fumbled linguistically and quite by accident blurted out, "Whose?" He promptly gave me the name of Lim A-

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#159 bok's young son, the tiny family tyrant, smiled, and ran off to join a
#596 nearby ball game. Unlike any of his brothers and sisters, Kui-hok
• 157 openly adores his father. Even the adults are amused by his practice of hoarding any treats that come his way to share with his father. He is shy, particularly with us, but not so shy that he wouldn't occasionally slip his hand into my husband's when they happened to be going in the same direction.

+159 Lim Chui-ieng now uses her older children as substitutes for the
#593 adult friends she has been unable or unwilling to make in the village,
#596 but as infants she did not find the solace in them that many unhappy
842 wives do. After the first two, she was unable to produce sufficient milk and had to rely on powdered milk and local substitutes such as rice gruel and soy milk. She complains of the work they cause her, and she complains of the bad effect her pregnancies have had on her health. After the birth of Kui-hok, Lim Chieng-cua made an extraordinary suggestion for a Chinese husband. He told his wife to have an hysterectomy, the only means of birth control considered reliable at that time by the Taiwanese. Most men, even men considerably poorer than Lim Chieng-cua, are unwilling to limit the size of their families. The number of sons a man has is a great source of pride. An old man told me, "People here don't ask how much money you have. They ask how many sons you have." Perhaps the fact that Lim Chieng-cua had three sons and was seriously concerned about Taiwan's population problems prompted his suggestion to his wife. And perhaps he was looking at the more personal future of his family. If his three sons as adults could not live in harmony under the leadership of the eldest, their share of the family property would be divided in three portions. A three-way division of Lim Chieng-cua's half of the family estate would make small portions and more sons with even smaller shares would land each of them back close to where old Lim Han-ci had begun. Lim Chieng-cua may also have been worried about his wife's health although to me she looked stronger than most of her neighbors. Perhaps he was just tired of her complaints.

Out of fear, Lim Chui-ieng delayed the operation until after the birth of two more children. Lim Chieng-cua remarked to me once that it would have been a great blessing to everyone if she had gone when
#159 he first suggested it. The fifth child, Bieng-cu, is an ugly, sulky little
596 girl. Her habitual expression is one of barely repressed anger. She has
157 not yet the courage to express her feelings in attacks on her peers so

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she resorts to attacks on their possessions, their smaller siblings, or to vicious cursing from a safe distance. She is disliked by most of the village children and finds her only companionship with Tan A-hong's youngest daughter. Chai-ngo is gradually rejecting her as she becomes better acquainted in the village, leaving Bieng-cu to her own devices which consist mainly of tormenting the last born of Lim Chieng-cua's children, Cin-hok. When I left the village, Cin-hok was the four-year-old stereotype of all last-born boys in Chinese families. He acts much younger than his age and takes full advantage of his position. He cries more than any child I have ever known, but his tears can be turned on and off at will. To stop them one need only comply with the demand that started them, and that is exactly what everyone in the family does. What A-bok's young son achieves with insolent charm, Cin-hok gets with long, sullen crying. Both Bieng-cu and Cin-hok are lacking in the family good looks. They resemble neither parent but are square, stocky-looking peasants.

After Cin-hok's birth, Lim Chui-ieng entered a hospital and had an hysterectomy. When she left the hospital she went to her adoptive parents' home and informed them that she never intended to step foot in her husband's house again. I have no idea what plans she had for supporting herself, but after a few weeks her foster brothers told her firmly that she must return to her husband. Even if she believed them far superior to her husband's family, they could not afford to support another man's wife for the rest of her life. Poor Chui-ieng's last attempt to reject her "fate" ran head on into reality. Personally, I question the sincerity of her avowed intention of severing her relations with the Lim family. I am more inclined to believe it was just another attempt to bring trouble and humiliation upon what she considered the unjustifiably proud head of her husband. She returned to him and her children just over a month after her operation.

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chapter 12

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A GIFT OF PRIDE

During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

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158 159 755 [756] [782] The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 621 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large, wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

#547 855 would run and pick me up and beat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my mīa: was so bad."

#547 626 Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently [158] prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [829] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [736] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [541] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

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allied in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the [692] courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[2] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 198 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

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The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

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Other Forms of Magical Activities

In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[For life history materials, see category 116. pp. 36-147.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

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		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,239	13,466	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	158	285	805

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 35.9 per thousand or 3.59 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.75	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1953–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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FORMOSA AD1

of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN
(from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[13] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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F 175 648 ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

F 175 648 642 722 161 423 464 [178] [462]

Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161] After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1951b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

Tn 161 [702] This most recent decline may well be a result of marriages delayed because of such things as military conscription.[a] (See Table 1.)

Tn 161 165 The basis for the rapid population growth in Taiwan has been the dramatic decline in mortality rates. These dropped from an average of 33.4 deaths per thousand in the years 1906–1910 (Barclay, 1954b:146), to an average of 25.8 deaths per thousand in 1920–1924 (United Nations, 1951:36–41), to 9.5 deaths per thousand in 1953 (United

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TABLE 1

FERTILITY INDICES FOR TAIWANESE ONLY [a]

Year	Births per 1000 persons
1915	41.4
1920	40.8
1925	41.5
1930	45.9
1935	46.1
1940	44.2
1947	37.1
1948	38.8
1949	40.7
1950	42.8
1951	40.0
1952	43.9
1953	44.4
1954	43.8
1955	44.5
1956	44.1
1957	40.8
1958	40.9

[a] Figures provided by Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer of the National Taiwan University in May, 1959. The birthrate here is based on end-of-the-year figures instead of mid-year figures which are usually used in the United Nations Yearbook.

Tn 161 165 [744] Nations, 1954:36–41), and to 8.0 deaths per thousand in 1956 (United Nations, 1957:192–195). These changing mortality figures may be attributed primarily to better public health facilities and improved sanitation, both of which made diseases of epidemic proportions such as plague and cholera, and endemic diseases such as malaria, almost unknown in Taiwan starting in the latter half of the Japanese period (the 1920's).

T 161 The acceleration in the rate of national population growth in Taiwan is reflected in Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area. Although there are no early statistical data available for this region, some of the older people maintain that when they were children the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood
[628] and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[602] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division: a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tzu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tzu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.
127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

127 The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this
• 161 section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 5 on
162 social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

[9] Based on a discussion in May, 1958, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1955. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.55 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*er shih sze chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the k2 had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

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• [161] Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[621] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

contains 248 households, about 1500 people.[1]

162 Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be
[161] divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Smulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if
[829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed
829 identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

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434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

464 There have been migrants from the village to the
369 city, usually Taipei, over an extended period of time.
166 Although the village population is about 50% larger than
[161] it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
183 family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
621 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1950's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,229	13,466	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1953–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1955–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1955–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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number of persons per household was 5.83. These figures can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. The size of the average household for all of Taiwan was 5.5 persons (Statistical Abstract of Republic of China, 1955:27).

In Hsin Hsing village households have practically no outsiders, either relatives outside the immediate family or servants of any kind.

TABLE 5

SEX RATIO, HSIN HSING VILLAGE
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	289	303	302	312	320	
Female	305	309	339	332	337	
Sex Ratio	94.8	98.1	89.1 *	94.0	95.0	94.2

* There is no apparent reason for this drop in 1956. It may possibly be a result of a statistical error in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office records.

TABLE 6

SEX RATIO, PU YEN HSIANG
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	12,508	12,946	13,239	13,441	13,572	
Female	12,581	13,014	13,466	13,784	13,909	
Sex Ratio	99.4	99.5	98.3	97.5	97.6	98.5

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	594	612	611	611	657
Number of households	109	112	115	115	115
Average number of persons per household	5.45	5.46	5.37	5.60	5.71

There are relatively few families of what is commonly called the joint type, composed of parents, unmarried children, and more than one married son with his wife and children. There are a number of the so-called stem type, generally composed of a parent or parents, the unmarried children, and only one married son with his wife and children. Most households in Hsin Hsing are the nuclear type, composed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,685	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[12] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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427
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Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

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	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.8100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4753	—	1.4753	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

423
427
178.
162

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.5	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.5–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were partial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.3	112	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.3–0.5	111	5	5	9	20	22.2
0.5–1.0	118	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.0–1.5	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	352	20	9	9	90	—
Percent of families	577.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 36 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7985		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2184		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.3716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as

423

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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162.
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Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.3	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.3–0.5	3	8.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.0–1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4574	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3569	0.0150	0.3499	1.8
0.1–0.3	7	19.4	1.3773	0.2600	1.6373	8.2
0.3–0.5	10	27.8	3.6458	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
0.5–1.0	13	36.1	7.7481	0.5918	8.3399	41.9
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	1	2.8	0.8218	1.3321	2.1539	10.8
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:15). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaoiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaoiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaoiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaoiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaoiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaoiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.

127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 3 on social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

[9] Based on a discussion in May, 1958, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

• 162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

162 [161] Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Smulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if [829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 829 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 829 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area, he is rarely cited.

186 582 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong. The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

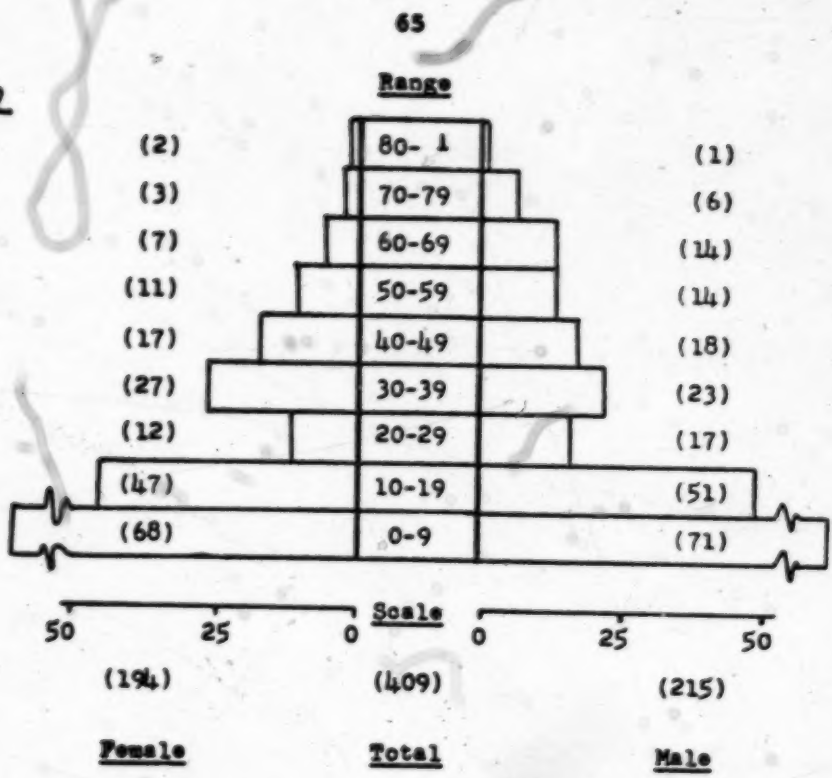

Figure 3. Population Pyramid, Sanlei Village, 1966

is seriously under-represented. In comparison with figures for all of Taiwan at the end of 1966 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3), the percentage distribution is nearly identical for most categories although there is a slightly higher percentage of people under 10 and also of people over 60 in the village as compared with the nation. However, in the 20 to 29 age bracket, the village percentage is 7.1% as opposed to Taiwan's 13.2%. Since the immediately preceding category, ages 10-19, is nearly

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
166 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

• 162 (room and board) for girls, but seldom for boys. An identical pattern of high sex ratios in the rural area is found in the United States in spite of the country's overall sex ratio of less than one hundred. This difference in the two areas of Taiwan might be a key to assessing the levels of modernization. It appears that Sanlei is more like rural America than for example, Gallin's Hsin Hsing, for it has the same high sex ratio and the identical practice of a higher percentage of girls than boys migrating to the city to work.

The average age of the Taiwanese population is seventeen years and four months (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:718). The average age of the Sanlei villager was just under 15. This difference too is partly due to the missing group in the 20 to 29 bracket explained above. It is also due to the fact that rural farmers are more fertile than urban dwellers and therefore, more young children are included in overall figures, lowering the average age.

An examination of the population within prime working ages, those between 15 and 64 as conventionally defined (Barclay, 1954:98), exposes a major village problem. 162 Only 44.2% of the Sanlei villagers are in this primary 464 work-force category and 55.8% are dependent. For Taiwan as a whole, 52.9% are in the prime work force (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3) while in the

162 464 United States, as in other highly industrialized countries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

163 165 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population explosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
• 162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[83] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
[82] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as siaosiv, and six who had been adopted and later
562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
• 162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out. In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in siaosiv marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Fu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
• 162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiv marriages explains some

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent than that of girls. At the time of the census there were [162] only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

162 United States, as in other highly industrialized coun-
464 tries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

• 163 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population ex-
165 plosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan (Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969)

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.[7] No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

103 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and to recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

to criticize the family, however, she looked very stern and said, "Be careful of your words. My mother and father treated her like a grandchild. They are dead now, but I am not. You never thanked them for taking care of her for you, and you had better not criticize them either."

Guat-ngo: "And what do you mean I don't know anything about it? I was nine years old when she came here, and I often carried her on my back. When she was little she often fainted, and she often had convulsions. Did you know that? Did you ever take care of her when she was sick?"

Lim A-pou recovered her calm face, but was still stern looking. "Your daughter is your daughter," she said. "No matter how bad, she is still your daughter, and no matter how bad you are, you are still her mother. You must not keep saying you want her to die. She buys nice things to feed you and nice clothes for you to wear, and she does this only for you. You are the only one she gives things to, except the children now and then. If you want to treat her badly, we cannot stop you, but because I took care of her when she was little, I have a right to say some things. If you want to be someone's servant, you won't find it such a bad job. Anybody can be a servant. You had better take a look at yourself first, though. Are you healthy enough for that?"

Tan A-hong suffers from asthma and is extremely thin, both conditions exacerbated by her all night gambling and chain smoking.

A-hong: "My bad health is her fault, too. When my youngest daughter was born, it was winter and Chun-ieng refused to wash or cook for me so I had to get up and do it myself. My bad health is all due to her. She refused to help me. I want her to die. If she won't treat me like a mother, I won't treat her like a daughter."

Guat-ngo: "You just think it over. There may be some daughters who treat their mothers better than Chun-ieng treats you, but if my daughter treats me as well, I will say that I have great good fortune."

A-pou: "Your lot in life compares better with rich people than with mine. I have two sons, but even sons can't buy clothes for me. You only have a daughter, but look what a pretty sweater she bought you."

A-hong threw the sweater on the floor and said, "Pretty sweater! I may be over forty, but I don't need that wretch to feed me. She never has fed me."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

251 262 944 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. [241] Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. [562] Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
464 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

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The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

162 United States, as in other highly industrialized coun-
464 tries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

163 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population ex-
165 plosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan (Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969)

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.[7] No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163
165 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
464 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:73). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1953–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
466 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

464 369 166 [161] There have been migrants from the village to the city, usually Taipei, over an extended period of time. Although the village population is about 50% larger than it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

592 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their de-
591 scendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the fol-
621 lowing is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 50 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight
621 from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As pre-
166 viously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Szulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
599 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
591 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1.

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[2] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

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THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

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In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been reestablished. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

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With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in 'the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

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This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
TAIWAN AD6
FORMOSA AD1

of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,525	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[19] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
[602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

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It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952 Number of farming households	1951–1952 Percent of households	1957 Number of farming households	1957 Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.3	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.3–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

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holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

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Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

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423 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained
464 registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the
169 village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of
592 family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among
888 their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the
434 landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn
464 additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land
511 reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

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464 167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

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[462] [357] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

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464 167 883 783 593 [466] If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

464 167 [578] [595] [837] Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

462 178 167 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hain Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hain Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hain Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

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178 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change
167 their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living.
829 They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of
369 change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

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by one *tsu*. The single-*tsu* village is known locally as *"yi hsing ts'un"* ("one surname village"), and in the literature is commonly called a "clan village." 618

The Multi-Tsu Village

Today, most of the villages in the Hsin Hsing area are populated by several *tsu* groups, plus a number of families not affiliated with any of the village *tsu;* these are called *"tsa hsing ts'un"* ("mixed surname villages") and are sometimes referred to in the literature as "multi-kin villages" or "segmented communities." In the Hsin Hsing area they are of the type with a marked tendency toward local exogamy. In these villages, unlike the single-*tsu* village, no individual *tsu*'s activities coincide with those of the village organization.

Hsin Hsing, a multi-kin village, was first settled by immigrants from Fukien who came to Taiwan in small groups of three or four men. After examining the area, these men finally founded the village of Hsin Hsing. Soon after this, and throughout the years that followed, people of other surnames came to this easily accessible plains area and settled down in the village. As time passed, the families of some of the earliest arrivals grew into what now comprise the several village *tsu* groups. Of these, the larger *tsu* are the ones which go back to the early period of the village founding and have therefore had the time as well as advantageous circumstances which have enabled them, relatively speaking, to increase their number of member families and population. Others with perhaps equally long village histories are still small because circumstances somehow prevented their expansion. Some of these have few members in a small number of related families; several are still in individual unrelated family units. The latter have simply produced too few surviving children, so that they have never expanded their numbers sufficiently to have more than a single male heir in a generation to carry on the male line. Others are of relatively recent origin in the village, some only three generations, not yet long enough to have expanded their membership and number of associated family units. [167]

However, in Hsin Hsing village even the relatively older and larger *tsu* are far simpler and less elaborated organizations than Freedman's (1958) somewhat less complex "type A" *tsu*. But as we shall see, they share many features of structure and function which differ primarily in degree rather than in kind. The *tsu* organization of Hsin Hsing, in this respect, is rather representative of the general area and more than likely of much of the mainland.

The lack of elaboration of the size and organization of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* can be attributed to two main causes. The relatively short history of both the village and of the *tsu* organizations has meant a

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the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *tiaotiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different-it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[3]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, division is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

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The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

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Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

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Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

175 It is important to realize that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

127 The local history of the village naturally meshes
175 with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830)
• 167 in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
• 167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[551] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

716 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
708 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

• 168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
739 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tzu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

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After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

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A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

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But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

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Family and Kinship

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The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

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Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

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Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:175; de Groot, vol. 1, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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was the institution that perhaps four out of every five persons were members of an organized *tsu* (Lang, 1946:173).

Tsu organization performed many important activities and functions, as Hu Hsien-chin (1948:10) has pointed out:

> The *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes a community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values with the family and the *tsu*.
>
> These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood.

These activities and functions were performed by a highly structured and highly segmented organization with a population of two or three thousand people, as Freedman (1958:132) has noted. The membership is characterized by broad social differentiation including

> families of bureaucrats, . . . some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various segments. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land, ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back.

In fact, Hu (1948:10) notes that although the membership of the *tsu* may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated."

The *tsu* as Hu (1948) and Freedman (1958) describe it is elaborate in structure, function, and activity. Freedman, however, suggests that loosely structured organizations are still to be considered *tsu* and accordingly constructs a scale on which localized lineages may be placed, differentiating them in social status along a "continuum from A to Z" (1958:131), representing "models of the polar opposities of the scale" (1958:131). Thus, the *tsu* pictured above by Hu and Freedman would be the "Z" model while "A" model is

> small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a plot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor. . . . Apart from domestic ancestor worship, which is conducted before the simplest instruments, and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of the lineage, there is no ancestor cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation (which is indicated by their personal names) and their ascription to one or the other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to co-operate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman, 1958: 131–132).

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The continuum can be even further extended to include the very small localized kinship organizations found in many villages in Taiwan (such as in the Hsin Hsing area) and probably also on the mainland of China. Before going on to a discussion of family I will attempt to demonstrate this. In both structure and function, these small localized kinship organizations go beyond what Freedman refers to as "inflated families" [1] and which he warns us not to confuse with lineages (1958:2). Such kinship organizations as exist in Hsin Hsing do not quite approach either the size or structural complexity even of Freedman's "A model" *tsu*. Nevertheless, these kinship organizations —on the basis of their activities and functions—are *tsu*, since they are more than simply patrilineally related families. They do operate as local organizations which are aligned on the basis of patrilineal kinship and attempt to wield sociopolitical influence in the village and area.

The Single-Tsu Village

The general social organization of a village made up exclusively of one *tsu* group is likely to be rather different from a village like Hsin Hsing, which contains a number of smaller *tsu* and unrelated family units. The village with a single large *tsu*, as has been pointed out (Hu, 1948:9–11), tends to have a unified organization which dominates most of the village's activities. No matter how many village "social associations" a villager belongs to, he finds that the members of each are all part of the same kinship group. While this does not necessarily eliminate interfamily or interfactional rivalry and friction within the village, such *tsu* organization nevertheless does tend to create an unusually firm basis for group solidarity. The *tsu*, in effect, is the village and is thus very easily able to present itself as a unified

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much-watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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596 thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of 596 the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 per- 592 cent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint 162 families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

596 The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

[171] In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

[162] According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin [592] Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.5 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, al- [592] though perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. 421 Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general 596 household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [171] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *siaosiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sioasiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 578 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

[618] 571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
431 tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
272 money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the
585 Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several vil-
581 lagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
612 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
19 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
612 between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
777 luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

484 The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
493 several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, division is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948: 126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

areas of China allowed several distinct forms of marriage. Aside from what we will hereafter refer to as the preferred patrilocal marriage, in which an adult woman married and became a member of her husband's household, customs in most areas of the country also recognized some form of matrilocal marriage.[2] On the plains west of Kunming Fei and Chang found that families who had no sons, and sometimes even those who did have sons, could arrange for a daughter to "take a husband into her father's house, so that she may have children to perpetuate the family line." According to local custom, the man who entered into such a marriage "changes his surname and retains the name he receives from his father as the last word of his personal name." His first son would usually "take his mother's surname, but subsequent children are free to choose their father's original surname." "If they do so, however, they will not be entitled to inherit land from their mother's line."[3] Similarly, a family in North China might "adopt" a son-in-law for a daughter if they did not have male offspring of their own, and in at least some regions of the north a family whose married son died might arrange a matrilocal marriage for their daughter-in-law. Among the southern Chinese matrilocal institutions were even more common and more highly differentiated. Maurice Freedman finds that even today the Hokkien farmers of Singapore recognize at least three distinct

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[2] Since the use of the terms "patrilocal" and "matrilocal" is standard in anthropological writing on China, I have here preferred them to the more current terms "virilocal" and "uxorilocal."

[3] Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), p. 113.

forms of matrilocal marriage. "One extreme category embraces husbands who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides." Such a husband is said "to boe toa-teng, to sell the great lantern, for he resigns his proper place under the house-lantern which bears his own surname and goes out to beget children who will take the surname of his father-in-law." At the other extreme is what is often referred to in Amoy-Hokkien as chin-tsoe, "a custom by which a man goes on marriage to live with his wife's people without any prejudice to his rights as a father." And, finally, "between these two extreme categories of matrilocal marriage lies another in which the husband, while, as in the case of the chin-tsoe, having full rights over his children is committed to definite economic obligations towards his parents-in-law." A man who makes such a marriage "receives his bride on the understanding that he will live in her parents' household and support them as long as they live."[4]

Another common alternative to a formal bethrothal and wedding was the practice of taking prospective daughters-in-law into the home as small children. In the silk producing regions of the Yangtze plain, for example, Fei discovered that the parents of a male child often took a girl "as foster child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast..." In such cases, "all the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending

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4 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, (London: H.M.F.O., 1957), pp. 122-123.

of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed..."[5] Similarly, it was common in the Taihang Mountains of North China for a bride "to leave home as a child, immediately on betrothal, to live with her future husband's family." "The actual wedding ceremony, which would then be performed while the young couple were still in their teens, would be only a simple affair, with just a few close relatives invited to a meal."[6] Such marriages were also common in South China, and particularly among the Amoy-Hokkien speaking populations of Fukien and Taiwan. Uzuru Okada's 1934-5 survey of 148 farm families living in a rural district near the present city of Taipei indicates that nearly a fourth of all the unmarried girls in the area were children who had been adopted as "little daughters-in-law."[7]

Everywhere in China one could also find a variety of forms of adoption, each possessed of a distinctive ritual and an appropriate nomenclature. Girls adopted as prospective daughters-in-law were everywhere distinguished from girls who were adopted as daughters. The prospective daughter-in-law was eligible to marry a son of her foster family and retained her status as a daughter of her natal family, while the girl adopted as a daughter broke all ties with her natal family and acquired the same status as a child born into her

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5 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939), p. 53.

6 Isabel and David Crook, Revolution in a Chinese Village (Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1959), p. 10.

7 Uzuru Okada, Kiso Shaki, ("The foundations of society"), (Tokyo, Japan: Kobundo). See chart on page 8.

foster family. Local custom in most areas of the country also recognized two distinct forms of male adoption, the criterion in this case being the relationship between the child's foster family and his natal family. If the two families were agnates, the adoption fell into one category; while if they were not, it belonged to another. Generally speaking, the child's status in his foster family was much the same regardless of the form of the adoption, but the nature of the transaction itself was very different in the two cases. In the first case, the adopting family did not give more than token remuneration to the boy's parents, perhaps not more than a few dollars in a red envelope, while in the second the adopting family had to pay dearly for the child. The difference is reflected in the verbs used to denote the two acts of adoption. When a child was adopted from an agnate, the act of adoption was referred to with the term chī, a verb which is ordinarily rendered in English with some form of the verb "to adopt," whereas the act of obtaining a child from a non-agnate was more commonly spoken of in terms of the verb bué, the most common meaning of which is simply "to buy."[8]

Such a variety of alternative forms of marriage and adoption created for most Chinese families a number of recurring decisions

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[8] Since the present study is concerned with an Amoy-Hokkien speaking community, all linguistic forms have been romanized following the Hokkien pronounciation. Place names, on the other hand, follow the post office spellings. For a description of the Hokkien transcription used here see Nicholas C. Bodman, Spoken Amoy Hokkien (Kuala Lampur, Federation of Malaya: Charles Grenier & Son Limited, 1955).

about their membership. If they had a son they could obtain a wife for him by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage, or they could choose to adopt a girl and raise her as his wife. A daughter might be married out of the family as a young adult; she might be used as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family; or the family might decide not to raise the girl at all. In this case, they could give her to a family which wanted to raise a girl as a daughter-in-law, or, if they preferred, they could give her to another family which wanted a daughter. A family so unfortunate as to not bear any children might choose to perpetuate their line in any one of a number of ways. They could adopt a daughter and later arrange a matrilocal marriage for her, or they could adopt a son and arrange some form of patrilocal marriage. This boy might either be purchased from a stranger, or he might be adopted from an agnate; and his wife might either be a girl obtained in the preferred way, or she might be adopted as a child and raised in the family. While a family would not encounter all of these alternatives in any one generation, they would over the course of several generations have to choose among most of them.

Why did some families choose to marry their daughter out of the family, while others preferred to arrange a matrilocal marriage? Why did some families adopt girls and raise them as wives for their sons, while others waited until their sons' maturity to select their wives? When we ask such questions as these we are inquiring into the origins of social structure. The decision of a Chinese family to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for one of their sons involved a choice between

two very different social arrangements. In the case of Kaihsienkung in Chekiang Province, for example, the affinal ties created by the preferred form of marriage were "very loose and in many cases entirely eliminated" in the "little daughter-in-law" or *siaosiv* form of marriage.[9] Moreover, the two forms of marriage resulted in very different domestic relations. In the case of the preferred form of marriage, conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was so common that "friction between them is taken as usual and harmony as worth special praise."[10] In the case of the *siaosiv* form of marriage, on the other hand, the girl was brought up by her future mother-in-law and became "very closely attached to the latter and feels towards her just like a daughter," the result being that "conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is often not so acute, even if not entirely avoided."[11]

In societies in which there are alternative forms of marriage and adoption the structure of the family is to some extent a product of those factors which make people likely to choose one or another of these alternatives. In at least this limited sense one may say that the study of these decisions is a study of the origins of social structure, but there is another way in which social structure may be said to be a product of such decisions. In any society the rules which

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9 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 5

THE DECISION MAKERS

192 [171] In his description of marriage practices in Singapore Maurice Freedman points out that there are significant differences between the English and Hokkien usage of the verb "to marry."[1] Whereas the English verb takes as its subject only the man and woman who are parties to the marriage, the Hokkien equivalent, the verb chhia, may take as its subject any person who is a member of the kê, his father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, even his brothers and sisters. The same observation can be made of English and Hokkien verbs denoting the act of adoption. In English the only persons who can speak of adopting a particular child are the child's foster parents. In Hokkien, however, any member of the foster parents' kê may use the verb chī or bue in speaking of an adoption.

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*121 *592 *584 *597 The significance of these differences in usage for our present discussion lies in the fact that they reflect a difference in the social structure of the two societies. In most English speaking countries the primary responsibility for decisions regarding marriage and adoption lies with the future mates in the case of marriage and with the foster parents in the case of adoption. In most Chinese speaking areas, on the other hand, decisions about marriage and adoption are family matters

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1 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

*593 581 858 181 Decisions about the sīn-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, [171] they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to *593 insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this 766 attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

desirability of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, at least not when it is a question of their own marriage.

In view of the findings of studies of juvenile behavior in the United States, one is tempted to interpret this rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage as one symptom of a more general rejection of parental authority. From this perspective one might argue that there was nothing undesirable about such marriages other than the fact that they represented an extreme case of the imposition of parental will. But while such a general motivation may account for a part of the younger people's resistance, it is not an adequate explanation of their complete rejection of this form of marriage. If the revolt against the sīm-pûà marriage were just one aspect of a more general revolt against parental authority, we should expect to find a general resistance to all forms of arranged marriages, but such information as we have seems to indicate that this is not the case. At least 9 of the 15 men who refused to marry their sīm-pûà did allow their parents to choose a bride and make all of the arrangements to marry them in the preferred way, and in only 2 or possibly 3 of the cases did the young man insist upon marrying a particular girl against his parents' will. It would therefore seem that what the young were resisting was the specific form of marriage rather than simply the imposition of parental authority.

Another possible explanation of the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it is the result of what most foreigners are pleased to call "modernization." Since this form of marriage is

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

• 171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese migrated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwanese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the enforced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

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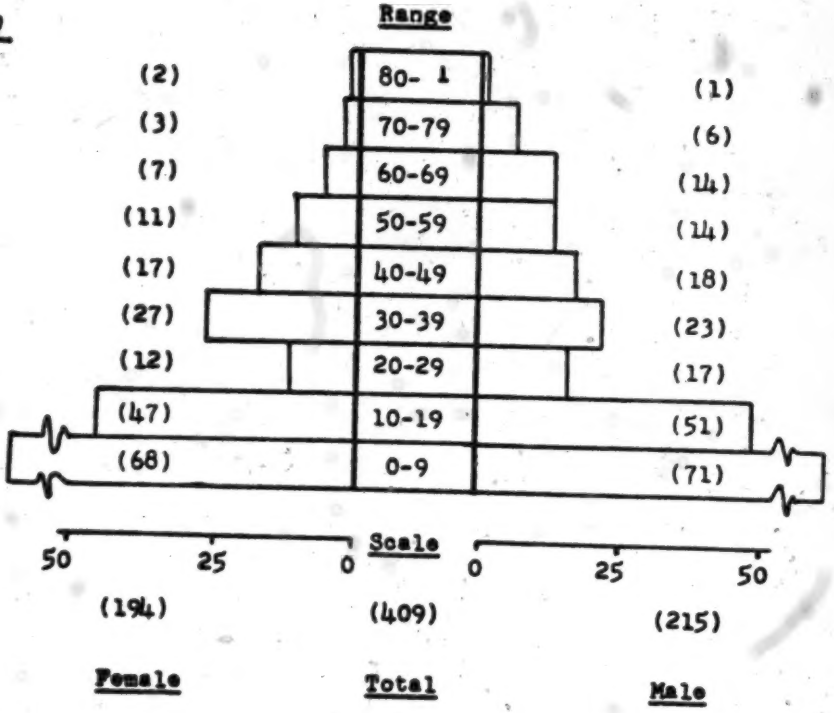

Figure 3. Population Pyramid, Sanlei Village, 1966

171 is seriously under-represented. In comparison with figures 162 for all of Taiwan at the end of 1966 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3), the percentage distribution is nearly identical for most categories although there is a slightly higher percentage of people under 10 and also of people over 60 in the village as compared with the nation. However, in the 20 to 29 age bracket, the village percentage is 7.1% as opposed to Taiwan's 13.2%. Since the immediately preceding category, ages 10-19, is nearly

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
• 171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
483 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 626 [305] business. He also explained that every villager had his haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pai had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 191 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to 575 those which have been described for a Japanese village [71] (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

121 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [171] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

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769
[171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782
592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [543] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

* 171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

Cooley's construct of a primary-secondary relationship continuum (1909), Americans expect a kindergarden or first grade teacher to have a primary relationship with his students, i.e., he should be intimate and have knowledge of the child's home life, father's occupation, number of siblings, etc. As the child progresses in school, his relationships with teachers moves steadily towards the secondary end of the continuum, reaching its lowest point near the second year of college. It then reverses again approaching a maximum at the primary end during advanced graduate work.

The Chinese model is quite different. The first grade teacher has an extreme form of a secondary relationship with his pupils possessing knowledge of the student's name and academic performance and little more. He should not be warm; rather, he should be extremely harsh, a style of behavior considered best by teacher and parents alike. Indeed, parents will criticize a teacher on the basis that he doesn't look "fierce" enough. The new principal who assumed the position during our study experienced some problems establishing her competency because she was a female. Villagers felt that no female could be quite as frightening to a child as a male and therefore, she would not be able to properly fulfill the principal's main function of discipline. The secondary relationship is maintained with almost all students throughout primary school although a few

87% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
• 171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

562
867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

882
769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

• 171 The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that
585 described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf,
584 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a
part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between
the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability
583 may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be
a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although
the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride
price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be ex-
changed between the two families with the total amount ex-
584 changed marking the status of the two families. The en-
gagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while
585 the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding,
some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride
is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning.
Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's
family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will
remain for most of the next three days. During the day
they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a
luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party
that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay
their share of the cost because before the invitation is ex-
tended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people
sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family
is rated by counting the number of tables. After three
days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for
lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	15,239	15,466	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	15,441	15,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like pass-
13 ing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, window-
less brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town
and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the
loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are
now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the
distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy
of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines.
But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede,
become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese
scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more
precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but
actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui
River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu
turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the
601 district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record
• 173 the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies,
613 thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the impor-
175 tant part of the document is the long family tree which traces their
line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies
there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the
location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more
distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.
124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations
173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 4

[p.36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a fault he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

178 805 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 822 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors in decision processes in the village. For example, some 173 805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

• 173 805 were said to have originated in Fukien and also emigrated to Taiwan 130 years ago. Villagers carefully distinguish between the two lines. A member of a Honan-originated line can list all other lines in the area which also supposedly originated in Honan and most claim that those who came from Honan are more like each other than outsiders although I believe it to be nearly impossible for an outsider to detect any differences.

The biggest subdivisions of time are labled according to dynasties. A sequence of calendar years starts over again at the beginning of each new dynasty. Since the last dynasty was overthrown in 1911 when the Republic was established, years have been numbered in sequence since 1911 as year 1 in a manner similar to this traditional pattern. Within dynasties, there were also occasional references to the reign of particular emperors as a means for dating events, i.e., in the 16th year of the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. No comparable phenomena is observed for the most recent period although this lack may be related to the relatively short perspective or to the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for such a long period in their respective spheres of influence.

The Sixty-Year Cycle (Chia Tzu)[2]

805 There is a system for naming years to be discussed below which generates sixty different terms and thus, a sixty year cycle. At the end of a sixty-year period, the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hoklden AD5
Formosa AD1

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[3] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition
871 was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[391] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
• 174 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

1: Gallin

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/For historical background on land tenure in Taiwan as it is indirectly related to the Taichung peasants, see category 116, pp. 88-90./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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F 175 648 F 175 648 122 727 161 423 469 [178] [462] ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161] After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

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In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] [242] [167] [621] [628] [602] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "It was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three; reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao. Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lún) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

private world and the larger impersonal world of society at large. When a resident of Hsiachichou says that he is going "outside," he means that he is going beyond the limits of Chichou. In order to understand why this is so, and what it means for a person to think of himself as a resident of Chichou, we must know something of the history of this community.

According to the best information now available, the district of Chichou was originally settled in the mid-1770's by two brothers surnamed Ong. Leaving their native Fukien village in the Tungan District of Chuanchou, they migrated first to the area of Hsinchu in north central Taiwan, and then within several years moved again to settle on the banks of the Tamsui River. What life was like for these men and their early descendants is now difficult to discover, for the genealogical records which they left contain no more than the simple facts of marriage, birth, and death. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. The lives and the property of these early settlers were in constant danger. Unlike the native peoples of many parts of the world, the dispossessed aborigines of the area reacted to the incursions of their more powerful neighbors with a fierce resistance, and until as late as the 1920's forced many communities on the island to take protective measures. Further dangers for the early inhabitants of Chichou were the result of the constant internecine warfare among the various groups of Chinese settlers. The history of the Chinese settlement of the Taipei basin might well be written in terms of the conflicts between Chinese of various mainland origins. The formation of the city of Taipei, for

example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chuanchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits. As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"[1]

Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

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1 George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind
12 of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle
114 and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I
101 must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our [175] present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing [191] the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

114 The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself. 124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

132 is about 184.4 (Nuttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island

• 175in the 17th century but have left little long term effects. A Ming general, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga), fleeing the Manchus with his army wrested control from the Dutch and established an independent kingdom in 1661. The Chinese population of 100,000 grew rapidly during the next 200 years for Taiwan served both as a refuge and as a frontier area with undeveloped land attracting people from Fukien and Kwangtung. The island was incorporated as a fu (district) of Fukien in 1683 and as an independent province of China in 1886 (Davidson, 1903).

Its provincial status was short-lived for Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895. Japan restricted further immigration into Taiwan from the Chinese Mainland and controlled the island until Restoration[2] to the Republic of China on October 25, 1945 (Hsieh, 1964:662-83). Under Japanese control there were great improvements in health, agriculture, transportation, and later, industrialization. In spite of many promotional efforts, Japanese immigration never reached high levels. After the Restoration, there was a short period of economic decline and subsequently, rapid advances in all the areas listed above. For example, between 1960 and 1966, the annual growth of the G.N.P. was at a rate of 9.7% while the cost of living remained relatively stable (Emery and Lee, 1967:808).

175 It is important to realize that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

127 The local history of the village naturally meshes
175 with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830)
167 in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[351] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

776 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
778 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

311 Table 3. Sanlei Land Types and Distribution
*In chia (One chia equals 2.39 acres)

Land Category	Number of Plots	Median Size*	Mean Size*	Area Total*
Paddy	200	.0350	.0665	13.2920
Dry	124	.0435	.1698	21.0568
Woods	103	.1440	.2936	30.2435
House	61	.0185	.0228	1.5066
Burial	17	.0230	.1629	2.7685
Other	34	.0238	.0564	1.9188
			TOTAL	70.7862

175 Fukien. According to informants and confirmed by family
423 histories, the original land was improved and brought into
311 cultivation by the 18 hu acting as a corporate group. The
423 earliest settlement was a walled fort, frequently under attack by the aborigines who inhabited the nearby mountains. While some men worked in the fields, others were detailed as lookouts and guards. The lands were owned jointly and produce was shared communally. After a few short years (the exact date is uncertain), a decision was made to divide the land. There are suggestions that this was the original plan but there are also strong hints that the division process was one that caused considerable discord and may have been the outgrowth of a previous conflict. In any case, each large piece of land, by type and location, was divided into 18 equal plots, one for each household. The matching of household to plot was accomplished by withdrawing a slip of paper from a hat with chopsticks. Since there were several original large plots,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

#159 #596 decisions affecting his adult children is assumed. Lim Chieng-cua, however, is not the father. He is only the eldest male of the family, and a second son at that. The widow of the eldest son—the son who under ordinary circumstances would be in Chieng-cua's position—is still alive and, moreover, now has a son who is contributing a full adult share to the family budget. Undoubtedly this ambiguity in the structure of the family influences the attitudes of Lim A-pou and her son, but Lim Chieng-cua differs from his father in more than position. Their ways of looking at life are quite different, and their expectations for their future, vastly different. Lim Han-ci expected little improvement in his economic circumstances and received much, but this did not change his daily behavior nor his future expectations. He still desired for himself and his family the same things he desired when he was eating sweet potatoes because he couldn't afford rice. Lim Chieng-cua, like an American, expects a great deal more economic improvement and orders his life in terms of it, shedding those things of the past that he can, without losing the respect of his neighbors, and taking on those bits of the future that he can afford, without causing his neighbors to talk. To Lim A-pou who does not wish to walk any other path than that of her father, who thinks of prosperity in terms of more elaborate feasts, larger land holdings, and bigger contributions to the temple, Lim Chieng-cua's handling of the family purse is fraught with disaster. To Lim A-bok who respects and understands both views but is still too unsure to choose, Lim Chieng-cua's authority is frustrating and unfair.

During the second year of our stay with the Lims, an attempt was made to adjust at least their economic disagreements and to forestall what seemed at that time the imminent division of their extended family. It was agreed that Lim A-bok and his mother would take control of the income from the family land and that out of this income they would provide all of the family's food. Whatever was left was theirs to spend as they saw fit. The income from the factory remained under the control of Lim Chieng-cua and he was responsible for all of the family's other needs, such as major purchases for the house, its repair, gifts for weddings, funerals, and the other social obligations of the family. To a non-Chinese, this separation of incomes seems not only reasonable but in the natural order. To the Lims and their neighbors, it was unusual. In Peihotien, if a family loses confidence in its manager, they either divide the family or make do with a

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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poor manager. Neither of these alternatives was agreeable to the Lims. They were too proud to divide, and the tension was too great for them to continue as they were. They chose instead to innovate, to compromise on an untraditional but still acceptable solution. Economically, the family now had two decision makers, but it remained one family, cooking joint meals on one stove.

For many months things were peaceful in the house of Lim. Lim A-pou no longer had reason to complain that Lim Chui-ieng was secretly buying special food for her own children. And, Lim A-pou was now free to reinstate the special sacrifices to the ancestors on their own death and birth days. Almost immediately after the compromise was reached, she also resumed the bi-monthly offerings of food and incense. For many village families these are the only days of the month when they taste meat, but the Lims can afford to eat meat without the excuse of a ceremony. Lim Chieng-cua had abolished the ceremony because he considered buying the required three kinds of meat on one day wasteful. To Lim A-pou, it was a necessity.

Even their neighbors noticed the new atmosphere amongst the Lims. Some of them noted it grudgingly, and some with real pleasure. But one woman, a woman who sincerely wished the best for the Lims because of her long friendship with the older generations of the family, told me, "A family is supposed to be like that, like they are now. The people in that family are all very good to outsiders, but they can't seem to get along with themselves. I'm glad that things have improved, but I fear that they are just getting along in the face and not in the heart."

Unfortunately, this woman's wisdom could not be denied. There soon was a quarrel between Lim A-pou and Lim Chui-ieng that revealed how thin the appearance of harmony really was. Again the relations between A-bok and his uncle seemed strained.

Why didn't the family simply separate and go their own ways? What possible good could outweigh the stress and dissatisfaction of their joint life? My husband and I have thought about this a great deal in the years since we left Taiwan and, as with any human predicament, have come up with no single answer. There is no formula for human behavior that takes the pride of the Lims into account. The very fact that most village families divide their household within a few years after their sons marry was a strong incentive for the Lim family not to do so. A-bok's concern about his fields, that he must keep other

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both liveli-
[628] hood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[602] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing ma- [407] chine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, [426] and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes [427] owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [262] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [231] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [442] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 [256] *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [442] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [435] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [433] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

249 ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

249 184 Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

249 433 435 178 Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

244 243 [312] The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

805 24 [171] [177] The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 23; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

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The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Haing area. A single Hsin Haing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:175; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

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753 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed
755 in supernatural methods—the shaman.

There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly
755 diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in
757 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers
177 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates
178 which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when
[553 another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming
852] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and
[761 then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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755 154 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

796 755 789 182 [787] A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for [621] an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary— [52] feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

771 178 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

755 177 178 626 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

621 As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests
177 beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members
178 has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the
618 village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

621 The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic develop-
177 ments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even
178 more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there
[59] has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually
[618] conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

[128] The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

59 Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often
178 could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of
[171] family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

desirability of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, at least not when it is a question of their own marriage.

In view of the findings of studies of juvenile behavior in the United States, one is tempted to interpret this rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage as one symptom of a more general rejection of parental authority. From this perspective one might argue that there was nothing undesirable about such marriages other than the fact that they represented an extreme case of the imposition of parental will. But while such a general motivation may account for a part of the younger people's resistance, it is not an adequate explanation of their complete rejection of this form of marriage. If the revolt against the sīm-pûà marriage were just one aspect of a more general revolt against parental authority, we should expect to find a general resistance to all forms of arranged marriages, but such information as we have seems to indicate that this is not the case. At least 9 of the 15 men who refused to marry their sīm-pûà did allow their parents to choose a bride and make all of the arrangements to marry them in the preferred way, and in only 2 or possibly 3 of the cases did the young man insist upon marrying a particular girl against his parents' will. It would therefore seem that what the young were resisting was the specific form of marriage rather than simply the imposition of parental authority.

Another possible explanation of the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it is the result of what most foreigners are pleased to call "modernization." Since this form of marriage is

regarded by foreigners as one of the more unusual Taiwanese customs, it might easily become identified for the younger generation as symbolic of the traditional society. Young people might therefore be particularly reluctant to make such marriages because of their association with the "old" as contrasted with the "new". Such a line of argument undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth. As Japanese and Western influence became strong on Taiwan and the younger generation was attracted by what was identified for them as "modern" and "new," the sīm-pûa marriage did tend to be tagged as "traditional" and "the old way of doing things." Again, however, this cannot be the whole picture, for resistance to the sīm-pûa form of marriage is not a new phenomenon. There is evidence which seems to indicate that even before foreign influences had any appreciable effect on Taiwan the sīm-pûa marriage was generally regarded as an unhappy fate by those who had to make such a marriage. While many of our older informants in the village would argue that the sīm-pûa form of marriage was a good thing, this was always from the point of view of their status as parents or grandparents. When asked if they themselves had been happy to make such a marriage they were generally as opposed to the idea as their children. It is also relevant here to note the use of the term sàng-cue-tûi to refer to the brief New Year's ceremony which unites a man and his foster sister as husband and wife. The term is best translated simply "pushing them together," and is usually explained with a rough pushing movement of both hands. Since the phrase is traditional as well as common usage, it would seem to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on: I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

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chapter 6

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LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

159* 596* 578 603 [177] [176] [241] 159* 596* 461 159* 596* 584 [178] [548] 159* 596* 461 159* 596* 124

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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

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but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.'"

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ieng's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
• 177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[708] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
776 a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
653 impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems. T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predomi- 177 nantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the 177 crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 561 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [555] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

291 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton
• 177 wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts,
[292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey
[513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 A few young men are quite "mod," slim tight
177 trousers, sport shirts in "psychedelic" colors, and leather
561 jackets. Two village boys who dress in this style regularly play a guitar and sing the modern songs in Japanese or Chinese. Modern Japanese songs are very popular and young people learn to sing them by copying records although speaking little Japanese. Village boys are thereby imitating the young sub-culture of urban dwellers in their early twenties.

291 Women usually wear cotton skirts and blouses. Underneath, they seldom wear slips or brassieres but do wear underpants made of the same previously described "flour-sack" material, in a shape and form not unlike tight peddle-pushers nearly reaching the knees. There is no immodesty attached to exposing underpants. To assume a favorite working position, a woman merely hikes her skirt up to her waist and squats. For work in the fields, women often wear trousers which tuck into split-toe boots, long-sleeved tight-necked blouses, cotton gloves, all topped off with a straw hat fastened by a cloth over the top tied under the chin. This outfit offers protection from thorns, insects, and the effects of the sun. The wide straw hat which provides protection from both the
291 sun and rain is worn often by men and women alike. A few
561 older women wear the traditional Chinese jacket with pantaloons but only very old women wear a chi pao (the

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[542] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there 514 is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a [177] Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

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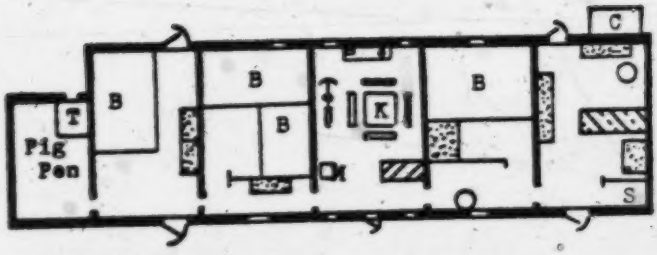

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

342
515 A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of
[177] dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

356
[55] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a clut-
[235] tered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied
[231] by small pigs.

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic 356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere 843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from 776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The [177] fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good. 251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as 744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

000 midwives are invariably females.

757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

757 Certain diseases and injuries are considered best
759 treated by particular kinds of practitioners. There is considerable agreement on diagnosing and recommended treat-
[177] ment in the village. For example, a Chinese herb doctor is Hsin Tien is best for a broken bone and a Western doctor, for eye infections.

755 In addition to technical treatment, religious worship and sacrifices are regularly added. If one practitioner of a certain type is not immediately successful, transfer to a different type is quickly effected. On many occasions, people will go to two or three different types at once for it is felt best not to take chances.

757 Self diagnosis and treatment is common. Although several older people in Talei Li are considered to have special medical abilities, most adults are amateur health practitioners. Itinerant salesmen leave bags containing

the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has always permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

There are two major varieties of rice, the native tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local informants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
443 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[111] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertilizer in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

275 games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and
265 scissors.

484 Middle-aged married people, without their children,
• 177 go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

574 Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social
273 position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[777] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

• 177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

1 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

I 121 172 178

In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161]

After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

Tn 197

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

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and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

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CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

T 291

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

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Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

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Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both liveli-
[628] hood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[602] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

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241 Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and
434 labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and
[461] quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

241 Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced
312 upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

244 To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables
178 have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still
434 relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

244 In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no
[789] insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the
[242] insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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249 ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

249 184 Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

249 433 435 178 Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

244 243 [312] The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

805 24 [171] [177] The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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231 [454] she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed [343] with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties [474] in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the [404] Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not [232] necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective [72] in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it [178] takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for [241] the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. [232] Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be [651] paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is [432] slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[3] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Land classification	1949–1951		1957	
	Area *chia*	Number of families	Area *chia*	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	82
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9009	—	2.9009	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[2]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 35 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 35 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[9] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4758	—	1.4758	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 195[illegible]

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.3	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.3–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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427 owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were par-
• 178 tial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)
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TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.5	12	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.5–1.0	11	5	P	3	20	22.2
1.0–1.5	18	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.5–2.0	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
2.0–2.5	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Number of families	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Percent of families	52	20	9	9	90	—
	57.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

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TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 36 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
[427] Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7665		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2154		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

423 The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966.
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vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.5716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as

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TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.5–0.5	3	8.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.0–1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4574	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3369	0.0130	0.3499	1.8
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.5775	0.2600	1.6375	8.2
0.5–0.5	10	27.8	3.6438	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
0.5–1.0	13	36.1	7.7481	0.5918	8.3399	41.9
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	1	2.8	0.8218	1.3321	2.1539	10.8
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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T 423 the equivalent of owner operated land (and legally this is how it is considered), then it is notable that of the 61.2208 *chia* operated by the villagers in 1957 44.9283 *chia*, or 73.4 percent, was privately owned and the remaining 26.6 percent tenant operated.

T 423 • 178 Thirty-six families, about 40 percent of the Hsin Hsing village farming families, were benefited by the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Before the reform program, 19 of these 36 families owned no land at all, and their livelihood depended strictly on the land they rented and whatever outside income they had. However, the other 17 families, besides their rented land, owned only about 4.5 *chia* of land, most of which was paddy field. After the Land Reform Program, which affected almost 15.5 *chia* under the 1951–1953 acts, land that these 36 families cultivated as owners increased to 19.9 *chia*, of which about 17.5 *chia* was paddy. In 1957, 19 of these same 36 households continued to work a little below 6 *chia* of land as tenant farmers. (See Table 21.) This tenant land is cultivated under the strict enforcement of the 37.5 percent Rent Reduction Act.

The change in the landholding status of the 36 families directly affected by the reform program is shown in Table 22, Parts A and B. Before land reform only 3 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia* of land, but in the post-land reform period, 17 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia*. The average area purchased by Hsin Hsing tillers under the reform was 0.44 *chia*, usually in one and sometimes two plots of land per family. This means that in Hsin Hsing village, of the 54 plots of land sold to the tillers by the government, the size of the average plot sold was less than 0.3 *chia* of land.

Tn 423 427 178 Chang Yen-t'ien (1954:86) writes that in Taiwan about 46.44 percent of the total pre-reform tenants, including part-tenants, purchased land through the reform program. But he notes that "more than half of the former tenant families . . . are still entirely or partly under the influence of tenancy."

T 423 427 178 For Hsin Hsing village, the records show that 62 percent of the 58 pre-reform tenants purchased some land reform land, and the figure is probably this high because of the higher rate of tenancy in Hsin Hsing than in Taiwan as a whole. Thirty-six households, or 65.5 percent, of the 58 are still to some extent tenants, however. This is mainly because the land they rented happened to be part of the 3 *chia* of land the landlord could retain under the 1953 law. While this was true for landlords in all of Taiwan, the average land purchase figure Tn [423] may be larger for the whole of Taiwan than for Hsin Hsing because elsewhere in Taiwan there were large tracts of public land available for purchase and, in addition, at the time of the restoration there was little Japanese-cultivated land in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing for Hsin Hsing villagers to take over. These factors have gener-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–1.0	12	13.0	19	21.1
1.0–1.5	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.5–2.0	4	4.3	6	6.7
2.0–2.5	2	2.2	2	2.2
	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.5	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as profesional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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178 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change
167 their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living.
829 They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of
369 change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 627 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

618 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 618 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect [648] on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic condi[423]tions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to *relatively poor villagers, since they* offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, siaosiv meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv system*, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 587 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] [178] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *tiaosiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *siaosiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *siaosiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *siaosiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *siaosiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *siaosiv* adop-

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sioaiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" ("*Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao*"). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 198 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Othewise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

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T 873 an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

T Tn 873 668 575 It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

T 873 178 571 621 [369] [573] A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence. [184]

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In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

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As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 167 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[3]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178 494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian; all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

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796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of
[525] the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[796] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
769 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[776] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

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753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 757 177 178 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
People's Republic of China AF18
Taiwan AD6

redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kʰ, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

178 433 463 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want 464 178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 464 496 433 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other 178 433 [316] [274] [256] neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese development companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island; the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

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The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

Of the six houses constructed in the village during the past five years four were simply box like structures built side by side to save the expense of a wall. Since such construction precluded the possibility of later expansion, the builders of these houses had evidently given up the vision of a "great house of many generations and many branches."

121 in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did.
597 What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By
128 whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they
58 create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage?
What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions
naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or
[198] 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair
carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a
hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been
some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and
large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recog-
nized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe
these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in
time rather than with a period of ninety years.

583 Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so,
183 it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage
59 is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is
582 the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which
everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the
villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred
patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of
marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the
preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the
other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual
associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. 582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of 591 completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zip-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zip; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zip-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms [606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. [831] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's sur- [555] name, although some informants claim that it is possible for one 178 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has 583 occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zip-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

583 178 [581] the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

591 The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

597 192 602 The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kìa:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bǎe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we do not have complete information for even those recent dicisions which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kê and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate, they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives, but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally significant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the kê at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made. We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made because the composition of the kê varies over time in a cyclical manner. Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases, the joint family, the stem family, and the elementary family.

In the joint family phase, the kê typically consists of a man and his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

596 this one and that one. It is hard to believe that when you go out you don't have to spend any money. Does this money fall from the sky? When it is her turn to cook, my mother is always around helping her, but when it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt is far away and her children sit there and cry and yell. Never once, even when it wasn't her turn to cook, has my aunt chopped up sweet potato leaves to feed the pigs. It is always my wife or my mother who has to do that.

593 As a result of these tensions the joint family phase of the family
596 cycle is ordinarily short lived. Within a year or two of the time that
[178] the second brother marries most village families divide into two separate units. Although there were twenty men living in Hsiachichou in 1960 who had at least one married brother, there were only three kê which included married brothers. In ten cases two married brothers actually lived in the same house, sharing the same kōng-thiâ:, but each had his own stove and controlled his own purse, constituting a separate kê. In most cases brothers did continue to cooperate in the worship of common ancestors, and in at least one case shared the use of a water buffalo, but relations were typically hostile and distant. The animosities which cause the kê to break up in the first place are often intensified by the haggling involved in the division of the family property with the result that even as elderly men many brothers barely speak to one another.

592 After the division of the kê the parents either live with one of
593 their sons and his family or live alternately with each in turn. There have been no cases in the recent history of Hsiachichou in which a man and his wife established their own independent kê after their children divided the family. There are various reasons for this.

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
599 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
• 198 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.

[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterized as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

marriage, the two generations are the potential foster parents and either the foster father's or foster mother's parents; in the case of the preferred patrilocal marriage and the matrilocal marriage, the two generations are the young people to be married and one of their sets of parents. Our next task, then, is to establish which of these two generations was responsible for the decisions with which we are concerned. When we speak of the motives for adopting a child, are we speaking of the motives of the foster parents or of the foster grandparents? When we ask why a family decided upon a particular form of marriage, are we asking why the couple chose to marry in this way, or why their parents chose to arrange this kind of marriage for them? The answer depends on when during the past sixty years the decision took place. As a result of the various social and economic changes which have occurred in the past thirty years or so, the locus of authority for making decisions about marriage and adoption has undergone a basic change.

Forty years ago both the kind of marriage a young person made and the particular person he married were chosen by his parents. Except in the occasional family in which the young women were needed to work in the fields, unmarried women were not allowed out of the house except in the company of their mothers or grandmothers, and even then they did not often venture out of the seclusion of the family home. To do so would be something less than proper. One old woman gave us the following account of a young woman's life in Hsiachichou around the turn of the century.

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"Before women didn't go out of the house unless something really happened. One of our relatives who used to live here had a daughter and everyone knew they had a daughter, but no one had seen her. When there was that big flood and everyone was running for their lives, her older brother wrapped her in a blanket and carried her out. Even then they wouldn't let anyone see her. At that time buying and everything was done by the men. It wasn't like now when the women are the ones who take care of guests and do the marketing. The men who worked for the family were not allowed to go anywhere in the house. When they came back from work they had to go to their own rooms and stay there. If it was a big family there would be a separate room for them to eat in and to wash in. If they wanted water from the kitchen to take a bath in then it would be the men of the family who would come and get it for them. They couldn't come into kitchen. The women only did the housework and cooked. When it was about time to eat they would get all the food on the table and then go stay in the bedroom until all the men had finished eating. It wasn't very easy to even see a woman then. The only women you could see were old ladies."

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There was clearly little opportunity for romantic attachments to form, and even on those rare occasions when they did there was little chance for the young people to marry unless their preference happened to be their parents' preference as well. The authority of the parents over their sons and daughters was as nearly absolute when they were twenty as when they were two or three. The terms of filial piety provided a moral justification for unquestioned parental authority, and the importance of land in the economy gave parents the power to enforce this authority. There could be no prodigal sons because there was no place for the disaffected son to go. To earn a living one had to have access to land, and it was only through inheritance that such access could be achieved. It was the happy position of the parents of this time to have both morality and the economy on their side, and it was the unhappy fate of the young to be nothing more than sons and daughters,

#584 In the case of the normal patrilocal marriage, the usual way to
#178 arrange a marriage was for the parents of a boy of marriageable age to enlist the services of a go-between. The go-between would make enquiries of relatives and friends until she found a girl whom the family might consider suitable. If, through indirect enquiries, she felt there was a chance of approval on the part of the girl's parents, she would propose the match to the parents of the boy. If both sets of parents showed sufficient interest, a long period of negotiation would commence to settle the content of the dowry, the amount of the bride price, and the number of cakes to be distributed. When, after much debate, these questions were settled, usually to the complete dissatisfaction of both families, a date would be set for the engagement. Even after the engagement the boy and girl were not allowed to meet, and in many cases had no idea at all of whom they were marrying. One old man told us jokingly that after he was engaged he went with a group of his friends to a festival at the temple to try and discover which of the women who came was his future wife. As he put it, "I didn't know whether she was going to be a bear or a tiger." One might say that the bride and groom did not become parties to the marriage until they were actually man and wife.

#589 The parents played an equally important role in decisions concern-
178 ing adoption. If within a few years after marriage a young woman did not bear a child it was usually her mother-in-law who would initiate the procedure for adopting a child, and if for some reason it was necessary for the family to consider giving a child away in adoption

it was usually the head of the family and his wife who made the final decision. We could cite numerous instances in which young women were provided with adopted children they did not want, and still more instances in which young mothers were forced to give in adoption children whom they would have kept.

The years between 1920 and 1940 brought about some changes in the marriage customs of the village. The gradual breaking down of the traditional values gave young men and women the opportunity to meet, and the romantic attachments occasionally formed sometimes influenced parental decisions. What is perhaps more important, the growing opportunity for wage work made young men more independent of their fathers. As a result, many parents conceded to their sons the theoretical right to approve or disapprove a proposed match. It became the custom for the go-between to arrange a tea at which the parties to the marriage, including the principals now, were brought together for a social meeting. In some cases a young man might make strong objections and overrule parental plans, but for the most part the young people were so embarrassed by the situation that they left the choice up to their parents. When a woman who had been married in 1933 told us that her marriage had been arranged by her parents, we asked if she met her husband before the ceremonies. She answered, "Oh yes, but we were so embarrassed that we didn't even look at each other, and left it all up to our parents." Another woman told us that when she was trying to arrange a marriage for her son he refused to go with her to meet the girl and her family. "He said the girl's family would all be waiting

* 584 to look him over as though he were a pig up for sale. He told me, 'I
• 178 don't care if she is blind or without legs. If she is willing, that's fine; if she isn't willing, that's fine too. But, I won't go to look at her.'"

*584 Of the 55 marriages in Hsiachichou made by couples now over forty years of age, 51 (93 percent) were arranged by their parents. It is interesting to note that at least three of the four exceptions resulted from the untimely death of parents, and that the young people in question sent a go-between to negotiate the terms of the marriage as though it were being arranged in the conventional manner. It would seem that one of the elements which made the young people submit to an arranged marriage was the fact that any other kind of marriage had so little prestige in the village. But while most of the marriages were in fact arranged by their parents, it is not true that most of the young people were satisfied with this state of affairs. They submitted to their parents will because that was the way things were done and because there were really no alternatives open to them. When we asked some of the older people in the village if they thought that their lives would have been happier had they been free to choose their own spouse, the majority agreed that they would have been much better off if they had had this freedom. The only positive thing said about the arranged marriage was the remark made by one woman, "If you arrange your own marriage you can't say anything when things go wrong, but if you let your parents arrange it you can at least go home from time to time and scold them for getting you such a bad husband."

573 It was inevitable that once the younger people gained some
584 authority in the family they would revolt against their parents in the
198 matter of marriage. As we have already seen, this process began in the early 1920 but it was not until the 1930 that the younger generation began to assert their independence in any degree. By this time the majority of the families in the village were dependent to some extent on a wage income, and since it was easier for a younger person to get a job, their voices were heard more and more often in family affairs. Even those families who were still primarily farm families could not answer the challenge of a son who threatened to leave the kê and support himself if the parents did not consent to his choice of a marriage partner. The high value which the older generation placed upon genealogical continuity and the realistic fear which they felt in facing old age without children began to work against them. The loss of an adult son was an irreparable loss, and parents were reluctant to risk it by opposing their children in the matter of marriage.

198 Perhaps of as much influence on the changing marriage patterns is
882 the very fact that the freedom the young people gain by their wage work also gives them new opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex. Young men and women work together in the same factories, travel back and forth together on trains to their jobs without the company of their parents, and have some opportunity to meet together in private. There is, however, still nothing like the Western notion of freedom of contact between the sexes. A young woman seen talking to a strange man in public will be very much gossiped about, and only a few years ago

178 882 the local hooligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations, however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walking together toward the local market town. Some of the young people from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without completely destroying their good names.

584 593 178 In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940 have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51 marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abrogation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more

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*584
• 598 detail when in later chapters we turn to the effect of these changes
128 upon the marriage patterns.

*592 To summarize, then, we may say that at the time at which most of
*584 the decisions which interest us here are made the kî includes at
*599 least two adult generations. In the case of marriage they are the
178 parents and their adult children, and in the case of adoption they are the foster parents and the foster grandparents. When we ask which of these people made the decision we must specify the period of time at which the decision was made. By and large, the decisions about marriage and adoptions that were made before 1930 were made by the senior generations, while after 1930 these decisions were made by the younger people in the family. We shall see later that this change has had an important effect upon the kinds of decisions which are made and upon the kinds of considerations which enter into these decisions.

769 The ancestors are not considered gods, or, as one villagers
775 expressed it, "If they are gods, they are just little gods." Although they are thought of as having somewhat more influence over the course of events than the living, they are, like the elderly head of a kẹ, dependent upon the younger, stronger members of their family. Without descendants to make offerings of food and spirit money the ancestors are no better off than a man who has no sons to care for him in his old age. They are doomed to an existence as "hungry ghosts" who are vividly imagined as congregating outside temples where they beg for a living like destitute humans. A few villagers assured us that the ancestors "don't really eat those things," and that the offerings
769 are more "to show them that we remember them and respect them." But
[778] while such a conception of ancestral sacrifice has been common among
[774] the elite of China since Confucius, it is not the general conception of the majority of the population of Hsiachichou. Sacrifices made to a god are thought of as "gifts," or gestures of respect, but the sacrifices to the ancestors are generally considered a form of sustenance. The difference is nicely illustrated in the form of the two types of sacrifices. The sacrifices presented to a god never include rice or spices, only cooked but unchopped slabs of pork or a whole chicken or duck, but offerings to the ancestors are always presented in the form of a meal, the meat in various sauces, rice and rice bowls on the table, chopsticks, relishes, everything the same as it might be served to guests. Just how literally some of the villagers think of the offerings as meals is evident in the pains to which they

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

198 511 463 [427] less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, [464] [346] Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work 198 511 342 333 there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

*599 511 435 Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biēng-liēng-kiá:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

*597 nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local
511 party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and
435 dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would some-
*597 times offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would
511 at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile,
454 and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or pro-
vide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's
regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials,
it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for
178 any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents
*593 of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that
*599 phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive
603 and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had
complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage
and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only
one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can
imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it
somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

*597 While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male
*562 children, there were even more important considerations weighing against
842 such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children
181 are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his
male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities
as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring
that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

It is interesting to note that Ong Chun-a's husband was the second of two sons, and that the older brother had several male children who were not sold. Ong Chun-a's husband's parents could afford to sell their second son's male children because they had other grandchildren to carry on their family line. If Ong Chun-a and her husband had been in a position of authority in the family, they probably would not have sold all four of their sons. When asked how she felt about selling her four children, Ong Chun-a answered, "In those days we did what our parents told us." We do not know for certain who made the decisions in the other four families who sold male offspring, but the position of the children in the family indicates that it was probably their grandparents. Three of the four were the children of later born sons, and in all three of these cases the father's older brother had male children at the time the sale took place.

It was thus only the very poor who ever sold any of their male children, and they only did so after the continuity of the family line was assured. What then of the khe-páng-kià: form of adoption? How frequently did families give male children in adoption to an agnate? The question is an interesting one because the considerations which enter into the decision are entirely different. The khe-páng-kià: form of adoption does not require the adopting parents to compensate the child's parents, and so there is no question of material gain in giving a child to an agnate. The family which relinquishes one of their male children to an agnate does so because they feel obliged to help their kinsmen, or because they hope that by helping their kinsmen they will create obligations which will later be of use to them. The decision thus

597 602 involves weighing the relative importance of lineal and collateral kinship ties. The family which gives a child to an agnate naturally strengthens their ties with the adopting family, but they do so by sacrificing a potential tie with the descending generations of their own line. The question which a family must put to itself is this: Are strengthened ties with one's agnates worth the price of an heir and descendant? The answer is no. The frequency of such adoptions in Hsiachichou indicates a clear preference for lineal ties as the more dependable and more significant. Although every family living in [178] Hsiachichou has had agnatic kinsmen who did not produce sons in one generation or another, we find that not one of the 110 males born into the village before 1930 was given out as a kùe-páng-kià:. The only two such adoptions of which we have any record occurred after 1930, and neither of these are really exceptions to the preference for lineal ties. In both instances a child's grandparents decided to give a childless son one of his brother's male children. These two adoptions were thus made from lineal rather than from a collateral perspective, and did not invole a sacrifice of lineal ties for the sake of collateral ties.

562 842 In speaking of a male infant a village mother will sometimes refer to the child as her pó̍u-pó̍e, her "treasure." The term is never used with reference to female infants, nor is there any female counterpart of the term. The term which one hears repeatedly with reference to female children is the term liâu-cī-hūe, "something to lose money on." Male children are "treasures" because it is through its male offspring

583 554 hand-drawn carts, the contents laid out on sheets of red paper for all to see. The children of the bride's family often spend an entire morning pinning ten dollar bills onto the sheets of red paper to make the usual gift of a thousand dollars cash as impressive as possible. Such a colorful procession naturally collects crowds of curious housewives all along its route, and their shrewd estimates often serve to fix the family's social standing for years to come. As a result, few families attempt to economize on a dowry, if not for their daughter's sake, then at least for their own sake.

593 562 942 We might therefore say that while male children are valued as heirs and descendants, female children are regarded as something on which one stands to lose either money or face. Parents and grandparents may be as personally fond of their female children as they are of their male children, but it is simply not sensible for them to raise a number of their own daughters. If a family is going to raise any female children at all, it is better for them to adopt sīm-pûa than to raise their own daughters. A sīm-pûa can marry a son of the family and bear children who will belong to the family, while a daughter is forbidden by the incest taboo from ever playing such a role. She can only remain a member of her natal family by making a matrilocal marriage, and such marriages are pointless if a family has sons of their own. A wealthy family can, of course, choose to raise both their sons and daughters, but in the years before 1930 people in Hsiachichou were too poor for such luxuries. The cost of raising a daughter might make it difficult for a family to provide for their male children, and it would be

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impossible for the family which wanted to adopt girls as wives for their sons. Thus, we find in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 a rate of adoption for female children that is much higher than the rate of male adoption. Whereas only 8 (7 percent) of the 110 males born in the village before 1930 were given in adoption, more than half of the females born in this period were sent out in adoption. Of a total 103 girls born into the village before 1930 we find that 67 (65 percent) were given in adoption. As striking as this figure may seem, the rate of adoption was apparently even higher in Hsiachichou in the past. Of 45 girls who were born before 1910 a total of 32 (71 percent) were given out in adoption.[1]

According to our informants in Hsiachichou, landlord families living in the market towns almost never gave their female children away in adoption. They were wealthy enough that the expense of raising a girl was not a matter of concern, and so were able to spare their female children the often unhappy fate of the adopted daughter. Some parents who were particularly fond of a daughter even went so far as to arrange a matrilocal marriage as a means of keeping her in the family. By contrast with these exceptionally well to do families, there have always been some poor families living in the area who have had to sell all of their daughters. These were the really impoverished who could not afford to raise their sons let alone their daughters. The contrast is one to which a friend living in Hsulin often referred to illustrate

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[1] These figures and those which follow exclude the female children of a number of women who were prostitutes. Since the circumstances are so different from the case of the normal family, we will analyze these decisions separately.

In the first place, as we have already suggested earlier, most families living in Hsiachichou at this time were so poor that they could not afford to be unconcerned about the costs of raising a female child, for this expense might make it difficult for them to realize other and more important goals. A family had to think first of providing for their heirs and descendants, their sons and grandsons, and this often meant adopting girls to raise as their wives, a role which a family's own daughters could not fulfill. Except in the case in which a family did not have male children, it was a luxury for them to raise a daughter "for someone else," and most families could not afford luxuries. Secondly, there was the fact that those persons who would naturally feel most strongly about the welfare of the children, their parents, were not in a position of authority with regard to decisions concerning adoption. In the years before 1930 the authority for making such decisions rested with the head of the family, and in the course of the typical family cycle the head of a child's family was usually her grandparents rather than her own parents. While they were undoubtedly not entirely unconcerned about the welfare of their female grandchildren, most grandparents were probably not as concerned as the child's own parents. More importantly perhaps, their age and experience, as well as their position of responsibility, gave the grandparents a different perspective. The parents of a child were likely to look at the decision concerning her adoption in terms of the child's welfare and their personal concern; the grandparents were likely to look at the decision from the point of view of the family's

ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kê. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tīu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now won't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

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They'll do it if they want to, but if they don't want to they won't."

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The inevitable result has been a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. As we have seen in the last chapter, a total of 67 (65 percent) of those 103 girls born in Hsiachichou before 1930 were given away in adoption. By comparison, we find that only 43 (26 percent) of 163 girls born after 1930 were given out in adoption, a drop in the overall rate of adoption of nearly forty percent. By way of qualification, it is important to note that this decline was not entirely due to more favorable economic conditions and changes in family structure. For reasons which we will discuss later, the decline in the number of adoptions has been accompanied by a lessening demand for adopted daughters. As a result, there have been some families who would have liked to give away a daughter but who have not been able to find anyone interested in adopting a child. We knew of at least two women in Hsiachichou in 1960 who said that they wanted to give away one of their daughters if they could find someone who wanted them, and there were probably others who would have happily relinquished a daughter had they been presented with the opportunity. Just how many more girls would have been given away during the last thirty years had it not been for the decrease in demand is difficult to say, but it is our impression that it would not have been more than five or ten percent. While we heard of several families who would have given away a daughter if they could have found a family to adopt her, we know of many cases of families who were asked for one of their daughters and refused.

*597 *562 *592 858 • 178 182 The past thirty years in Hsiachichou have thus seen a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. Partially this is due to a decreased demand for adopted daughters, but primarily it is a result of changes in the economy and the structure of the hŏ. But is this the limit of the effect of these changes upon decisions concerning female adoption? We have seen in the last chapter that in the pre-1930 period the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was a function of her utility to her natal family. Those girls born into families who might need them to bring a son-in-law into the family or for their labor were retained, and those born into families with sons of their own and adequate domestic labor were given out in adoption. Do these same considerations enter into decisions about adoptions in the years after 1930? The question is an interesting one because of the very fact that the authority for these decisions has shifted from the older to the younger generations of the family. In asking whether or not the same considerations are relevant in the two cases we are asking whether or not the younger and the older generations of the family share the same values with regard to the nature and purpose of the family.

Despite the generally impoverished conditions of most families in Hsiachichou prior to 1930, very few families ever chose to give away in adoption a girl who was born before they had any other children. With no sons as yet the family had to face the possibility that they might not have male heirs, and so they chose to keep their daughter as a possible means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Of 18

girls born into childless families only 4 (22 percent) were given out in adoption, and in at least 3 of these 4 cases the family was so poor as to be unable to afford such insurance. This same tendency is also found in the case of those decisions made after 1930. Of 35 female children born into childless families during this later period only 2 (6 percent) were given out in adoption, and in one of these cases the child's parents did not have any choice in the matter. Adopted by a village family as a sīm-pûa, the child's mother objected to marrying her foster brother, and was then allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give them her first born child in adoption.

In the years before 1930 the rate of adoption among those girls born into families with male but no female children was also relatively low, although somewhat higher than among those girls born into childless families. While not needed as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, girls born into families with no other daughters were valued for their labor, and hence were not commonly given out in adoption. Of 13 girls born into families with at least one son but no daughter only 4 (31 percent) were given away, and in several of these cases the child would probably have not been given away if it had not been that her grandparents already had other granddaughters. Again we find the same tendency for those decisions made after 1930. Of 17 girls born into families with sons but no daughters only 3 (18 percent) were given away, a rate of adoption which is higher than that found among girls born into childless families but still somewhat

lower than the overall rate for girls born after 1930. It is interesting to note that in two of those three cases in which a family reclaimed a daughter given away in adoption the girl was an only daughter of a family with several male children. These families apparently did value their only daughter to some extent even though they had given her away in adoption, and when offered the opportunity they were not too reluctant to take the child back.

The highest rate of adoption in the pre-1930 period was among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. These families already had all the female labor they could afford as well as the means of perpetuating their lines, and so they gave away their later born daughters to save the expense of raising them. Of the 47 girls born into such families 37 (81 percent) were given out in adoption, a rate substantially higher than that for girls born into families without female children. The same is true of those decisions made after 1930. Although the absolute rate of adoption among girls born into families with female children or both male and female children is much lower than in the pre-1930 period, it is much higher than among those girls born into families with no female children in the post-1930 period. Whereas only 5 (10 percent) of those 52 girls born into families without female children were given out in adoption, a total of 32 (31 percent) of those 103 girls born into families with female children were given in adoption.

We thus find much the same pattern of adoption in the years since 1930 as in the years prior to 1930, a correspondence which suggests

that all of these decisions were made in much the same terms. It would therefore seem that there is a close agreement among the generations of the family with regard to certain values concerning the goals of the family. Having more resources available to them and being more concerned about the personal welfare of their children, parents gave away fewer of their female offspring than did the grandparents when they held primary responsibility for these decisions. When circumstances did force the parents to give away one of their children, however, they generally made their decisions as to which child in much the same terms as had the grandparents. They gave away those girls who had little value as labor or as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and they retained those girls who could be useful as domestic labor and who might be needed as a means of insuring continuity in the family line. Although we shall see later that the shift in authority from the older to the younger generations of the family has affected some decisions about marriage and adoption, it apparently did not alter the kinds of considerations which go into a decision about female adoption.

Another comparison between the adoption patterns of the two periods adds further weight to this argument. In the years before 1930 families almost always gave away girls born after a female but before a male as well as those girls born after the family had both a son and a daughter. Of those 13 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 11 (85 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 33 girls born into families with both sons and daughters

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26 (79 percent) were given in adoption. This is what one would expect if most families were so poor that they could not afford to raise their female children. When a family which did not have any sons as yet produced a daughter they would keep her as insurance against the possibility of not bearing sons, but they would tend to give away all of their later born girls whether or not they had borne a son in the meantime. They simply could not afford to keep two female children as insurance. If a family was not so pressed by their limited financial means, however, we might expect to find a very different attitude towards raising a second daughter when they had no sons. Until a family actually bore a male child who could act as an heir and descendant, they might very well want to keep more than one daughter as a potential means of bringing a man into the family. Just as it is considered wise to have more than one son "because you can't tell how one of them might treat you," it is also wise to have more than one daughter in case one of them rebels against the prospect of a matrilocal marriage. We might therefore expect to find a very different rate of adoption among girls born into families with daughters but no sons in the years after 1930. Living in a generally more favorable economy, most families could afford more insurance, and so we might expect them to keep all of their daughters until they actually produced a son, giving away their girls only if they were assured of continuity through a male heir. This is just what we do find. After 1930 girls born into families with a daughter but no sons were retained as members of the family nearly as often as those girls born into

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan. In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a year's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 118 boys born into the village before

1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kìa:, but we do not find a single case of the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was transferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely to give away their daughters than another family. In the language of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed during the course of the last three or four decades, some families have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

less fortunate neighbors as residents of the decaying Hsiachou. This imbalance of wealth between the two areas is reflected in the adoption rates. Of the 93 girls born into Hsiachou 32 (34 percent) were given out in adoption as compared with only 9 (14 percent) of the 66 girls born into Shangchou. Were our information detailed enough to permit a comparison of individual families, we would undoubtedly find that relative wealth is an even more important variable, but gross as it is, even this comparison clearly makes the point that her family's ability to raise her has become an important determinant of a girl's chance of remaining in her natal home.

We must therefore take into account two sets of factors rather than one in order to calculate the likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption in the post-1930 period. We must consider the composition of the family into which she was born, and we must also take into account the relative economic status of her natal family. When both sets of factors are considered a clear pattern of adoption emerges, with girls born into some situations being much more likely to become adopted daughters than girls born under other circumstances. The daughters of wealthy families who are born before the family has either sons or daughters are almost never given in adoption, and those born into families with both male and female children are only occasionally given in adoption. Of 39 girls born in Shangchou to families of the first type only 2 (5 percent) were given in adoption, and of 24 girls born into Shangchou families of the second type only 5 (21 percent) were given in adoption. The composition of the family into which a girl

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advantages of the sĭm-pûà marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sĭm-pûà marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sĭm-pûà, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sĭm-pûà marriage.

When asked why they adopted a sĭm-pûà for a son, villagers usually begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
693 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
182 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
183 other villagers.
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> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

583 The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage
597 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
554 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
556 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
182 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou
183 would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-
pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 10

MARRIAGE AND INCEST

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In the early decades of this century decisions about marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou were the perogative of the senior generations of the family. When they decided to adopt a sīm-pûà and raise her as a wife for a son this decision committed the boy to a particular kind of marriage. He had little more to say about marrying the girl when he reached the appropriate age than he had had to say about her adoption when he was a child. Only the parents could reverse their original decision and that they would change their minds was very unlikely. The investment was too great. To arrange a preferred marriage with its tremendous expense after having already spent the money to raise a sīm-pûà would be to invite disaster for some families and a painful economic waste for all families. As a result, the great majority of sīm-pûà adoptions made in the early part of the century led to marriages. Of the 22 sim-pua adoptions which took place before 1910 all but 6 culminated in a marriage, and in 4 of these 6 cases the failure of the arrangement was due to the death of either the sīm-pûà or her foster brother. The two exceptions involved one case in which the boy's mother "decided that she didn't like the girl and sent her back to her natal family," and one unusual case in which the son was able to dissuade his parents from their original plans.

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the kè had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

desirability of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, at least not when it is a question of their own marriage.

In view of the findings of studies of juvenile behavior in the United States, one is tempted to interpret this rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage as one symptom of a more general rejection of parental authority. From this perspective one might argue that there was nothing undesirable about such marriages other than the fact that they represented an extreme case of the imposition of parental will. But while such a general motivation may account for a part of the younger people's resistance, it is not an adequate explanation of their complete rejection of this form of marriage. If the revolt against the sīm-pûà marriage were just one aspect of a more general revolt against parental authority, we should expect to find a general resistance to all forms of arranged marriages, but such information as we have seems to indicate that this is not the case. At least 9 of the 15 men who refused to marry their sīm-pûà did allow their parents to choose a bride and make all of the arrangements to marry them in the preferred way, and in only 2 or possibly 3 of the cases did the young man insist upon marrying a particular girl against his parents' will. It would therefore seem that what the young were resisting was the specific form of marriage rather than simply the imposition of parental authority.

Another possible explanation of the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it is the result of what most foreigners are pleased to call "modernization." Since this form of marriage is

#584 regarded by foreigners as one of the more unusual Taiwanese customs,
178 it might easily become identified for the younger generation as
177 symbolic of the traditional society. Young people might therefore be particularly reluctant to make such marriages because of their association with the "old" as contrasted with the "new". Such a line of argument undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth. As Japanese and Western influence became strong on Taiwan and the younger generation was attracted by what was identified for them as "modern" and "new," the sīm-pûà marriage did tend to be tagged as "traditional" and "the old way of doing things." Again, however, this cannot be the whole picture, for resistance to the sīm-pûà form of marriage is not a new phenomenon. There is evidence which seems to indicate that even before foreign influences had any appreciable effect on Taiwan the sīm-pûà marriage was generally regarded as an unhappy fate by #584 those who had to make such a marriage. While many of our older informants in the village would argue that the sīm-pûà form of marriage was a good thing, this was always from the point of view of their status as parents or grandparents. When asked if they themselves had been happy to make such a marriage they were generally as opposed [585] to the idea as their children. It is also relevant here to note the use of the term sàng-cùe-tûi to refer to the brief New Year's ceremony which unites a man and his foster sister as husband and wife. The term is best translated simply "pushing them together," and is usually explained with a rough pushing movement of both hands. Since the phrase is traditional as well as common usage, it would seem to

men born after 1910 would thus seem to lend weight to our argument that it is the condition of early association which is responsible for the general aversion to this form of marriage. If the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage were simply a revolt against a symbol of parental authority and the traditional way of life, these two couples would have been just as likely to reject this form of marriage as those who grew up in the same household.

The refusal of so many young people to acquiesce in their parents' plans for a sīm-pûà marriage naturally had the effect of making parents reconsider the advantages of sīm-pûà adoptions. If the couple refused to marry after the parents had gone to the expense of raising the girl, the family then stood to suffer a double loss. They would have wasted the money invested in raising the girl, and they would also have to bear the expense of marrying her out of the family. The advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage were thus overshadowed by the risks, and as a result we find a sharp decline in the rate of sīm-pûà adoptions after 1930. As compared with a rate of 41 (42 percent) adoptions for 98 boys in the years before 1930, we find only 5 (15 percent) adoptions among a total of 34 boys born in the years 1930-1940. If one or two of the adoptions made during these ten years had matured into a marriage, a few parents would probably have been encouraged to make adoptions in later years. The advantages of the sīm-pûà marriage are perhaps worth a certain risk. But when none of the 5 adoptions made in the years between 1930-1940 culminated in a marriage, the inevitable result was a further decline in the rate of adoption after 1940. We

find only 3 (2 percent) adoptions for a total of 142 boys born in the years between 1940 and 1960, and it would appear that the sīm-pûà marriage will soon be an institution of the past in the village of Hsiachichou. In order to restore it one would have to reinstitute complete parental authority in the kê. It was a system which had many advantages for the senior generations of the family, but it was an arrangement into which the younger generations entered only under compulsion.

We began this analysis of the sīm-pûà marriage in Hsiachichou by noting that most villagers take the view that children exist for the sake of their parents and the family rather than the family and the parents for the sake of the children. We are now in a position to offer some evidence for this statement. We have seen that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has several very real advantages for the senior generations of the family, and we have also seen that it is at best an unhappy fate for those who are forced to make such a marriage. Since we can safely assume that those parents who have made sīm-pûà marriages themselves are vividly aware of its difficulties, it is significant to note that they are no less likely to adopt sīm-pûà for their sons than are parents who did not make such a marriage. sīm-pûà marriages were planned for 12 (27 percent) of the 45 boys born to parents who had themselves made such a marriage, and for 40 (19 percent) of 208 boys born to parents who had married either matrilocally or in the preferred way. While it would be a mistake to conclude that village parents are unconcerned about the happiness of their children, it would be an even worse mistake to assume that they put the welfare of their children before that of the family.

*599 involved in paying a large sum of money for a child whose loyalty would always be a matter of concern.

The reluctance of most families to buy a male child is also evident in the fact that in 5 of the 8 cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou [842] the family had already adopted at least one female child. It is commonly believed in the village that the adoption of a female child will increase a woman's chances of bearing a male child, it being said that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." We might say that it is only when a family is convinced that they have exhausted both natural and supernatural means that they finally turn to buying a male child. In terms of their alternatives for insuring their future, the family is then in a position of having to adopt a son or arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. When faced with these alternatives some families which can afford to do so run the risk of buying a son, but never before. The only exceptions are those very few cases in which a family is able to adopt a son from an agnate, and the occasional unusual case such as the young man who received a son in adoption as payment for having allowed a sīm-pûà to marry out of the family.

*597 *562 178 The adoption of male children by families living in Hsiachichou is thus very rare. The adoption of female children, on the other hand, is surprisingly common. While only 4 (4 percent) of 112 boys born before 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou were adopted sons, we find that the girls raised in the village before 1930 included more adopted daughters than daughters. Of 113 girls born before 1930 and raised by families living in Hsiachichou 80 (71 percent) were adopted daughters. In more

2.Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*599 recent years the rate of female adoption has dropped considerably, but
*562 it still remains much higher than the rate of male adoption. Among 144
• 178 boys born after 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou we find only 4 (3 percent) were adopted sons, while by comparison we find that of 160 village girls born during the same period of time 38 (24 percent) were adopted daughters.

*599 When asked why they had adopted female children village informants gave a variety of explanations. One village mother told us she had adopted one of her daughters simply because she was fond of the child, and as best we can judge this probably was her primary reason for the adoption. The woman was reputed to be particularly fond of children, and as she had been the child's wet nurse she had had a chance to become attached to her. In several other instances the reasons for adoption seem to have been loneliness and a fear of isolation on the part of elderly women. One woman told us that she had adopted a girl in her old age because all of her own children had grown up "and it was [599] so quiet and dull around the house." We were also told that two families had adopted girls "in order to change the family's fortune" after several of their own children had died, it being generally believed that the adoption of a female child will somehow insure the good health of a family's later born children. But while these and a multitude of other considerations undoubtedly play a part in decisions about female adoption, the reports of the villagers and certain regularities in the timing of their decisions indicate that most adoptions are the result of one or more of three salient considerations.

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to raise as a wife for one of their sons. The family with at least one female child and no sons, on the other hand, would not have any reason to adopt a daughter. Their own daughter would be evidence of the wife's fertility as well as insurance against the possibility of her not bearing sons, and there would obviously be no reason for them to adopt a wife for sons which they do not as yet possess.

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When we test these hypotheses by comparing families of varying composition in terms of the relative number of girls born and girls adopted, the results provide a surprisingly good confirmation of our argument. In the period before 1930 when all three of these motives were still operating we find strikingly different rates of adoption among the three types of families. Of a total of 46 female children who were either born into or adopted into village families without children 26 (57 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 74 girls who entered village families with at least one male child 35 (49 percent) came by way of adoption. By contrast with these very high rates of adoption we find the expected low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no male children. Of 16 girls born or adopted into families of this type only 2 (12 percent) were adopted.

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It would thus seem that most adoptions during this period were made either as a means of bringing a male into the family or as a means of obtaining a wife for a son.

The picture in the years after 1930 is somewhat different. We still find a very high rate of adoption by childless families, and a low rate of adoption by families with female but no male children. Of

*597 48 girls entering childless families 18 (38 percent) entered by way of
*562 adoption, and of 27 girls entering families with female children but as
• 178 yet no sons 2 (7 percent) came by way of adoption. The difference is that we now find a relatively low rate of adoption among families with male children. Of a total of 103 girls entering families with at least one male child 12 (12 percent) entered by way of adoption, and 8 of
* [584] these were girls who were adopted before 1940. Adoptions by families with male children were almost always for the purpose of obtaining a wife for one of their sons, and such adoptions became pointless once it was apparent that very few of them would culminate in a marriage. The rate of adoption among childless families remains high because while there is no point in adopting a girl to raise as a daughter-in-law, it is as important as ever for families to have sons and to make some other provision for the perpetuation of the family if they do not.

*597 Whether or not a family adopts their first child depends primarily
842 on how long it is after marriage that the wife becomes pregnant. The sooner she demonstrates her fertility, the less likely the family is to adopt a daughter. There is, however, one other variable. A family is somewhat more likely to adopt a daughter for the wife of a first born son than for the wife of a later-born son. Whereas we find among 54 first born sons 16 (30 percent) whose first child is an adopted daughter, we find only 6 (17 percent) adopted daughters among the eldest children of 36 later born sons. The reason is simply that the husband's parents are more concerned about a daughter-in-law's fertility before they have grandchildren than after they have grandchildren.

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591 Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 101 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lim Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

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581 When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sim-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sim-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

*121 to such a position, it would seem that Levi-Strauss is thinking of a society in which the senior generations of the family ordinarily arrange marriages. He agrees that it would be necessary for the members of the society to recognize the advantages of a wide network of alliances, and we can see that it would be the older and more experienced members of society who would be most aware of the advantages of such a network. It is usually the mature men and women in any society who occupy positions of formal and informal leadership, and it is naturally people in such positions who are most impressed by the importance of group solidarity. Homans and Schneider, on the other hand, clearly assume that the junior generations of the family arrange their own marriages.[2] A child's attitude towards his mother and father would not have any effect upon the likelihood of his wanting to marry one cousin rather than another unless he himself were making the decision. Although it is outside the scope of the present discussion to pursue the idea any further, we would at least suggest that the two theories may not really be in conflict. In a society in which it is the parents who arrange marriages Levi-Strauss' structural argument may be the better explanation, and in the society in which the younger people arrange their own marriages, Homans and Schneider's view may be the more appropriate.

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We have seen that as the senior generation of the family gradually lost control of decisions about marriage and adoption the frequency of

[2] See George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

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death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

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sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

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*159 former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles
142 far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and
*159 firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that fam-
157 ily's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

*159 At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages
593 were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage
• 178 partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were bal-
582 anced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts
584 she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

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On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

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epilogue

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SEPARATE STOVES

A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

121 general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illus-
121 trate with one concrete example. In the traditional vil-
178 lage, mid-wives attended at births which have usually
944 been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

121 Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

122 Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 meal, hot, cold, or as <u>hsi-fan</u> (a thin gruel). All vil- 855 lagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

• 178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 504 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years. Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
316 178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis. The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai-
[4604] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

178 423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621 461 464 121 It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological system employed in the community. A village can be viewed on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 621 461 464 182 241 At the time the clog business was introduced, Sanlei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields operating in terms of a technological system which required certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 241 462 464 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	5.8
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size[5] towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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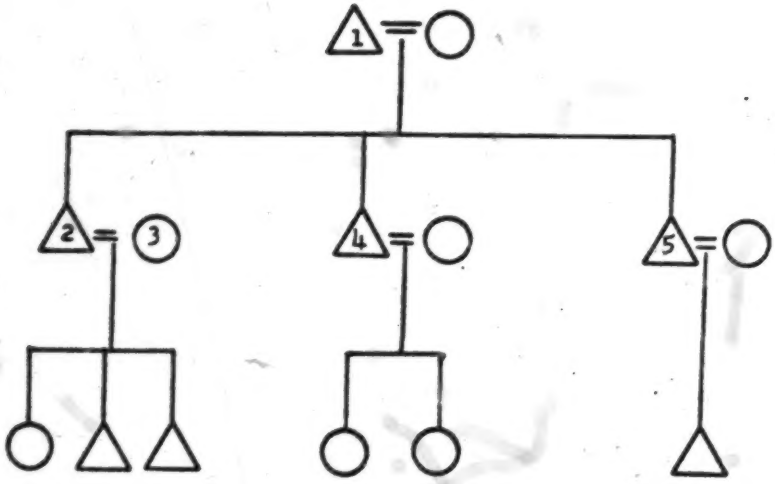

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that
• 178 neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of
59 job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of
178 a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an
59 average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

584 established between the bride's parents and groom's parents through the auspices of a matchmaker, the bride
• [178] and groom not meeting until the wedding. This form, once very popular, is declining in frequency, constituting about one quarter of the recent marriages in Sanlei Ts'un from data and estimated about the same for the li.

A second form is what we have called a "veto marriage." It is closely related to the strictly "arranged marriage" because the procedures are similar, initial negotiations being handled by a matchmaker between two sets of parents. However, before the engagement, the young people meet each other, frequently at the potential bride's home in the presence of both parents and the matchmaker. Alternatively, they may observe each other but not meet by both attending the same function such as a movie or amusement park in separate groups. Each potential spouse retains the right to veto the marriage but this is seldom done openly. The negative sentiment is expressed by pointing out faults, "He doesn't look strong." "She looks like she has expensive tastes." Positive sentiment, on the other hand, is merely a statement by the child to the parent that "You know best," or "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) This data was obtained by both interviews and observation. I accompanied one village boy, his parents, and the matchmaker to the home of the potential bride where we visited for an hour and left. In the taxi on the way back to the village, the boy told his father that he should

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [178] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [585] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 583 591 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C. Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 583 591 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage are questionable. He reports that there were significant problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in [559] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly *siaosiv*. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among *siaosiv*, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a *siaosiv* mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a *siaosiv* marriage.

• 178 The last *siaosiv* marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
984 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because *siaosiv* marriage now

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
• 178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] siaosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% siaosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-5; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later <u>siaosiv</u> marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

146 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [28] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

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[171]
[184]

frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

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Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

796 524 435 [585] The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for [78] pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan- 782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of
121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes
87 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the
882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 . AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212]

Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

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562 significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

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562 The typical desired family size among women of child-bearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

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562 These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
776 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
356 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
844 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning
before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertent-
ly offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain
in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
844 is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because
776 of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place
in the regular bedroom.

• 178 An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen
844 is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a
776 small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor
346 for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers
with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore
having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but
still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible
to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, reli-
gious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so
the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hos-
pital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

843 There is a whole host of other taboos for the preg-
nant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the
baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes,
etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding
ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage although everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
• 178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

[551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [119] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [348] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER IX

CYCLES IN TIME

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Time is subdivided into many different categories which play a significant part in structuring social life in Sanlei Ts'un. For certain kinds of divisions, adherence to which of two conflicting systems for reckoning time provides a key to evaluating the level of modernization achieved by an individual. For example, years are subdivided according to both a traditional lunar calendar and a modern Western solar calendar. Although farmers place prime emphasis on the lunar calendar, businessmen and urban dwellers rely on the solar calendar and both calendars are important for determining village activities.[1]

Another relationship between the level of modernization and the type of time system employed may be seen in the new emphasis on clocks. Clocks were unimportant in rural traditional Chinese villages and according to older informants, Sanlei Ts'un had no clocks when they were children. As late as 1950, there were still only a few clocks in the village. Currently, almost every village house has a clock and an electric clock in the kung t'ing has almost become a necessary status symbol in spite of the fact no member of

178 805 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 822 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors 173 in decision processes in the village. For example, some 805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
241 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

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[178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly.

The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

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[805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work
[349] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

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178 come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit
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369 relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing
[811] to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

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527 Village young people often go off to town on Sunday,
571 to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk
882 around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time.
[574] As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

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221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
343 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

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464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

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464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

Tea was added later and since the demand for labor inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not crucial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

This ecological and technological adjustment has been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea picking and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

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362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior patterns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which
[871] has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

121 562 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 871 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
• 178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

121 562 [178] school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated that although changes leading to increased status for women are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 184 562 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line 181 is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity 182 is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge 59 to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

*593 602 888 [189] the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 191 842 888 When asked the most important reason for having children, several villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

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Aside from her responsibility to her husband's family, a woman has more personal reasons for wanting to bear children. For one thing, barrenness is the most indelible of all stigmas. Old women who are quarreling will often accuse one another of being barren. It implies not only an abnormal physical state, but also something of a failure of character. To bear children is so important that those who fail to do so must lack some essential moral quality. For another, it is only through her children that a woman can realize her position as a wife. The only common ground between a husband and wife in the early years of their marriage is their children. Often they marry as almost total strangers, and etiquette demands that they remain distant to one another. As the village women express it, the children "give you something to talk to each other about." Finally, a woman's having any sense of security in her husband's home depends on her having children. Although the average village woman realizes that her husband's parents cannot afford to repudiate her, she also knows that they will never accept her until she provides them with grandchildren. It is by virtue of her children that a woman secures her status as a member of her husband's family. She herself may never become a full fledged member of the family until she dies, but as the mother of the family's male descendants she secures a position of respect. It is nothing to be a wife or a daughter-in-law, but it is a matter of pride to be a mother.

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Beyond those reasons we have already discussed, there are more general, less easily exemplified reasons for having children. One has

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only to observe the excited anticipation of the older villagers, both men and women, when the birth of a child is imminent to realize that children have an intrinsic value. An old woman whose sons had not as yet given her grandchildren told us sadly of how quiet her house was, how lacking in noise and bustle. There is no life without children in the house. One also senses living in the village that children give a man a sense of fulfillment, of involvement in something larger than the narrow circle of the present. The young men who say that they will give up ancestor worship "when the old people die," nevertheless think of the family as an unbroken chain that began long ago and that will continue long after they are gone. Not to have children would be to take responsibility for breaking this chain, and, perhaps more important, without children the achievements of this life would lose much of their meaning. If by means of a lifetime of hard work and self denial, a man adds a small plot of land to his family's possessions, it does not appreciably raise his own standard of living, but when the value of the land is multiplied by its benefits to the untold generations that will follow, a man has reason for satisfaction. It is partially for this reason that a person must have children to inherit the property of his fathers. His father calculated the value of the land he acquired in terms of its benefits to his descendants, and if there are no descendants it is then worth no more than the few catties of rice it will yield before the present generation dies. As one of our thoughtful informants put it,

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

181 illegitimate offspring, but in one way or another the goal is achieved,
842 indeed, must be achieved. It is therefore obvious that we need not consider as real alternatives any set of choices that would lead to family extinction. Whatever else their goals may be with regard to marriage and adoption, a family must make decisions which will lead to the perpetuation of their line.

*597 nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local
511 party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and
435 dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would some-
*597 times offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would
511 at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile,
454 and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or pro-
vide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's
regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials,
it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for
178 any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents
*543 of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that
*597 phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive
603 and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had
complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage
and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only
one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can
imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it
somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

*597 While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male
*562 children, there were even more important considerations weighing against
842 such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children
• 181 are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his
male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities
as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring
that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

family is to have any security in either this life or the next, they must have children who are obliged to them as heirs and descendants. As a result, male children have an absolute value, their worth to their family being something which cannot be estimated in monetary terms. A family may be forced by extreme poverty to sell one or more of their children in order to support themselves and their remaining children, but they would never sell a male as a means of adding to their material possessions. To trade a male child for property would simply not make sense to most people in Hsiachichou, for it is with reference to sons and grandsons that property acquires much of its value. As one of our village informants put it when we asked him why so few people sell their sons, "There is no point in having money or land if you don't have children. Who will inherit these things if you have no sons or grandsons? And who will you have to carry on your family name when you are dead?"

Of 110 male children born into Hsiachichou before 1930 only 8 (7 percent) were sold as bíeng-liâng-kiá, and in every case the family selling the child was poor by local standards. We know that not one of these families owned land other than their own house site, and so far as their neighbors remember none had any income from a business or trade. Four of the eight children sold were sons of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-a whose family was probably the poorest in the village. According to Ong Chun-a, "We had to sell those children. We were starving then, and they offered a very good price. Besides, I had to sell my milk to make money." It is interesting to note that

Decisions about the sîn-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this atiitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

597 They therefore begin to press the wife of a first born son to adopt
842 a daughter much sooner than they do in the case of the wife of a later born son.

597 We have now seen some of the considerations which may cause a family
562 to give away its own children in adoption, and we have also isolated
858 some of the factors which may influence a family to adopt a child.
181 Before turning to our next topic it is worthwhile to pause for a moment to consider the total effect of these considerations upon the flow of male and female children between families. As a consequence of the preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage, males are highly valued and have a universal utility. It is important for a family to have male children to inherit their property and perpetuate their line, and a male child may play this role in either his natal family or in a foster family. The result is a great demand for male children and at the same time a low rate of male adoption. Many families which do not have sons of their own would like to adopt a male child, but the high value placed upon male children makes this difficult. Relatives are unwilling to surrender their own heirs and descendants and those who are willing to sell male children can ask a price which many families cannot afford. The situation of the male child is thus very much like that of a scarce commodity in a market economy. Insofar as males do change hands, they pass from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, but most people do not participate in the exchange at all. The great majority of those who want male children cannot afford to buy them, and most of those who have male children are unwilling to sell them.

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

The most important goals in the lives of the people of Hsiachichou set certain requirements for the membership of the family. A man must have descendants to support him in his old age and carry on the family rites after his death. To this end he must somehow obtain children and then see that these children marry and perpetuate his line. The various rules governing the transfer of persons between families offer him alternative ways of achieving these ends. If his wife does not bear him sons, he can either adopt a male child from an agnate or purchase a child, or, if the necessity arises, he can use one of his daughters to bring a son-in-law into the family through a matrilocal marriage. Wives for a man's sons can be adopted as children or brought into the family by means of the preferred form of marriage, and unwanted daughters can be given away as children or allowed to marry out of the family as young adults. By offering alternative ways of achieving important goals the various forms of marriage and adoption create for every family a number of recurring decisions about its membership. We have attempted here to describe the decisions which produced the recent genealogical history of Hsiachichou and also to discover what some of the factors were which made any given choice more or less likely.

One of the most important observations which we might make about these decisions is that they are regular. Rather than being the products of an infinity of conditions reflecting the individuality of each family,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 5

[P.45]

LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

sides with either Lim Chieng-cua's part of the family or Lim A-pou's. I could never lead her or her mother into a discussion of the schism in the main family, and in answer to direct questions I received only cluckings of sympathy. In trying to decide where their sympathies might most reasonably rest, I found myself hard put to come up with a feasible hypothesis. Lim Chieng-cua's coolness to his brother and, until recently, complete disregard of his brother's second wife, should disincline them to favor his side, even though he is the head of the household. Lim A-pou's ill treatment of So-lan and the latter's uneasy compunction at having contributed to Lim Hue-lieng's estrangement from his legal family would not particularly make for close ties with that part of the family either, even though there are undeniable blood ties in the second generation. I was left with a frustrating if dignified lack of information which was not the case with any of the other family fragments related to the Lims.

To the casual observer, Lim So-lan's position in the world is quite good. The quarrels between her daughters and between Gioq-ki and her husband probably attract more attention than do other family quarrels because of the strong personalities involved, but not because they are outside the broad range of behavior considered normal in Taiwanese society. Lim So-lan is respected by all who know her as a woman who works hard, pays her debts, and is not inclined to ease her loneliness with malicious gossip. The family income is sufficient for them to eat well and to dress appropriately. They fulfill their social and financial obligations at the weddings and funerals of relatives and give an acceptable number of feasts during the religious festivals. There is nothing indecorous about the fact that So-lan allows gamblers to use her house since they are not professional gamblers and do not bring in outsiders. Her older daughter's difficult personality is accepted with the sigh that covers most idiosyncracies in the village population. Gioq-ki herself has been far too busy with her own problems to meddle in her neighbors' lives.

But in terms of the main tenets of Taiwanese life, Lim So-lan has been tossed into a side pool that must dry up and cease to be. Her marriage (a term which even the most rigid villager would use to describe a liaison that existed for so many years) was irregular in that the children born to her are not descendants of her husband's family. Lim So-lan has no ancestors and her husband's ancestors are the property of the main family. If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had mar-

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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systems.

If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
771 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
795 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
• 181 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused
156 to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
771 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:68). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semiformal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

[For the importance of the male child in the Hokkien family see category 842.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*596 *159 855 *593 603 We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

+596 +159 +593 157 Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

• 181 +593 To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 715 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 599 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. 581 842 599 Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another, less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Haing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Haing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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755 154 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

796 755 789 182 [787] A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

[621] [52]

771 178 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

755 177 178 622 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line 181 is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity 182 is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge 59 to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [181] [182] [521] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [242] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [463] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [209] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number [216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

*597 *593 *562 556 what he considered the inordinate importance of material wealth in Chinese society. "Whether or not a girl is going to become an adopted daughter," he would argue, "depends entirely upon whether she is born into a rich family or a poor family. If her father is a landlord who eats his rice out of the middle of the pan, then there is no chance of her being given away in adoption; but if her family is poor and eats nothing but sweet potatoes, then she will almost certainly end up as an adopted daughter. A person's fate here depends entirely on how much money he has. As people say, 'Even the ghosts move stones for the wealthy.'"

As applied to a female child's chances of being given out in adoption, this argument contains a good deal of truth. Very wealthy families seldom give their female children in adoption, and the very poor usually had no choice but to give away their female children. On the other hand, the illustration is also exaggerated, for the fate of most female children was not a simple function of the income of their natal families. This was true only for those girls born to the very wealthy or the very poor. In a community such as Hsiachichou the wealthiest family was poor as compared with the landlords living in the market town, and only a few families were so impoverished as to have to sell their male children. Here a family's decision about raising a female child depended more upon their needs for the girl than upon their financial ability. The wealthiest family in the village was not so affluent as to be able to raise several daughters if they did not have need for them, and few families were so poor as to have to give

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*597 *562 182 away a child if they did have a use for her. Of 10 girls born into families who were clearly among the wealthiest in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 we find that 6 were given away in adoption, and of 18 girls born into families who were definitely poor at that time 5 were raised as members of their natal families. Most families with female children kept at least one of their girls, and almost all families with more than one female child gave at least one girl away in adoption. Of 57 women who bore at least one female child 39 (68 percent) raised at least one of these children, and of 30 mothers who bore two or more female children 28 (93 percent) gave away at least one of these children.

*597 *583 *562 591 182 As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, a family can achieve the goal of social continuity in several ways. They can arrange one of the two forms of patrilocal marriage for a son or an adopted son or they can arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter or an adopted daughter. A patrilocal marriage is always preferred over a matrilocal marriage when a family has a choice, but when they have no sons most families will gladly arrange a matrilocal match for a daughter. The perpetuation of the family is the goal, the forms of marriage only the means. We therefore find that one of the considerations which often enters into a family's decision about giving away a female child is their estimate of the possibility that the family may need to resort to a matrilocal marriage. If a family sees some possibility of this, they will usually be reluctant to give away their female children; while if they see little possibility of needing to resort to such a marriage,

they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly, saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money on and you might as well give her away."

A second consideration which often enters into these decisions concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsibility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done

*597 and the number of people available to do it. A family with a number of
*562 daughters does not need and often cannot afford to keep still another
• 182 female child, and will therefore usually give the child away in adoption. A family with no female children, on the other hand, may need the services of a daughter and decide to keep the girl even though reluctant "to raise a child for someone else." The crucial factor in all decisions about adoption is the needs of the family at the time of the decision, and the extent to which the child may be able to fulfiill these needs.

*597 If these arguments are right, the likelihood of any particular
*592 child's being given away in adoption should be a function of the com-
*562 position of the family into which she is born. A girl who is born into
182 a childless family should almost always be retained as a member of her parents' kê. She would be of potential value to them as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and she would also be valued for her ability to help with household chores. The girl who is born into a family with only male children should also be an unlikely candidate for adoption although her chances of remaining in her natal family should be somewhat lower than in the case of a girl born into a childless family. She would be valued for her labor, but there would be no need to keep her as insurance against the possibility of the family's not having sons. If we are right in arguing that female children are valued primarily for their labor and as a means of acquiring a son-in-law, the most likely candidates for adoption should be those girls who are born into families with female children or both male and female

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children. Such a family would not need another girl as insurance, nor would they be likely to want to retain a second girl for her labor. Our general hypothesis is that the composition of the family determines the value of a female child, and that it is primarily in terms of her value to the family that a girl's status is decided.

Considering the complexity of the phenomena with which we are dealing, we regard the following test of this hypothesis as strong support for our line of argument. Of 18 girls who were born to childless families before 1930 only 4 (22 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 13 girls born to families with male children but no female children only 4 (31 percent) were given in adoption. As compared with these relatively low rates of adoption among girls born to childless families and families with only male children, we find an extraordinarily high rate of adoption among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. Of 46 girls born to families of this type a total of 37 (81 percent) were given in adoption. Perhaps we have here one of the reasons why Hokkien women are so much more likely to attribute the character of their lives to fate than are Hokkien men. By contrast with the man whose life is not determined by anything so simple as his sibling order, a woman's life is largely a product of the composition of the family into which she is born.

These results would seem to indicate that decisions about female adoption were both rational and impersonal. A family decided in favor of keeping a child if they judged that they might need her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or if they had no other female

children and thought they could use her help with household chores. If they could see that they would not have to resort to a matrilocal marriage, and if they also had as much female labor as they could use and afford, they decided to give the child away as a means of conserving family resources. Personal attachment and other particularistic considerations apparently played little part in these decisions. This was probably due at least in part to the fact that it was the child's grandparents rather than her parents who made the decisions. They were naturally not as personally involved with the child as her own parents and were able to make the decision which was most consistent with the family's needs and goals. A second and probably more important reason was the press of circumstances and the tremendous importance of genealogical continuity. A family could not afford to give away a female child if they had no sons because they could not risk dying without descendants, and yet most families were so poor that they could not afford to keep a child who did not have any real value to the family. A family was so constrained by their goals and by their limited means that they must of necessity think of female children as counters of varying value. The head of a family might feel that girls were something to lose money on and prefer to give them away in adoption, but if he did not have any other grandchildren he could not risk such a decision. On the other hand, a parent might become very attached to a second or third born daughter and want to keep her, but if he already had several children he could not afford to do so without straining the family's finances. There was little room for personal or idiosyncratic considerations, and

the conditions of the decision were so clear as to make mistaken judgements unlikely.

One might assume that a mother would be particularly reluctant to give away her first born child and a grandparent his first born grandchild, and yet even first born daughters were given away if they did not have value in terms of the family's larger needs. For reasons which we will dicuss later, many women in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter during the early years of marriage, and when they did they were just as likely to give away the first child born to them as they were the second. We find six cases in which a first born child is a girl who was born into a family with an adopted daughter, and in only one case do we find that the family did not give the child out as an adopted daughter. The fact that a female child might have had a special emotional significance as a first born child did not save her from being given in adoption if she did not have value to the family as domestic labor or as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. The general goals of the kê apparently always took precedence over the personal concerns of any of its members.

We have seen above that the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was not primarily a function of her family's financial ability, suggesting that this was a result of the relatively little variation in the income of village families. The wealthiest families in the village could not be unconcerned about raising a child for whom they had no use, and all but the very poorest families could manage to raise a daughter if she was needed. Nonetheless, there was some

656 some variation in the fingncial capacities of village families, and much
*597 variation as did exist accounts for the ract that a few families gave
*562 away an only daughter while a few kept more than one daughter. Seven
• 182 of those 9 families who kept more than one female child seem to have been among the wealthiest families in the village at that time, and such information as we have seems to indicate that all but one of the eight families who gave away an only daughter were among the poorest families in the village. We know that in two cases the head of the family had been unemployed for some time when the girl was born, and in another case the family was so poor that they later had to sell one of their male children. It is also interesting to note that 8 of those 9 families who kept more than one daughter also gave away at least one of their later born female children. While they may have been somewhat better off than most of their neighbors, they were not so affluent as to be able to raise all their female children.

*597 The decision of eight families to give away an only female child
*562 was probably also influenced by the position of these children in their
*593 generation of the family. We know the sibling order of the fathers of six of these eight children, and in five of these six cases the father was a later born son. It therefore seems likely that these children were given away because the grandparents did not see any point in keeping so many granddaughters. Their older son's daughters provided the family with all the female labor needed, and from the grandparent's point of view the older son's children assured the continuity of the family line. There is also one other kind of consideration which may have influenced the decisions of several families who opted to keep mi

*597 *542 *592 858 178 182 The past thirty years in Hsiachichou have thus seen a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. Partially this is due to a decreased demand for adopted daughters, but primarily it is a result of changes in the economy and the structure of the kê. But is this the limit of the effect of these changes upon decisions concerning female adoption? We have seen in the last chapter that in the pre-1930 period the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was a function of her utility to her natal family. Those girls born into families who might need them to bring a son-in-law into the family or for their labor were retained, and those born into families with sons of their own and adequate domestic labor were given out in adoption. Do these same considerations enter into decisions about adoptions in the years after 1930? The question is an interesting one because of the very fact that the authority for these decisions has shifted from the older to the younger generations of the family. In asking whether or not the same considerations are relevant in the two cases we are asking whether or not the younger and the older generations of the family share the same values with regard to the nature and purpose of the family.

Despite the generally impoverished conditions of most families in Hsiachichou prior to 1930, very few families ever chose to give away in adoption a girl who was born before they had any other children. With no sons as yet the family had to face the possibility that they might not have male heirs, and so they chose to keep their daughter as a possible means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Of 18

girls born into childless families only 4 (22 percent) were given out in adoption, and in at least 3 of these 4 cases the family was so poor as to be unable to afford such insurance. This same tendency is also found in the case of those decisions made after 1930. Of 35 female children born into childless families during this later period only 2 (6 percent) were given out in adoption, and in one of these cases the child's parents did not have any choice in the matter. Adopted by a village family as a sim-pû, the child's mother objected to marrying her foster brother, and was then allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give them her first born child in adoption.

In the years before 1930 the rate of adoption among those girls born into families with male but no female children was also relatively low, although somewhat higher than among those girls born into childless families. While not needed as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, girls born into families with no other daughters were valued for their labor, and hence were not commonly given out in adoption. Of 13 girls born into families with at least one son but no daughter only 4 (31 percent) were given away, and in several of these cases the child would probably have not been given away if it had not been that her grandparents already had other granddaughters. Again we find the same tendency for those decisions made after 1930. Of 17 girls born into families with sons but no daughters only 3 (18 percent) were given away, a rate of adoption which is higher than that found among girls born into childless families but still somewhat

lower than the overall rate for girls born after 1930. It is interesting to note that in two of those three cases in which a family reclaimed a daughter given away in adoption the girl was an only daughter of a family with several male children. These families apparently did value their only daughter to some extent even though they had given her away in adoption, and when offered the opportunity they were not too reluctant to take the child back.

The highest rate of adoption in the pre-1930 period was among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. These families already had all the female labor they could afford as well as the means of perpetuating their lines, and so they gave away their later born daughters to save the expense of raising them. Of the 47 girls born into such families 37 (81 percent) were given out in adoption, a rate substantially higher than that for girls born into families without female children. The same is true of those decisions made after 1930. Although the absolute rate of adoption among girls born into families with female children or both male and female children is much lower than in the pre-1930 period, it is much higher than among those girls born into families with no female children in the post-1930 period. Whereas only 5 (10 percent) of those 52 girls born into families without female children were given out in adoption, a total of 32 (31 percent) of those 103 girls born into families with female children were given in adoption.

We thus find much the same pattern of adoption in the years since 1930 as in the years prior to 1930, a correspondence which suggests

*597 that all of these decisions were made in much the same terms. It
*592 would therefore seem that there is a close agreement among the
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858 generations of the family with regard to certain values concerning the
178 goals of the family. Having more resources available to them and being
• 182 more concerned about the personal welfare of their children, parents gave away fewer of their female offspring than did the grandparents when they held primary responsibility for these decisions. When circumstances did force the parents to give away one of their children, however, they generally made their decisions as to which child in much the same terms as had the grandparents. They gave away those girls who had little value as labor or as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and they retained those girls who could be useful as domestic labor and who might be needed as a means of insuring continuity in the family line. Although we shall see later that the shift in authority from the older to the younger generations of the family has affected some decisions about marriage and adoption, it apparently did not alter the kinds of considerations which go into a decision about female adoption.

Another comparison between the adoption patterns of the two periods adds further weight to this argument. In the years before 1930 families almost always gave away girls born after a female but before a male as well as those girls born after the family had both a son and a daughter. Of those 13 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 11 (85 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 33 girls born into families with both sons and daughters

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26 (79 percent) were given in adoption. This is what one would expect if most families were so poor that they could not afford to raise their female children. When a family which did not have any sons as yet produced a daughter they would keep her as insurance against the possibility of not bearing sons, but they would tend to give away all of their later born girls whether or not they had borne a son in the meantime. They simply could not afford to keep two female children as insurance. If a family was not so pressed by their limited financial means, however, we might expect to find a very different attitude towards raising a second daughter when they had no sons. Until a family actually bore a male child who could act as an heir and descendant, they might very well want to keep more than one daughter as a potential means of bringing a man into the family. Just as it is considered wise to have more than one son "because you can't tell how one of them might treat you," it is also wise to have more than one daughter in case one of them rebels against the prospect of a matrilocal marriage. We might therefore expect to find a very different rate of adoption among girls born into families with daughters but no sons in the years after 1930. Living in a generally more favorable economy, most families could afford more insurance, and so we might expect them to keep all of their daughters until they actually produced a son, giving away their girls only if they were assured of continuity through a male heir. This is just what we do find. After 1930 girls born into families with a daughter but no sons were retained as members of the family nearly as often as those girls born into

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan.[435] In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a yaar's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 116 boys born into the village before

1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was transferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely to give away their daughters than another family. In the language of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed during the course of the last three or four decades, some families have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*597 but there are also other factors which may make any given decision more
*562 or less likely. The generation which has the authority for making the
*592 decisions in the family determines the fate of many children, and the
• 182 family's economic status determines the fate of a good many more.
[556] Children whose fates are decided by their parents are somewhat less likely to be given away than those whose fates are determined by their grandparents, and children born into poor families are somewhat more likely to be given in adoption than those born into wealthy families.

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

*597 While we would argue that the sīm-pūa's willingness "to listen to
*593 her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child
606 of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pūa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pūa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pūa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

*597 Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pūa form of marriage
*593 would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A
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daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīn-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
• 182 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having
183 abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīn-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
182 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
183 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures
606 a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words."
When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations. Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

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to raise as a wife for one of their sons. The family with at least one female child and no sons, on the other hand, would not have any reason to adopt a daughter. Their own daughter would be evidence of the wife's fertility as well as insurance against the possibility of her not bearing sons, and there would obviously be no reason for them to adopt a wife for sons which they do not as yet possess.

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When we test these hypotheses by comparing families of varying composition in terms of the relative number of girls born and girls adopted, the results provide a surprisingly good confirmation of our argument. In the period before 1930 when all three of these motives were still operating we find strikingly different rates of adoption among the three types of families. Of a total of 46 female children who were either born into or adopted into village families without children 26 (57 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 74 girls who entered village families with at least one male child 35 (49 percent) came by way of adoption. By contrast with these very high rates of adoption we find the expected low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no male children. Of 16 girls born or adopted into families of this type only 2 (12 percent) were adopted.

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It would thus seem that most adoptions during this period were made either as a means of bringing a male into the family or as a means of obtaining a wife for a son.

The picture in the years after 1930 is somewhat different. We still find a very high rate of adoption by childless families, and a low rate of adoption by families with female but no male children. Of

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Because of the incest taboo and the preference for patriliny, the situation is very different in the case of female children. While male children have a universal value, the value of a female child varies with her situation. She is usually of little value to the family into which she is born, but she may be of considerable value to a family which adopts her. To her natal family she is "something to lose money on," but to a potential foster family she is the means of achieving the goal of genealogical continuity. The result is that while there is a one way flow of male children from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, there is a generalized exchange of female children. Families who have female children gladly give them away in adoption, and at the same time they are glad to adopt female children from other families. Most families participate in the system as both givers and takers because they have no use for their own girls and do have uses for the girls of others. The only exceptions result from the possibilities created by the institution of matrilocal marriage. When a family has no sons this institution allows them to substitute a daughter for a son, and as a result they do not give away their own daughters or adopt daughters from others. The possibility of a matrilocal marriage makes some female children the equivalent of male children and thereby precludes their entrance into the system of exchange.

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CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

*121 *597 *583 *592 • 182 The most important goals in the lives of the people of Hsiachichou set certain requirements for the membership of the family. A man must have descendants to support him in his old age and carry on the family rites after his death. To this end he must somehow obtain children and then see that these children marry and perpetuate his line. The various rules governing the transfer of persons between families offer him alternative ways of achieving these ends. If his wife does not bear him sons, [181] he can either adopt a male child from an agnate or purchase a child, or, if the necessity arises, he can use one of his daughters to bring a son-in-law into the family through a matrilocal marriage. Wives for a man's sons can be adopted as children or brought into the family by means of the preferred form of marriage, and unwanted daughters can be given away as children or allowed to marry out of the family as young adults. By offering alternative ways of achieving important goals the various forms of marriage and adoption create for every family a number of recurring decisions about its membership. We have attempted here to describe the decisions which produced the recent genealogical history of Hsiachichou and also to discover what some of the factors were which made any given choice more or less likely.

One of the most important observations which we might make about these decisions is that they are regular. Rather than being the products of an infinity of conditions reflecting the individuality of each family,

they seem to vary with a limited number of considerations common to all families. Knowing nothing more than the structure and composition of the family at the time a decision is made, we can predict with considerable confidence the likelihood of their choosing one alternative rather than another. We can say that families with female children and no male children are much less likely to adopt a female child than childless families and families with male children, and we can say that a female child who is born into a family with both male and female children is much more likely to be given away than a girl born into a family with only female children or only male children. The people of Hsiachichou apparently perceive their alternatives in much the same terms and are motivated by common considerations. Only rarely do idiosyncratic judgments occur. We are confident that with more accurate data and more sensitive measures of some variables we would be able to make a limited number of statements which would summarize the great majority of decisions about marriage and adoption made in Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years.

Such regularity might be expected if these decisions were made in accordance with prefabricated cultural solutions, but this does not seem to be the case. We are not dealing with obedient responses to cultural norms, but rather with a process which is both conscious and calculated. The villager who decides to adopt a girl to raise as his son's wife does not choose this alternative because this is what his culture tells him to do. He calculates the advantages and disadvantages of the preferred form of marriage, weighs these against the good and

bad points of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, and then makes his decision in terms of his own reckoning. His culture sets for him some of his goals and limits his means of achieving these goals, but he decides between the available means as a free agent, depending for his guidance upon his own judgment and his own grasp of the facts. Our problem here has not been to discover why certain cultural solutions have been formulated and why most people accept these solutions; our task has rather been one of why individual village families select one line of action as more advantageous than another.

An important consideration which enters into any decision about marriage and adoption is the relative cost of the alternatives. We have seen that one of the reasons a poor family is more likely to adopt a sīm-pûa for a son is because it is the cheaper way of obtaining a daughter-in-law, and we have also seen that the costs of raising a child is one of the most common reasons for giving away female children in adoption. Why should this be so? Why should the economic consequences of any choice play such an important role in these decisions? The obvious answer is that Hsiachichou is a poor community in a market economy, but we wonder if this is the whole answer. A universal medium of exchange provides a people with a sensitive scale for comparing the economic consequences of various actions. One can say that buying a male child from a dealer is ten times as expensive as adopting a son from an agnate, and one can compare in a precise way the relative cost of alternative forms of marriage. We wonder if economics would be as important a variable if the people of a community were able to weigh

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
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• 182 ship within the kê is one of the considerations which enters into the
511 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sîm-pûa marriage.
Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight
in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the rela-
tive degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that
economic considerations are an important determinant of human action,
we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity,
both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
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182 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
554 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
626 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou,
the event is something more than a public act; it is a public perfom-
ance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through
the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession
of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended
by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose
primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family
must always consider what the community is going to say about their de-
cision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by
making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a
loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sīm-pûa marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

#121 • 182 the aims of the creators. That certain types of functional analyses have been as successful as they have while ignoring this point is probably only because the analysts have been saved from their teleological assumptions by the analytic abilities of the peoples being studied.

#121 182 #583 829 If we are right in placing this restriction upon the forms of explanation acceptable in social anthropology, it follows that anthropologists should be particularly concerned to discover what the native knows about the functions of his own social system. The native analyst, like the foreign anthropologist, is fallible. He may perceive certain advantages accruing from any given arrangement, but he may miss other equally important disadvantages. The reader may have noticed just such an instance in our description of Hsiachichou. The villager sees the reduced tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the major advantages of the sĭm-pûa form of marriage, but he apparently does not see the dangers of this arrangement for the parent-child relationship. That many village men leave their parental homes for extended periods of time to live with a mistress the average villager is aware, but he does not think of this as a consequence of the sĭm-pûa form of marriage, although our analysis indicates that this is much more common among men who marry sĭm-pûa than in either of the other two forms of marriage. Why does the villager see the advantages and miss the disadvantages? Are some social consequences more visible than others? And if so, what is it that makes them more or less visible? We would argue that the answer to such questions as these are crucial to an understanding of the origins of social structure.

*121 • 182 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

121 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old
182 the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society
182 are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also
593 seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they
592 give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be
621 aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of
602 affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential
[606] advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pûa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

*121 *583 *192 *597 • 182 while for their son it is a matter of taking a wife. To the grandparents a decision about female adoption may be simply a question of whether or not to give away one of their several granddaughters, but for the parents it is often a question of giving away their own child and perhaps their only daughter. Since any rearrangement of the structure of the family will necessarily have a different effect upon people who occupy different positions in the household, the decision made about any given alternative will almost always depend upon who in the family makes the decision.

*121 Although this would presumably be the case in any society, consideration of the locus of authority in the family seldom enters into structural analyses of marriage and adoption. Take, for example, the current controversy over the question of cross-cousin marriage. Despite the great bulk of the literature stimulated by the debate, one does not find anywhere an appreciation of the fact that the two contending theories make different assumptions about who is responsible for arranging marriages. Levi-Strauss argues that the matrilateral form of cross-cousin marriage is more common because it has structural advantages for a society with more than two exogamous units.[1] It creates a more generalized exchange of brides than the patrilateral form, and thereby affords the society a greater degree of organic solidarity. Although he does not to the best of our knowledge ever commit himself

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1 See Claude Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

*121 to such a position, it would seem that Levi-Strauss is thinking of a society in which the senior generations of the family ordinarily arrange marriages. He agrees that it would be necessary for the members of the society to recognize the advantages of a wide network of alliances, and we can see that it would be the older and more experienced members of society who would be most aware of the advantages of such a network. It is usually the mature men and women in any society who occupy positions of formal and informal leadership, and it is naturally people in such positions who are most impressed by the importance of group solidarity. Homans and Schneider, on the other hand, clearly assume that the junior generations of the family arrange their own marriages.[2] A child's attitude towards his mother and father would not have any effect upon the likelihood of his wanting to marry one cousin rather than another unless he himself were making the decision. Although it is outside the scope of the present discussion to pursue the idea any further, we would at least suggest that the two theories may not really be in conflict. In a society in which it is the parents who arrange marriages Levi-Strauss' structural argument may be the better explanation, and in the society in which the younger people arrange their own marriages, Homans and Schneider's view may be the more appropriate.

178 *383 *593 *121 • 182 We have seen that as the senior generation of the family gradually lost control of decisions about marriage and adoption the frequency of

[2] See George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

*121 "the relations between adult members of the second generation are friendly and familiar but devoid of any signs of erotic tension. Members of the second generation view their relations with each other as 'sexless' and erotically indifferent."[16]

*121 *383 *182 It would therefore seem that intimate and prolonged childhood association is alone sufficient to produce sexual aversion, and that our best interpretation of the younger generations rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is in terms of the Westermarck hypothesis. If this is indeed the situation, we then have a clear case in which a major readjustment of a social structure can only be accounted for with reference to psychological variables. Like the first generation of the kibbutzim, who prefer endogamy because of its advantages for social continuity, the parents of Hsiachichou often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage over the preferred marriage for structural reasons. Once the younger generations came to have a voice in arranging their own marriages, however, they rejected the sīm-pûà form of marriage, being either averse or indifferent to the thought of sexual relations with a sibling. As a result, a type of social structure which had real sociological advantages disappeared because it did not satisfy the personal needs of some members of the society. The social anthropologist who arbitrarily limits himself to a sociological analysis takes the chance that the effects of these variables may be submerged by the influence of factors outside the scope of his analysis.

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16 Ibid., p. 32.

*121 *583 *597 • 182

We began our analysis with the hope of discovering why it is the people of Hsiachichou choose one form of marriage or adoption rather than another. Why do some families give their female children away in adoption, while others choose to raise them and allow them to marry out of the family in the preferred way? Why do some families adopt female children while others do not? It may have occurred to the reader that in asking such questions as these we are putting the cart before the horse. Perhaps a family first chooses a husband or a wife for their son or daughter and then arranges whatever form of marriage they can in order to make this match. Having decided that they would like to ally themselves with a particular Tan family, an Ong family with a male child might first find out what arrangement can be made with the Tans to obtain their daughter in marriage. If the Tans prefer to give their daughter away as a child, the Ong family can then adopt the girl as a sim-pûa. On the other hand, if the Tans do not want to see their daughter leave the family at such an early age, the Ongs might have to wait to arrange a preferred marriage when the children are older. Again, a young man who has reached marriageable age might meet and fall in love with a particular girl, and then make whatever marriage he could to obtain her as his wife. If her parents would allow her to marry out of the family, he would probably take her as a wife in the preferred way, but if for some reason her parents would not allow her to marry out of the family, he might then make a matrilocal marriage. Although our own society does not allow alternatives in the matter of marriage, our conception of marriage leads us to expect this ordering

*121 *583 +597 • 182 of decisions. We tend to think of the choice of the particular person as the first and major consideration, and of all other decisions as secondary and relatively minor.

This is also, on occasion, the situation in Hsiachichou. We know one case in which a man did marry into his wife's family because she could not marry out of the family, and we also know of a family which adopted a female child simply because the wife had become very fond of the girl. More commonly, however, the family first decides how they want to arrange the membership of their household, and they then look for a way in which this can be managed. The decision about the form of marriage or adoption usually precedes and takes precedence over the choice of the particular person or family. That this is the case is indicated by the analysis we have already presented. If the choice of the form of marriage or adoption followed from the choice of the particular person or family, we would not have been able to predict these decisions in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of the alternative forms. Although considerations of this kind might enter into any marriage or adoption, they would not carry the weight necessary to produce the relationships we have discovered. We emphasize the point because we feel that it is evidence of the way in which the average villager thinks of marriage and adoption. They are first of all types of social arrangements with certain advantages and disadvantages, and only secondarily matters of love and sentiment. The villager with children first thinks of the various ways in which they could marry, and only when this question is settled does he turn his attention to

*121 *583 *577 • 182 the question of the persons they should marry. To the people of Hsiachichou marriage and adoption are less matters of personal attraction than instruments of family purpose.

*121 While it has not been our aim here to evaluate previous studies of the Chinese family, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with one remark on the subject. Not a few anthropologists have come to regard the study of the Chinese family as a closed book, the assumption being that the major outlines and aspects of the family are now understood. The young anthropologist is urged to move on to the study of the bureaucracy, the city, the articulation of the peasantry and the elite, and above all, of course, the social organization of Communist China. While we heartily agree with the need for further studies of these subjects, we would include the family as an equally important topic for further research. Although there is a sizeable literature dealing with the traditional family, it is neither complete nor in many cases accurate, hardly the kind of scholarship on which to close the book. The village of Hsiachichou is not unusual in practicing a variety of forms of marriage, and yet the great bulk of the literature does not deal with any form of the family other than that resulting from the preferred form of marriage. The most recent of these, Marion Levy's The Family in Modern China,[17] analyzes in detail the structure created by the preferred marriage, but does not even r ntion the existence of other forms of the family. The best of the community studies do mention the occurrence of some of the alternative forms of marriage, but

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17 Marion J. Levy, The Family Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949). See also Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological system employed in the community. A village can be viewed on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

At the time the clog business was introduced, Sanlei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields operating in terms of a technological system which required certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

The clog industry required adult male labor inputs which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor

182 241 462 464 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature but not aged males had constituted the majority of the labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
462 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they
464 were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

462 Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128 621 571 602 182 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
• 182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
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59 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria
182 were merely based on those items that seemed immediately
602 necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can
59 all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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602
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182

(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

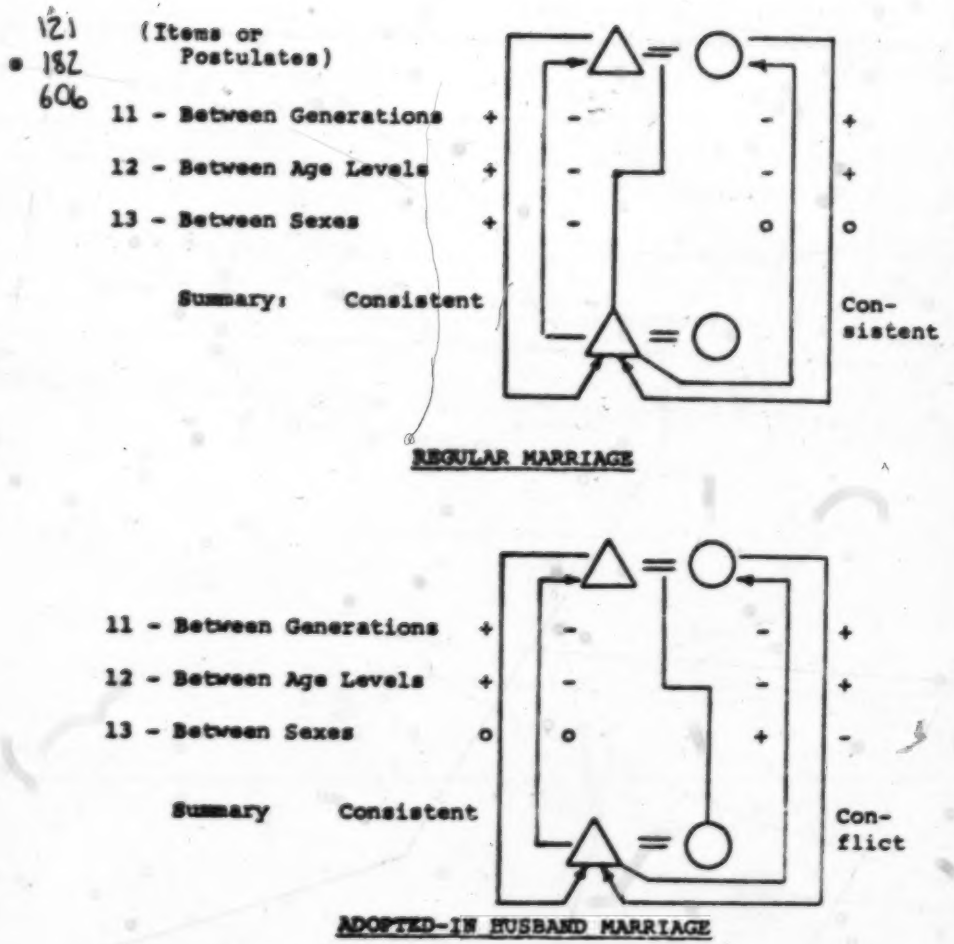
Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un



Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

• 182 59 situation is relatively rare, it is useful analytically for a starting point and once completely described, the life cycle can be viewed as an endless chain. Phase I, the Phase of Expansion continues until the first child is married. The first several years in the existence of the household may produce a variety of forms such as those listed below:

A. The couple would meet the typical ideal minimal goal maintained by most villagers and have three boys and two girls and raise all to maturity, complying with all the above items.

B. The couple would have only one boy but perhaps one or more girls and raise the boy to maturity, also complying with all the above items except perhaps (6).

C. The couple would have no boys but one or more girls who live to maturity potentially violating (6) and (17) and surely violating (1) and (2).

D. The couple would have no children, violating (1), (2), (6), and (17).

E. The couple would be divorced or either mate would die, in either case without offspring, violating the same items as in Case D.

There are culturally provided solutions for each of the above potential violations. For case B and C, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) and/or have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for one or more of the girls. For case D, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) or one or more girls (5) and have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for the adopted girls. In the case of E, without offspring, either remarriage is possible or the solutions advanced for D. Note

182 59 that in Phase I, the Phase of Expansion, all the families listed above would be nuclear.

Phase II, the Phase of Dispersion or Fission, occurs during the period from the marriage of the first child until the marriage of the last. In accordance with (1), (6), and (17), it would be best if children, as they married brought in their spouses to live in the parents home with (2) and (3) requiring that male offspring especially bring in their spouses. Consequently, if there are no males in the family, it is necessary that no less than one female bring in a husband and in this case, that there be a possibility of producing a child in the succeeding generation with the original surname. In accordance with the requirements of (2) and (3) and because of (4), this condition can be met and often is met by the local practice of an adopted-in husband who permits one or more of his children to be assigned his wife's original surname. The A case above, which does not violate most postulates, would have seldom been realized in Sanlei due to death rates. Demonstrated in Figure 11 are various ways in which each of the five types (A, B, C, D, E) may become a stem family. Of course it is also possible that any stem family could become a regular extended family which is highly probable for A in particular.

However, an extended family is unlikely to come into existence because of demographic factors, i.e., two

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

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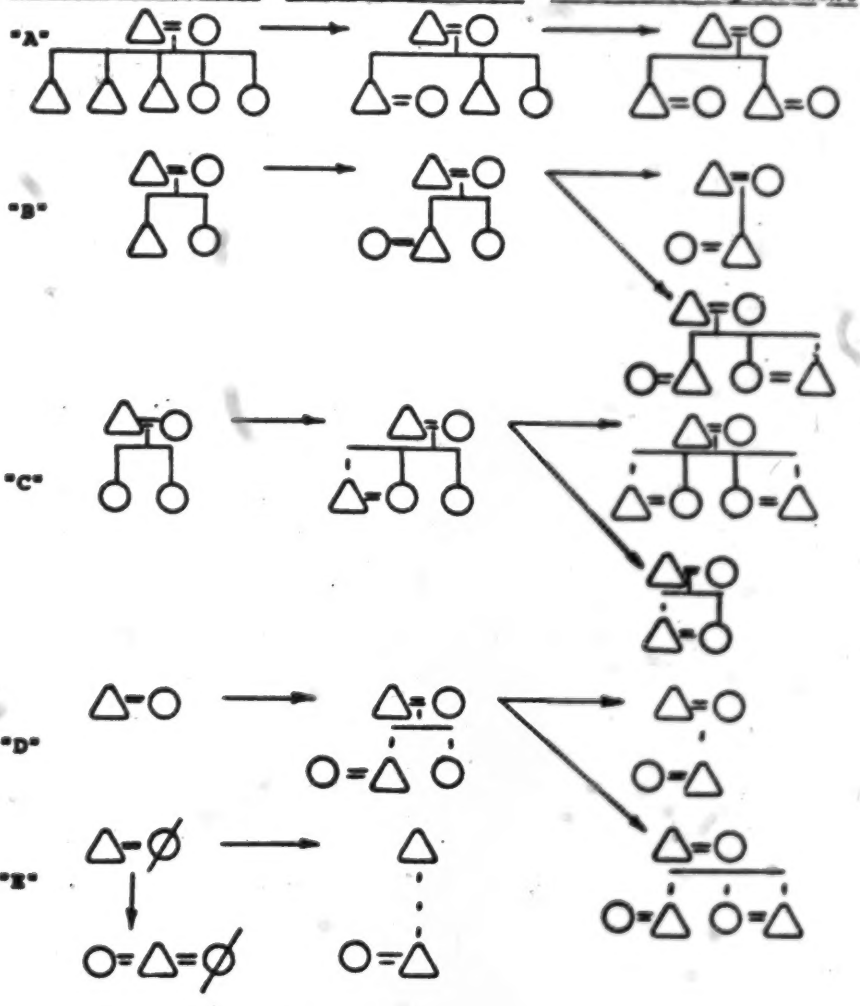

Note: This is a sample only and favors development of more complex forms. Any unit may divide or die off before achievement of column 3 and thereby revert back to column 1.

Figure 11. Sample of Family Life Cycle Stages in Sanlei

182 59 males must marry while at least one parent remains alive. As indicated, other processes could create extended families, but these too are unlikely. Adopting boys is extremely expensive and although adopted-in husbands may be acquired for natural or adopted daughters, it would take a reasonably wealthy household to attract two men.

Nevertheless, an extended family is realized with some degree of regularity, but seldom is an extended family maintained for other factors are relevant. For example, there is the recognition of man's individuality (10) but he is supposedly subordinate to the family (9), a potential and frequent conflict. In the larger family, it is difficult to maintain the harmony that is expected (7) because of the belief that the large group naturally has more problems (8); there are more females who naturally fight with each other (16); and finally, many members are only affines, a stronger source of conflict than consanguines (14) and (15). It may very well be the case that these three causes are part of a self-fulfilling prophesy, i.e., it is believed there should be problems, so there are.

Yet, while the senior generation male is active and in control, a continued undivided existence is possible. However, as he approaches and passes age 60, he ceases to be regarded as an effective adult, often withdrawing willingly from the responsibility (18). This withdrawal is

182 59 usually delayed as long as there is one unmarried child in the household, particularly if the child is male (18). In accordance with age emphasis (12), control should pass to the oldest son. However, the degree of respect due older siblings (12) does not often appear strong enough to overcome the other centrifugal forces. It seemingly takes the increment of respect due between generations (11) to overcome these centrifugal forces and even that is rarely sufficient. In Sanlei, there was only one ta chia ting with two males in the senior generation but this was an odd case, one brother's wife had deserted him (the family was discussed in connection with Figure 8). M. Wolf (1968) also found one ta chia ting in Hotien that had two males in the senior generation, but she too felt the situation sufficiently unusual to justify the occurrence as a special case in special circumstances.

Upon the death of the male chia chang, or at his withdrawal from active control, if all sons are married, it is almost certain there will be family division. However, care for the aged by a man's descendants (17) is so important that seldom will division occur if there is only one male in the younger generation. If there are several sons and a division takes place, it is likely that the old parents will remain with one son united in a stem family.

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59 Phase III, the Phase of Replacement, lasts until the death of both parents. Given the high death rates, this stage may have been realized before any child is married. It does seem usual that the last of the old parents die while living in a home with one married descendant and perhaps, some grandchildren. An old couple with more than one married son usually prefers living in the home of the youngest but there is no cultural norm specifying the youngest son. I would suggest the following factors favor the youngest. Relations between a male and his first-born son are formal and harsh in Sanlei although parents seemingly develop greater skill in child-rearing with practice. The last child is often a family pet, babied by others, while both mother and father put less pressure on the youngest to succeed. The last child has been forced to adjust to older siblings (12) and has likely developed greater skills in smooth interpersonal relations. The end of Stage III produces one or more Stage I families and we are back at the beginning of the cycle. Note however, that the Stage I family is actually likely to already include children at its inception.

To summarize this explication of family cycles, note that with the historical demographic rates, it appears that a large number of people will be living in nuclear households at any given moment in time, as indicated by the 40% figure realized through the statistical approach (Table 6).

182 59 An examination of the situation from the point of view of an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 183 59 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e., 515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son, 573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

796 194 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
193 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

771 Finally, during periods of ultimate crises, various
• 182 aspects of religion and ritual emotionally support an individual. Although medicine may fail, religion or magic may work and if neither prove effective, there is the underlying concept of fate, i.e., all had been ordained at birth. By using magic and religion, one has attempted all possible avenues towards achievement of some goal.

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 221 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.

221 241 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 245 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

243 245 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244 245 221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

• 182 464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 244 243 464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total denial of educational opportunities for females. The differences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
871 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1945 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
• 183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want
[594] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 4

THE ALTERNATIVES

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In the ideal Chinese world it would only be by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage that a person would exchange his status in one family for membership in another. Every family would bear sons who would marry and live with their parents, and every girl would leave her natal home as a young adult to become a daughter-in-law in her husband's family. Although we are very much inclined to doubt it, this ideal may have been realized in other parts of China. In Hsiachichou only a minority of the changes in family membership take place by means of the preferred marriage. Our genealogies include 167 cases of men and women who were born into village families which they later left by way of marriage or adoption, and 236 cases of men and women who were born elsewhere and later entered village families by marriage or adoption. Of these 167 persons leaving Hsiachichou 32 left by means of the preferred marriage, and of the 236 persons entering village families 74 came by way of the preferred marriage. Among those men and women who entered village families by way of adoption, 29 eventually married out of their foster families in the preferred way. We therefore find that of 196 persons leaving village families only 61 (31 percent) left by way of a preferred marriage, and of 236 persons entering village families only 74 (31 percent) came by way of a preferred marriage. While there can be no doubt that the preferred marriage was the ideal

583 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are
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582 other means which are just as important in practice.

584 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is
599 what we will hereafter refer to as the sĭm-pûà, or "little daughter-
583 in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sĭm-pûà enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sĭm-pûà adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sĭm-pûà marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou
554 have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual. [554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [585] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

593 the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most
602 they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was
889 setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would
[189] just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

593 When asked the most important reason for having children, several
181 villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing
842 on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial
888 thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

593 to punish him for being so unfilial. As one of our informants in
966 Hsiachichou explained,

> "When you have a child you want him to take care of you when you are old and bury you when you die, but it is just the opposite if you have to bury him. It is because you are mad at him for failing you that you beat him."

583 What, then, are the considerations which make a family more or
183 less likely to adopt a sīm-pûa rather than marrying their son in the
554 preferred way? Certainly one of the most important is that the preferred form of marriage is by definition the proper way for a man to marry. The sīm-pûa form of marriage is not disgraceful but neither is it as right, as natural, as the preferred form. The difference between the two is analogous to the difference between speaking a language with an accent and speaking without an accent. Both will do, but one is right. The very fact that it is the right form of marriage also makes the preferred marriage the more prestigious. It is favored for the same reason that a church wedding is preferred over a civil wedding in the United States. It is the socially correct way of marrying. Moreover, like a church wedding in the United States, it gives a family an opportunity for social display and conspicious consumption. Being able to pay a large bride price, receiving an ostentatious dowry, entertaining hundreds of friends and relatives, displaying to your neighbors and fellow villagers the extent of your social ties -- all of these give a family face. One might say that the preferred marriage is better than the sīm-pûa form of marriage for the same reason that a terazzo floor is better than a simple concrete floor.

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīm-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
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183 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
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183 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
606 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words." When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
693 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
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183 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
606 other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

583 The choice between the sīm-pûà marriage and the preferred marriage
597 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
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556 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
182 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
183 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûà form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûà marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûà form of marriage as a way to avoid the

near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma. A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family, she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered "Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say, 'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?" When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage personally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that marrying one's foster brother was bŏu ī-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;" and a number of others indicated that they felt that such a marriage was kiàn-siǔ, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

*584 given by many villagers was that they privately regard it as something
*597 very like incest. While we were told that marriage with a distant
• 183 clan mate is regarded as incest, none of our informants seemed to
835 display any personal revulsion in their attitudes toward such a union. In the case of the sīn-pûà marriage, on the other hand, it was agreed that no one could criticize a person for making such a marriage, but at the same time most people seem to feel uncomfortable about the idea of making such a marriage themselves. The discrepancy between social and private attitudes to the sīm-pûà marriage is perhaps most apparent in the behavior of those young people who refused to make such a marriage. They realize that the marriage is proper and feel guilty about not acquiescing in their parents' plans, but still they say that they could not submit to the marriage "because it was embarrassing."

Because of this embarrassment we were unable to get most of the villagers to discuss their feelings about the sīm-pûà marriage in any detail. Questions about the subject usually elicited the same kind of response as questions about personal sexual habits. One of the few exceptions was a young woman who talked to us at some length about her reason for refusing to marry her foster brother. While we do not have the information necessary to say that her reactions are typical, they do at least seem congruent with the less specific reactions of other informants.

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"My father was so mad at me when I didn't want to marry my brother, but there was nothing he could do. I just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away either. There

#589 #593 #599 835 183 was nothing he could do. They couldn't just kick me out of the house. He used to get so mad at me that he wouldn't even talk to me, but now he seems to have gotten over that. Now he understands me better, and is nice to me."

Did he try to make you marry your brother?

"Of course. Everyone here tried very hard. He didn't say anything to me himself; he had my mother talk to me. All the neighbors helped, too. He also sent for my real mother to talk to me but she can't argue very well. When I said something to her she didn't know what to say next. The neighbors would say something to her, and she would get mad and come and scold me. I told her, 'I'm going to be very filial. It's not that I'm not filial. I just don't want to marry him. I will treat you even better later than I treat you now.' I tried very hard to be filial to her, but when I asked her to come and go to a movie or something, she would say, 'Oh, let's wait until he (the informant's foster brother) gets married.' But then she died just after he married. I tried very hard to be filial to her but I just didn't get the chance. Even now that I'm not married I don't feel bad about what I did. My brother and his wife are happy. If I had given in and married him, I am sure that we would dislike each other very much by now."

But don't lots of people who marry in this way get along pretty well?

"Well, those who really get along are very few. You can say that none of them like it. Really, it is meaningless to marry your foster brother. I really think it is meaningless. One day after I refused a friend of mine who married a mainlander invited me to dinner at her house and my real father was there. After we had had dinner he began to scold me, telling me that I ought to marry my brother. I was so mad. I didn't like him in the first place, and when he did this I just felt that he was trying to lose my face and let everyone know that I wasn't filial. I got so mad my hands were cold, and I almost passed out. My mother was the one who bore me so she understood more, and she finally made him stop talking. But I was really mad. When I went home for a visit after my brother was married my father said to me, 'I don't see how you can stand it. How can you go on living in that house? I would have thought that you would have run away a long time ago.' When you think about it, it is meaningless for me to go on living here, but I felt like telling him, 'How can you think that I could come back here and get used to living with all of you again? From the time

#584 I was a child I hated you for giving me away, so how could
#593 I live with you now?' But I didn't dare say this because
#597 they were my real parents."

835 Why did your father say that you should be embarrassed to go
• 183 on living here?

"After I had done this there was no point in my living here anymore. My foster mother was the only one who really liked me, and she was already dead then. There just wasn't any point to it anymore. But I just couldn't make myself think of going to live with my real parents. Not even now that I am older and understand it all. And I really don't see how my foster father could have tried to make me marry my brother. When he married his foster sister she ran away after two days and never came back again. I'm sure he must remember that, and so I don't see how he could want me to make such a marriage. His foster sister lives in Taipei now, and she lives very well. The one time I met her though she was very embarrassed. After she ran away she married again, and she now has a very good life."

Why didn't she run away before she was married?

"I don't know. I guess she was just better behaved than I am. But then after she married the more she thought about it the more meaningless it was, and so the only thing she could do was to run away. And I think that was the best thing for her to do."

Why do you say that it would have been meaningless for you to marry your foster brother?

"I don't know. I just couldn't do it. I felt embarrassed about it. At that time I thought to myself, 'It is just because I'm young and don't want to get married yet.' And I didn't want to get married but that wasn't the real reason. I think that it was because he was my brother. Marrying your brother! I felt embarrassed about it. I don't even talk to him now unless I have to. I don't know why it is, but I just feel embarrassed about it."

#584 The parties to the preferred marriage or the matrilocal marriage
#597 do not ordinarily meet until they are biologically mature, but the
#593 man and woman who become husband and wife in the sim-pûa marriage are associated with one another from early childhood. A woman with male

CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 183 58 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however, it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that [54] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes. Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption. To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children, and what are some of the considerations which enter into their decisions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sim-pua marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

159 596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

159 596 578 604 607 431 626 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

epilogue

[p.148]

SEPARATE STOVES

596 592 578 A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

596 592 578 123 Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

596 178 769 [183] Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine stu-
183 dents agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and
562 the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

666 562 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 666 183 The underlying principle governing the above pattern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In summary there is both under-registration and over-registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

Information regarding individuals is also frequently inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
183 family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
162 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
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597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[183] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realisation of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in hus-
558 bands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has impor-
183 tant implications for the role of women. There are prob-
123 ably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly simosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

178 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

182 An examination of the situation from the point of view of
59 an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and
• 183 descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural
59 values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra
[183] general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." [785] (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." [517] [364] (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." [758] (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." [784] [753] [755] (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Tu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

783
796 About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

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significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

The typical desired family size among women of childbearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

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The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

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In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sioasiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

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families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

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The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

T [433] [67]

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

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Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[5] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[6] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lȏng-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sĩn-pû̀, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cĩ-bȏ-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lâng-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cî-bó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sîm-pûà to lâng-lù" (sîm-pûà and lâng-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

poor to adopt a child simply to aid with household chores, and in the post-war years government regulations have discouraged those few families who might have considered such an adoption. Our concern here will therefore be primarily with four forms of adoption, two forms of male adoption and two forms of female adoption. Since English does not provide vocabulary adequate for labeling these institutions, we will have to employ the Chinese terminology in order to avoid long and clumsy paraphrasing. The adoption of a male child from an agnate, we will refer to as the kho-páng-kià: form of adoption, and the adoption of a male child from a non-agnate, the biēng-liōng-kià: form of adoption. The form of adoption which makes a female child a potential wife of a son of the adopting family we will term the sīm-pûà form of adoption, or the sim-pua form of marriage, since it is both; and the form of adoption which gives a female child the same status she would have had if she had been born into the family we will refer to as the lông-lû form of adoption, although it must be remembered that in Hsiachichou adopted daughters of this kind are more commonly referred to as sīm-pûà and are treated ritually as though they were sīm-pûà.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

Earth God Temple

796 According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth)
• [184] is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and
towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods
798 (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a
small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger
communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's
shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a
convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui
[346] coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four
[532] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. In-
side is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

796 It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss
religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen)
which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who
worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malev-
olent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain
neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors
may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevo-
lence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will
not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural
being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and
vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon
of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized
much like the traditional government of Imperial China.
[184] Although there is great regional variation in details

776 there are hundreds of gods arranged hierarchically so
• [184] that important gods have both attendants and troops. A villager approaches the gods much as he does ordinary governmental officials, i.e., gods and officials alike can be bribed, coaxed, tricked, etc., for gods are neither omniscient nor omnipresent.

T'u Ti Kung is the god in charge of the local community and thus, ranks low in the hierarchy. Villagers describe his status as somewhat similar to the local policeman. He keeps track of local events: births, deaths, farm production, business enterprises, marriages, etc., and has the power to influence the acquisition of
776 wealth. Therefore, supplications are made to him by farm-
782 ers before planting and thanks are given to him after harvesting. Some of the regular periodic religious events require worship at the T'u Ti Kung temple as well as the main temple and one event is devoted to his temple and the home. Some households make sacrifices at the Earth God temple as a regular part of their bi-monthly worship (1st and 15th or 2nd and 16th). About seven or eight times each month (estimated) individual villagers perform unscheduled worship activities for personal reasons at the T'u Ti Kung temple.

782 The usual form of worship is to face the altar, light three incense sticks, bow the head, hold the sticks between the two closed hands palms touching at chest level,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] [184] [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

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Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

*184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 763 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[832] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

Death and Beyond

76 128 184 Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

764 Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and 766 more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accom- 761 panied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment 562 directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

121 school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated
562 that although changes leading to increased status for women
[178] are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this
• 184 deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on
562 the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 582 648 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a mainlander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a mainlander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral, irresponsbile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous. As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is considered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before.

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Uusally they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has pros-
[433] pered during the last twenty years subsequent to the return of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[494] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[86] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
a 186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

soon after graduation from grade school unless the graduate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually miscalled "Chinese dialects" even though they are not mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17). Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antagonism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school. Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter. According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes that are often made about their accents also serve to inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

Japanese is the third most important language in Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japanese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and her husband are the only two villagers who still speak Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the village. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read. 871 554

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school. 872 191

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice. 212

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate. [204]

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home. 873

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing [874]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

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192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

soon after graduation from grade school unless the graduate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually miscalled "Chinese dialects" even though they are not mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17). Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antagonism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school. Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter. According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes that are often made about their accents also serve to inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

Japanese is the third most important language in Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japanese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and her husband are the only two villagers who still speak Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the village. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese

some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
665 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership
571 changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [931] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] [19] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [556] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

625 [435] [573] participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Fouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and [648] had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and [191] several that know some Manderin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

583 192 558 Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

583 558 Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

583 The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a 583 number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract 675 which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is [591] old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sinosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

*583 178 [591] the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

*597 The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

*597 • 192 602 The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kìa:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bǔe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

*597 • 192 602

giving the child or the family who is receiving the child, the adopted child being termed a biēng-liēng-kiá:. Although no term with a social referent ever has an exact equivalent in a language spoken in another society, the verb chī is not too inappropriately translated with the English verb "to adopt." The adoption does not in any way alter the existing social relationship between the two families who are parties to the adoption, nor does it involve an exchange of gifts or compensation for the one family's loss of a member. As is the case with adoption in most English speaking countries, rights in the child are transferred freely and without further social implications. The difference is that whereas the English verb "to adopt" is appropriately used for any transaction involving the transfer of rights in a child, the use of the Hokkien term chī is limited to those cases in which the two families are agnatically related. When the parties to the adoption are not agnates the act of adoption is referred to with the verbs būe and bùe. The family who receives the child is said to have "bought" him (bùe), and the family who gives the child in adoption is said to have "sold" him (būe). As in the case of adoptions involving agnates, such transactions do not alter existing social relationships, but they do involve the payment of a considerable sum of money by the adopting family. The use of the verbs "to buy" and "to sell" is not metaphorical. Whereas a family adopting a child from an agnate is not required to give any compensation whatsoever, the family adopting a child from a non-agnate must ordinarily offer what for most families amounts to the equivalent of a year's income.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 5

THE DECISION MAKERS

In his description of marriage practices in Singapore Maurice Freedman points out that there are significant differences between the English and Hokkien usage of the verb "to marry."[1] Whereas the English verb takes as its subject only the man and woman who are parties to the marriage, the Hokkien equivalent, the verb chŭa, may take as its subject any person who is a member of the kā, his father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, even his brothers and sisters. The same observation can be made of English and Hokkien verbs denoting the act of adoption. In English the only persons who can speak of adopting a particular child are the child's foster parents. In Hokkien, however, any member of the foster parents' kā may use the verb chī or bùe in speaking of an adoption.

The significance of these differences in usage for our present discussion lies in the fact that they reflect a difference in the social structure of the two societies. In most English speaking countries the primary responsibility for decisions regarding marriage and adoption lies with the future mates in the case of marriage and with the foster parents in the case of adoption. In most Chinese speaking areas, on the other hand, decisions about marriage and adoption are family matters

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1 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

Languages

Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one language is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

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787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.

787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally, 192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi- 354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

settlement, older informants had heard tales of the founding directly from the original migrants.

5 G. Myrdal explains that under British control, the petty officials at lower levels were usually members of the indigenous population and higher levels were British. There were also attempts to work through the previous political infrastructure. He contrasts this with the French rule in Vietnam where almost all levels were controlled by the French and therefore, had the highest ratio of foreign officials to indigenous citizens in the East (1968:123-4,187-9). L. Mair (1969:32) also stresses indirect rule as a general British policy in most colonial territories. Taiwan appears intermediate between the French and British extremes for almost all government officials were Japanese, but the traditional local infrastructure of political control continued to be important.

6 The pao chia system is based on a Chinese imperial edict in the eighteenth century but it is far from clear how it was applied for conflicting data exists from various areas (Freedman,1958:65). It appears to be a system of units organized in hierarchal order to maintain control. In Taiwan under the Japanese, it functioned as follows: each chia (family or household) had a chia chang (head) who was responsible for the actions of its members. About ten contiguous chia were combined into lin headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who was selected by a process of consensus and held responsible for the lin. About ten lin were combined into pao with an elected or appointed pao chang (head or mayor) responsible for communicating and carrying out government programs. Each pao consisted of about 100 chia. Since there were more than 150 chia in Talei Li, it was split into two pao.

7 The average rate for all Europe is about 10 and for North America, just over 9 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook,1966:103). The lower rate in Taiwan is primarily due to its relatively young population.

8 Early in the Twentieth century, flour was sacked in colorful cotton bags as a sales promotion device in the United States. The material was salvaged to make clothes which were very similar to underclothes now worn in Taiwan in terms of color and patterns.

Chapter III: The Economic Base

[192] 1 P'eng lai and tsai lai are both generic names for a large set of sub-varieties.

2 To facilitate comprehension, all dates in this chapter are furnished according to the Western solar calendar. [805] The lunar calendar is extremely important for village affairs and is considered in Chapter IX.

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

to as such. Taiwanese, also called Min-nan *hua*, is a Fukienese language like Amoy. It is spoken by the majority of the people of Taiwan, and, although it is spoken with different accents, the speakers of the different variants can understand each other. The accents vary according to the place of origin of the speaker's ancestors. Regional differences have developed in Taiwan as well, so that the accent of the coastal area where Hsin Hsing is located differs from the accents of Taichung or the mountains.

Hakka, another Chinese language, is spoken by the Hakka people (*k'o jen*, "guest people") who originated in Kwangtung province on the mainland. Because of the minority position of the Hakka in Taiwan, they have often had to learn Taiwanese, although Min-nan speakers seldom learn Hakka. The Hsin Hsing village area has no Hakka speakers, and there has been little or no reason for the people of the region to learn Hakka. They are, however, well aware of the Hakka people and of the differences between their languages.

Mandarin, the third Chinese language, is now the official language of the government, replacing Japanese. Japanese first became important in Taiwan through the school system developed by the former rulers. In the 1920's the Japanese government began to augment Taiwan's school system, and "by 1943, 70 percent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school" (Barclay, 1954b:68n). A limited number of Taiwanese children, usually those whose parents had some status, attended a special primary school system set up by the colonial government for the Japanese children on the island. Classes in these schools were conducted in Japanese. Most children, however, attended the public primary schools whose classes were "conducted in the local dialect" although the children "were required to learn to read in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138). All secondary schools and colleges conducted classes "exclusively in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138).

In the rural area some children from wealthy landed families attended school beyond the primary level. Because of their education, they were given official jobs under the Japanese regime and mainly spoke Japanese. Today, these men, like a great many urbanites educated under the Japanese, still speak fluent Japanese. The same men now are working for the Mandarin-speaking Nationalist regime and so usually speak Mandarin. They have rarely had the opportunity to use their native Taiwanese and are often chided for speaking their own language very badly.

Most of the rural people though, who did attend public school, usually did not go beyond the primary school level. Many villagers, and almost all rural women, attended school irregularly or not at all. Among all these villagers then, many learned no more than a few

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and their relatives. With many members of the family my communication
• [197] was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 -Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the beidz-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
104 Ts'un (Third Port Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned name is used consistently throughout the report with reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any material which might be considered injurious or which could prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa (Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A consists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters. Since the names are in common use in literature and for postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided. Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

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121 short period allowed for the investigation (Geddes, 1963).

The most common approach has been to study a Chinese community outside of mainland China. Sometimes the communities function as sub-cultures in very different societies such as Indonesia (Tan, 1963) or Thailand (Coughlin, 1960; Skinner, 1957). In other cases, the communities are in areas of mixed political history and domination but which appear to have significant Chinese characteristics: Singapore (Freedman, 1957; Elliott, 1955), Hong Kong (Ward, 1954; Potter, 1968; Baker, 1968), or especially Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Cohen, 1969; Wolf, 1968; Pasternak, 1969; Diamond, 1969).

All of the above communities have been strongly affected by foreign influences. This does not imply that mainland China has not been influenced; rather, extreme caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the research site to mainland China for the extent of foreign influences are significantly different, both in quantity and quality.

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12| There are good reasons why Taiwan is the most popular of these research locations. It is inhabited by Chinese people living in a Chinese cultural context under a
T
[19?] Chinese government. The only official language is Mandarin Chinese. Six years of education are compulsory,
[8?] nine years since 1968, and only in officially accredited government schools.

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

191 Several of the older men, especially the more in-
192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

soon after graduation from grade school unless the graduate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually miscalled "Chinese dialects" even though they are not mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17). Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antagonism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school. Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter. According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes that are often made about their accents also serve to inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

Japanese is the third most important language in Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japanese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and her husband are the only two villagers who still speak Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the village. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese

some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

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The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [584] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. 584 465 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations [203] are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives [618] and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

943 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

514

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365 ## VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

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205 The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such
• 204 places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read. 871 554

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school. 872 191

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice. 212

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate. [204]

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home. 873

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing [874]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

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The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

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The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

514 24 252

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

365

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The friend cut her off and began to speak to A-bok as if his mother were not in the room. "Oh, cucumbers. Cucumbers are nothing special. You grow them yourself. It won't cost you any money. Just give them to him. Why argue over these unimportant matters?"

Lim A-pou muttered angrily, "My son is afraid of Chieng-cua just like a shrimp. Even if he doesn't want to give them away, he will have to."

I asked Lim A-pou later if she thought Lim Chieng-cua would really have struck her son. She scowled and said, "Why not? Last August he hit him." When I probed for more details, she said, "Huh! That wife's slave!" and ended the conversation with her usual response of "I don't know anything about it."

A relative of the family did know something about it and was happy to discuss a topic of seemingly endless village interest. Lim Chieng-cua bought a fancy radio for the family. A-bok came in one afternoon to find it blaring loudly for the pleasure of Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's twelve-year-old daughter. Besides telling her it was far too loud, A-bok also pointed out that the broadcast was in Mandarin, a language with which none of them are too familiar, and that she should not listen to Mandarin broadcasts for fear that she pick up something from a mainland station and get them in serious political trouble. Le-cu felt saucy and told him it was none of his business because her father had bought the radio. This made A-bok angry and he said some things about Le-cu's mother and maternal ancestors (i.e., cursed in the familiar fashion). Lim Chui-ieng overheard this, as she does nearly everything, and reported it to her husband. Lim Chieng-cua did not bring the matter up with his nephew until the family confidante and arbiter was present. He explained the exchange to him, in A-bok's presence, asking for a statement as to whose behavior had been remiss. One thing led to another, and A-bok got a sharp clip on the head. The friend told me sadly, "From the time he was a child, Lim Chieng-cua has been very fond of A-bok. The only reason they don't get along anymore is the women between them. A woman's heart is always narrower."

Although the quarrel over the cucumbers seems ridiculous and seemed to flare with little provocation, when viewed in a fuller context, it shows some of the finer qualities of both men. Lim Chieng-cua, though he might have suffered from A-pou's ill humor, would have been well within his rights as head of the family to simply order the cucumbers sent to his friend and business associate. Instead, he chose

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592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
• 207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a [871] major new market. Government policies are increasing edu- [702] cational opportunities. The universal military draft, in [582] addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military [204] obligations. A few villagers read the national news and [207] most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[201] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

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443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
• 207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

546 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house
571 in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are
[882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the
[178] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young
[913] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
275 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

593 Another argument on the same subject a few days later ended with Lim
548 Li-kui threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Lim A-sui simply
578 stood her ground and encouraged her mother, "Kill me! I don't care!
Kill me!"

593 In most cases in which a daughter dares to quarrel openly with one
548 of her parents, public opinion will be quick to condemn her, but if the
208 girl is a prostitute the tendency is to side with the daughter against
her parents. Most village gossips discussing current quarrels between prostitutes and their parents label the parents "selfish" and deserving of whatever ill fortune their fate might bring them. The attitude of the villagers seems to be that while a parent has the right to command a daughter to work as a prostitute they cannot expect the daughter to pay them the respect ordinarily due a parent. It is as though the debt a child owes to her parents is entirely repaid when she submits to such a demand.

593 Prostitution is one way in which a family can use their daughters
562 to obtain heirs and support for their old age, and it is the only way
548 in which a woman who does not marry can provide for herself and her future. Prostitution might therefore be characterized as an alternative to marriage, but it is always an undesirable alternative. For
[558] the prostitute it means anything but a normal life, and for her family there is always some loss of face. Worse yet, for the parents there is always the danger that they are sacrificing as much as they are gaining. In sending a daughter to work they may be able to manage without a marriage in the next generation, but this is accomplished only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor.

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Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

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Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

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However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

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In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

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The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 56 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [855] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
665
571 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] [191] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [55] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years. [212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

121 562 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 871 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[591] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
194 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

000 3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.

4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."

5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).

6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.

2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.

3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.

[556] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?

5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).

• [212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.

[787] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).

2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."

3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the

of the five lun, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 [759] [743] [292] The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the hsiang which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 759 178 [217] Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 759 465 [757] The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attending several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

000 For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

[1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

[2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[3] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

[4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land." 000

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security. In 618 596 602

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available. T 618 551 16

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others. T 618 622 128

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do. T 592 596 217

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for 000

128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

• 217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

217 659 family, there is listed an identification number, relationship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness. [127]

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

• 27 659 For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

659 183 217 [829] There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with [596] government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
• 219 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

219 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
588 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[127] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 183 588 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit constitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 591 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
• 2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
597 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

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592 Again, because of the errors associated with the official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[597] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

599 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later sisosiv marriages explains some

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle

of the five lún, while the Shan Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 25; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)

"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)

"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)

"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)

"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)

"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

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• 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244
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221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that
464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main
244 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro-
243 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large
464 seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

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362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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243 461 [177] [407] [426] [427] A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

[824]

243 433 [262] [231] [442] [256] The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chia* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, *anytime from late October to early or even mid-December.* Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

[407] [442] [435] [433]

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

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ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

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Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the *villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like* putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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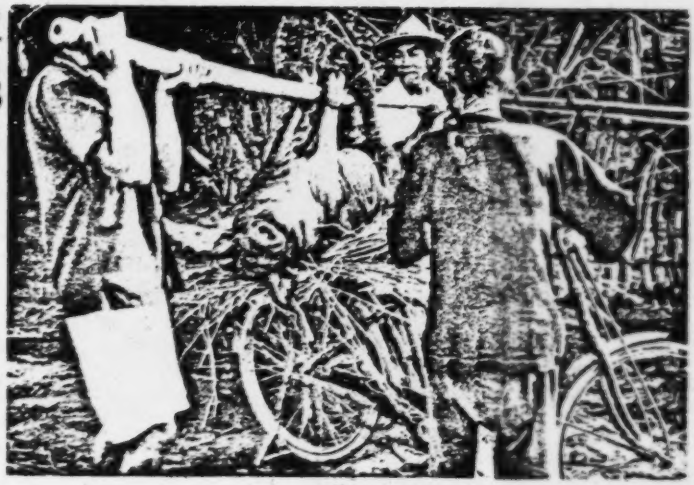

ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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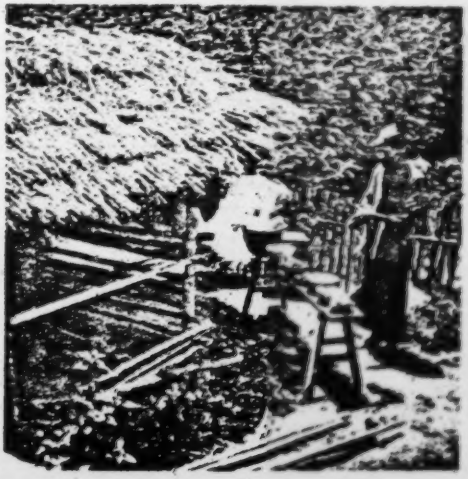

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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*159 *596 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

*593 584 597 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" [461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon. [231]

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter." [115]

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

"When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

"When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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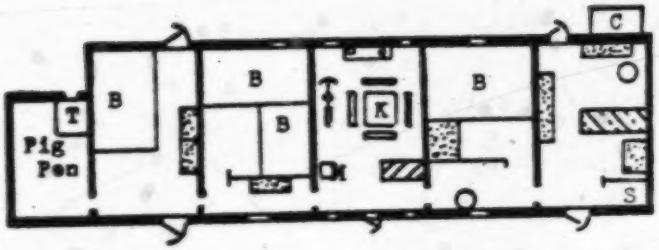

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[77] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[356]
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[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without
his route because many purchases were made on impulse.
Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the tech-
niques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and
information and they played an important part in the com-
munication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on
a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some
called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural imple-
ments, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on
a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and
villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many
of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item
in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are
common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp,
sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and
dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any
household's diet, appearing on the table about five or
six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting
banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilised field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 462 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primarily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
24 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [263] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

• 231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
594 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 651 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[368] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433] $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
[651] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
[648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any
case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes
has created the belief that no one can make a profit rais-
ing pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with en-
couraging hog production. Although they have passed out
much literature, they have had little success in promoting
pig production. No small part of their failure is because
they too believe that there is little profit in pigs al-
though in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only
farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast.
Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out
a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at
the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently
is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
• [231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

512 usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet po-
264
[262] tatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar
512 to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the
[87] workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

[574] The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most
[476] women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such
[54] as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more
[91] often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are
[157] home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding
[23] the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the
[313] small children to the older students so they can go to the
[358] mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one
[313] task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

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/For information on the role of the Farmer's Association, especially in regard to agricultural extension work, applied animal science, money lending, as an agent for the provincial government's food bureau, etc., see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often baths with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[24] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

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231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
• 235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

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/For information on the role of the Farmer's Association, especially in regard to agricultural extension work, applied animal science, money lending, as an agent for the provincial government's food bureau, etc., see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	309	611	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,259	13,446	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 35.9 per thousand or 3.59 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1953–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 167 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most 423 village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [434] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire [427] families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any [443] number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 574 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served be- 577 comes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.5 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 23; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

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The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)

"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)

"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)

"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)

"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)

"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	30	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is [612] [602] paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

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442 437 Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

464 241 [592] Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

000 The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[9] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $180 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:219), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

251 262 744 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

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759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

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245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 242 414 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

• 241 463 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 463 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes considerable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does 241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief 463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full 562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but [231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass [438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin 443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
241 viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
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182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential
464 ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
797 munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

474 and the government. Sanlei villagers feel the Farmers'
• 241 Association is their own organization, not a mere branch of governmental bureaucracy. In this regard, it is perceived as a successor to the "Farmers' Associations" of the 1920's (locally developed organizations) which were suppressed by the Japanese rather than the "Associations of Agriculture" which were created as official organs of the Japanese Government (Bessac, 1965:21).

Farmers' Associations fulfill a number of different functions. They are a farm credit service with deposit and loan facilities and capital accumulation in the Hsin Tien association is quite large. They provide economic services such as the sale of bean cake, insecticides, farm implements, and fertilizer, and act as a collection agency for taxes in kind and for the sale of rice. They also provide extension services including study groups, home improvement clubs, and 4-H clubs and sponsor model communities and model farms such as that described for the nearby vegetable gardening village. They instruct in new agricultural and sanitation techniques. The one in Hsin Tien helps provide market information for tea growers and recently, developed a form of livestock insurance. Some services are profitable and some lose money such as the necessary activities connected with the responsibility for communicating government directives to farmers. In general, all the activities may be subsumed under general

474 goals of increasing agricultural production and improving
• 241 rural life.

474 Talei Li has its own small unit, a local branch of the Farmers' Association. This unit has an elected "Small Unit Head" from T'oulei and "Vice Small Unit Head" from Sanlei. These two leaders are a nexus between the community and the association. Since they receive no compensation other than recognition, an occasional free dinner, and a magazine subscription, they feel the office is nearly worthless, without money or power. For example, they are required to carry out policy with which they may personally disagree, i.e., currently they are supposed to be encouraging hog production although both they and the average farmer believe that raising hogs is unprofitable.

There are 97 regular members of the Farmers' Association in Talei Li plus 10 associate members. Forty of the members live in Sanlei, indicative of that village's great emphasis on agriculture. Talei Li belongs to the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which has a total membership of over 1,000. Although each local Farmers' Association is subject to government regulations and directives, there is great latitude for local independence and democratic control. The Association is run by a Board (one elected representative from each li), an Assembly (representatives elected from each li dependent on size of membership), a Watch-Dog Committee (auditing supervisors

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
291 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

243 245 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244 245 221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that 464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main 244 243 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro- 464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

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/For information on the role of the Farmer's Association, especially in regard to agricultural extension work, applied animal science, money lending, as an agent for the provincial government's food bureau, etc., see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 404 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
[632]
[191] Many of the men but only a few women learned some
871 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
648 school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[491] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varie-
[242] ties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
[474] creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
311 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has al-
243 ways permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

• 242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[197] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
465 to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

245 433 439 242 according to the government, many of the tea plantations are old and degenerate with only a few containing the newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves
433 (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the [242] tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 In contrast with rice production which is primarily
462 a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared.
245 433 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production
245 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases
• 242 and insects have only become problems since the increased amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' [474] association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

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242
474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

245
433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

245
462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 [177] [407] [426] [427] A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding. [824]

243 433 [262] [231] [442] [256] The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat. [401] [442] [435] [433]

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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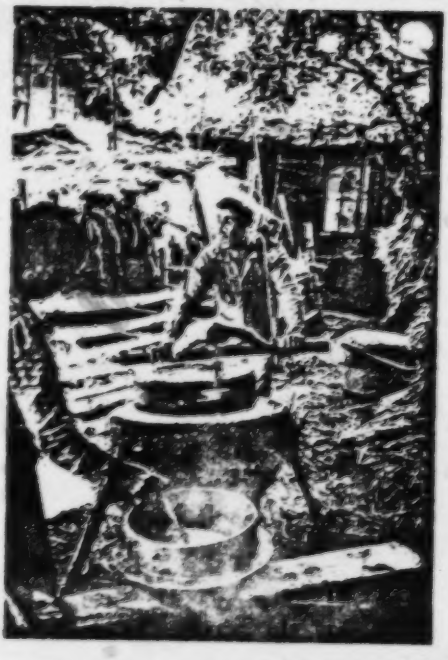
ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.



1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
243 earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
414 Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

787 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 421 659 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has always permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

There are two major varieties of rice, the native tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local informants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

• 243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 462 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primarily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

243 462 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her [463] [465] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously [857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding. 242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is 243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom [462] [474] participate in rice-field activities outside their own family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

• 243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

[462] [857] [433]

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

• 243 is needed, about 50 chin per chia.

The period commencing with the harvest of the first crop and ending with completion of transplanting the second is the busiest of the year. It takes a considerable number of people to harvest. By design, not all land is ready for harvesting at once, because the first crop transplanting is somewhat staggered; sub-varieties mature at different rates; and finally, the land closest to the river and road gets more heat and matures quicker than that closest to the mountains. Contributing to the shortage of labor during this period is the need to prepare the field for the second crop and transplanting. It is desired to complete transplanting in a field within ten days after it is harvested but this is difficult to accomplish. The modal time is 15 days with anything beyond 20 days considered a small disaster.

243 462 It is during the above one month period that women are most often to be observed working in the rice fields. In spite of strong sentiment to restrict work on rice to men only, the shortage of labor requires letting women share activities but only as a last resort. Some men who have commuting jobs in the city are able to obtain time off at this period to help with the harvest and part-time coal miners remain home from the mines and help. As far as I could tell, most of the women would just as soon avoid work in the rice field as they claim it is very hard

243 462 on the back. However, two features of the job are attractive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than [433] earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

324 412 438 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although woman gather and save some of the rice straw to make

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
a [243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather. Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

243 245 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244 245 221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

179 244 243 464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[243] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[34] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

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243 461 [177] [407] [426] [427] A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding. [824]

243 433 [262] [231] [442] [256] The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [407] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [442] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [435] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, [433] one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

249 ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

249 184 Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

249 433 435 178 Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

244 243 [312] The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

805 241 [171] [177] The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are success-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

"When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

"When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.

• 244 245 311 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet potatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot, 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

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consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
24 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

• 244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tian. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [263] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 465 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511 The family is renting a house and houseland up the [244] hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. [466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance [745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

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221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

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221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
343 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

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464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

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464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the [245] fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her [775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.

244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
• 245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

• 245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years 245 433 439 but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 433 439 242 according to the government, many of the tea plantations are old and degenerate with only a few containing the newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 433 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

[242]

245 462 In contrast with rice production which is primarily a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[884] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

• 245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

• 245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
433 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 30 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[111] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertilizer in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared. 245 433 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production 245 242 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases and insects have only become problems since the increased [474] amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

245
433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 242 474 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

241 463 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

• 245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.

314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way

313 443 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
• 245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[m] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

474 Currently, the 66 members, 31 from Sanlei, constitute an
• 245 all-time high reflecting the previously described change to citrus cultivation. Four representatives serving three-year terms represent Talei Li, one from T'oulei, one from Erhlei, and two from Sanlei, another equal balance of factions. These representatives meet with others in Ch'i Chang to elect 20 of their members to represent them at the Taipei (main) level. At the Taipei level, 111 representatives elect a 25 man board which selects the general manager.

The fruit cooperatives are much larger than farmers' associations, the election process is more indirect, and the organization is less responsive to its membership. However, its management has generally been excellent, distributed profits are good, and marketing is efficient. No Talei citrus farmer has failed to join the cooperative and each markets most of his crop through the association.

Education

872 Talei Li has its own six-year primary school located in Erhlei. Under Japanese rule, students walked to the Pouti school. In 1955, a branch of the Pouti school was established in the li, and in 1964, it was granted independence. Currently the school has a principal, twelve teachers, and a janitor. There is no clerk but one will be added when the school gets bigger. Two hundred Talei

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household; if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[883] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
• 245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
42 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 real support for the many village men who are full t'me
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[201] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

245 472 602 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 472 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

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245
221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244
245
221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that 464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main 244 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro- 243 464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
• 245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

249 ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

249 184 Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

249 433 435 178 Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

244 243 [312] The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

805 24 [171] [177] The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1955. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.53 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*er shih ssu chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 89.--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and nonreligious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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3;Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly 775
not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems 361
unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is 311
very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by [434]
making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half [251]
is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must [235]
keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or 443
three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make- [278]
shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

251 262 744 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. [241] Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who [562] furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
• 251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 -Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
467 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shanan whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tansui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

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FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as <u>hsi-fan</u> (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

• 261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
651 was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
648 the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any
case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes
has created the belief that no one can make a profit rais-
ing pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with en-
couraging hog production. Although they have passed out
much literature, they have had little success in promoting
pig production. No small part of their failure is because
they too believe that there is little profit in pigs al-
though in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only
farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast.
Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out
a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at
the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently
is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chia* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [181] [182] [421] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [242] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [483] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [201] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number [216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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but he rarely takes the lead and never seems to expect it. He is content to think up new variations on old games and let the others carry them out. Thiam-hok often sits alone daydreaming or perhaps thinking. I have seen this kind of behavior in other village children, children suffering from the debilitation of frequent illness and inadequate diet, but with Thiam-hok one senses activity behind his withdrawn face. Several times I have come upon him hiding in a quiet corner, hunched over a piece of paper. Before he could conceal it, I saw that he was sketching with a stubby pencil and sketching with a certain amount of talent. My sincere praise did nothing to lessen his embarrassment—I had stumbled into what he evidently considered a secret, sinful pleasure. I later heard his siblings and even his mother teasing him about his pictures, but he did not abandon the activity. He only became more circumspect. To the initial amusement of his parents, he announced at the age of eight that he would no longer eat any form of meat, including vegetables fried in pig fat, a Taiwanese family's most common source of animal protein. He wished to live the life of a Buddhist. Lim Chui-ieng humored him for a few weeks, but when it became clear that he was serious, she forced him to return to normal eating habits for fear of damage to his already delicate constitution. He finally submitted, although he vowed to return to the stern discipline of Buddhism when he was fully grown. In determination he is definitely a Lim, but in him, the family character is taking a curious twist.

Lim Chieng-cua's fourth child and third son is my favorite. Even the most persistent teasing of his elder siblings fails to ruffle Kui-hok's good humor. He has none of Thaim-hok's dreaminess but his face nearly always has a shy smile on it. He was not yet in school when I lived with his family, so I saw a good deal of him. He came to our office nearly every day to collect curly pencil shavings which he distributed to all of his friends. Although he is not beyond the usual teasing of younger siblings, he always gives in when they show signs of tears and leaves if they begin to vent their rage on him. Either his emotions burn with a cooler flame or he has already found a method for controlling them. One day when I was walking along a path I found him energetically slashing the tops off some long grass with a toy wooden sword. I asked conversationally what he was doing and he said, "Cutting off heads." I fumbled linguistically and quite by accident blurted out, "Whose?" He promptly gave me the name of Lim A-

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neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she bobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative. The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes. She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

[199]

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

251 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

757 a variety of different traditional and modern medicines hanging on the walls in houses. People use what they desire and when the salesman returns he replaces missing items and charges for them although there is no charge if none have been used. Different salesmen provide different combinations of drugs. There are 134 such medicine bags distributed among 59 of the 66 village households.

758 Health care has greatly improved in recent years. People go to a doctor much more often than previously. A contributing stimulus is the care received by miners and their families under health insurance programs. A Western-style doctor, a Mainland army officer, started a part-time practice in a rented room in Erhlei two months before we 758 left Taiwan. Sanlei has a mid-wife responsible for most 844 births. However, in the past five years, a few women in the village have traveled to the hospital in Hsin Tien after the onset of labor, usually returning about four hours after birth. Births in a hospital are common among the woman living in Erhlei. The half-hour ride on the bouncing bus with a laboring woman is sometimes most exciting, especially if she has already given birth to several children. On more than one occasion, a woman in labor has gotten on the bus and had the baby during the one hour round trip without ever getting off.

• 262 The final factor contributing to improved health and longer life is diet. Fish and pork consumption is at

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 • 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

• 262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and
• 262 richest in village history, both daily and especially for
511 the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this
262 percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that
511 the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet
[463] than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception
262 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The
514 poorer householders do obtain better food than their finan-
556 cial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
• 262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find
[462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e.,
[443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently,
most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market
[262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks,
[363] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs,
[235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

• 262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.

314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way

313 443 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

592 to have a male manager. This is probably related to the
[596] uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no
591 relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 There is one regular exception: married women
593 make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the
[824] money they earn for these activities does not go into
[412] the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to
291 question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262]
[426]
454
[888]

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
• [262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
[426] ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[888]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest [592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in
465 the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and
nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4
days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00.
His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and
subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per
year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a
[434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511
[244] The family is renting a house and houseland up the
hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land
on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables
[262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important
part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with
[235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a
time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income.
[406] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance
[745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical ex-
penses. The family's future plans are to continue his job
which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and
a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over
80% discharged and in another year will be in full pro-
duction. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to
purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip [262] so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

618 or tenth, they do share the first. Given sufficient depth of generations and the fact that there can be a wide age spread between the youngest and oldest individuals in a single generation, there is little relationship between genealogical generation and physical age. For example, one of our assistants in his twenties found a man with the same surname in a nearby village. Although the villager was over seventy, he was numbered three generations later. They both read a newspaper which was delivered all over Taiwan and carried news items devoted to the activities of people with their surname. They considered themselves distant clan relatives (ch'in t'ang) and the old man, with a smile, referred to our young assistant as great uncle. Even within shallow-depth American families, a man will occasionally be older than his own uncle.

All of the men in Sanlei surnamed Liao considered themselves to be ch'in t'ang. The Liao group which founded Sanlei all came from the same village in Chuan Chou, Fukien and other Liao migrated later, some from the same village and some from communities in the same county but not in the same village area. For one larger group of Liao, descent was demonstrated but for the balance, descent was merely stipulated.

• [262] One area difficult to classify according to the above scheme is due to the fact that several generations after the establishment of the Liao name an event occurred,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
• [262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 795 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512
[518] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443]
[782] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.
[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512
782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

• 263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

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Animal Husbandry

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin-Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed [264] "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of [264] many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[987] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and [602] mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [481] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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Peihotien

PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each
262 evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy
• 264 vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came
262 through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday,
231 Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be consumed without simultaneously eating. The village stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 514 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

512 [318] [262] [443] [782] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [314] [515] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] [264] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only • 264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[895] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

275 games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and
• 265 scissors.

484 Middle-aged married people, without their children,
177 go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

574 Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social
273 position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

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There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

585 toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates
[293] the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger
[52] guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

593 The formal marriage procedure is brought to comp[illegible]n three days
585 after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother or her sisters serve her tea in the kâng-thîⁿ as they might serve a respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact, referred to as cuè-khěq, "being a guest." After this first visit the the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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574 course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the
• 273 goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

*596 Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for
*159 Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

*596 Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng:
*159 "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy
*593 work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard
595 work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but
606 I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[388] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board. The account included a list of donors, household head only, in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay parties, especially since they included much drinking. The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

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178 433 463 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want 464 178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 464 496 433 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other 178 433 [316] [274] [256] neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese development companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island; the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

#159 #596 #593 604 578 [527] [235] [262] [846]

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

[262] [851]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

[274] [289]

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

• 295 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[812] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

839 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

275 games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and
265 scissors.

484 Middle-aged married people, without their children,
177 go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

574 Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social
273 position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

597 556 made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pûa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

597 593 [602] Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

[276] [689]

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
• 276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a [redacted] able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

852 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
832 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

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871
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882
• 216
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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212]

Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
[562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[270] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for • [276] males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 562 831 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and 661 teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 889 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Taiwan AD6

realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly 775
not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems 361
unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is 311
very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by [434]
making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half [251]
is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must [235]
keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or 443
three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell [278]
their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

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178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
464 which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature
[288] which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

512
[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

T 517 Tn 545 546

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

T 291

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

T 291 177

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

T [178]

T 286 432 F 175 439 Tn 288

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

T 294 T 294 435

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[10] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-A]

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ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.

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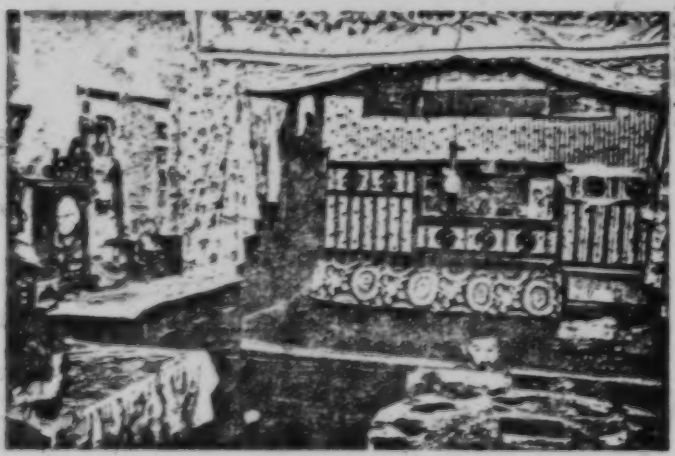

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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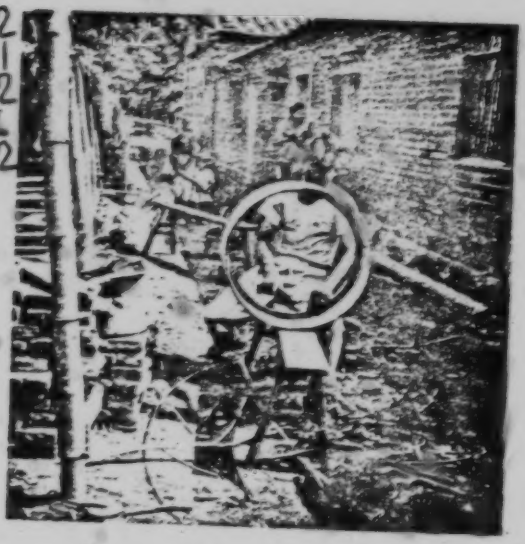

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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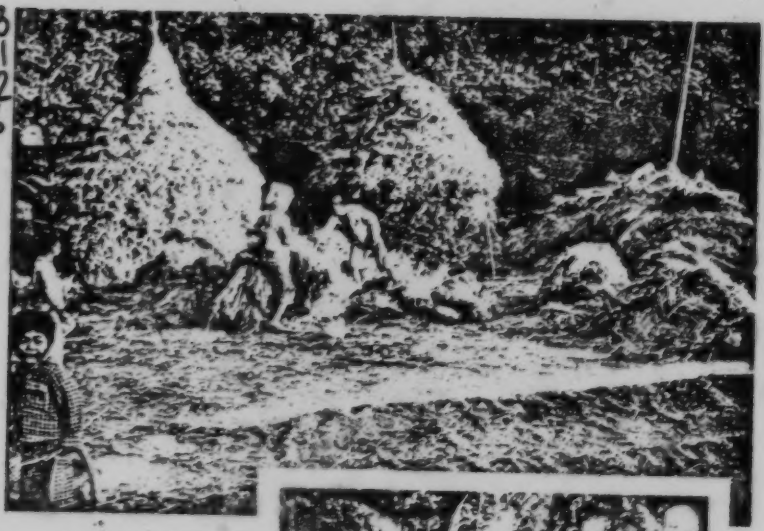

ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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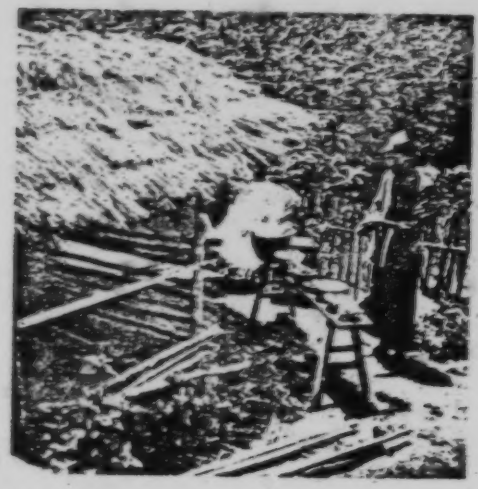

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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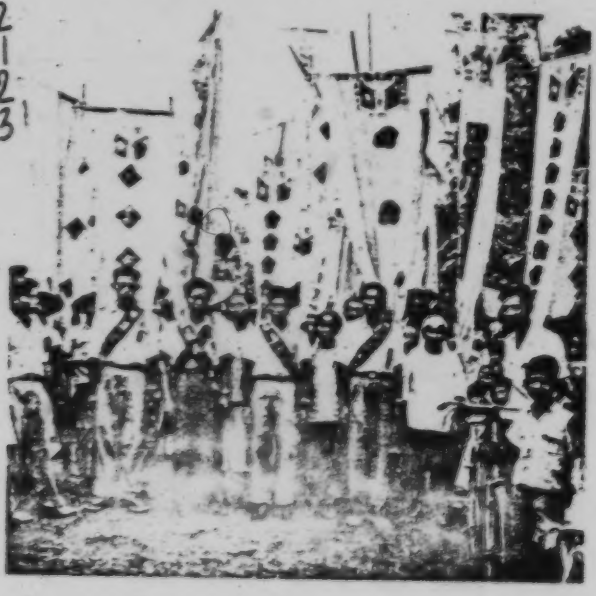

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'ao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 6

[p.59]

LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 Peihotien

a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 561 [855] [514] A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

291
177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton
wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather,
trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more lay-
ers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts,
[292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably
owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occas-
ions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for
years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since
the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of
the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for
older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like
the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Under-
shirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey
[513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and
also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period
before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather,
men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style
clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the
evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big
toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field.
With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the
trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is pur-
chased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few
old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trou-
sers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats
but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 A few young men are quite "mod," slim tight
177 trousers, sport shirts in "psychedelic" colors, and leather
561 jackets. Two village boys who dress in this style regularly play a guitar and sing the modern songs in Japanese or Chinese. Modern Japanese songs are very popular and young people learn to sing them by copying records although speaking little Japanese. Village boys are thereby imitating the young sub-culture of urban dwellers in their early twenties.

291 Women usually wear cotton skirts and blouses. Underneath, they seldom wear slips or brassieres but do wear underpants made of the same previously described "flour-sack" material, in a shape and form not unlike tight peddle-pushers nearly reaching the knees. There is no immodesty attached to exposing underpants. To assume a favorite working position, a woman merely hikes her skirt up to her waist and squats. For work in the fields, women often wear trousers which tuck into split-toe boots, long-sleeved tight-necked blouses, cotton gloves, all topped off with a straw hat fastened by a cloth over the top tied under the chin. This outfit offers protection from thorns, insects, and the effects of the sun. The wide straw hat which provides protection from both the
291 sun and rain is worn often by men and women alike. A few
561 older women wear the traditional Chinese jacket with pantaloons but only very old women wear a chi pao (the

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
• 291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [888]

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

585
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin - E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts, [292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey [513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more often
[542] wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P. 148-H]

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212
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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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293

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Formosa AD1

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well-made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

• 294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or so.ne other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Hán-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike. At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is not unlike that for men except that young women more often wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

Special identifying haircuts are required of students. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop. Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
62 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its chia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 476 • 296 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a constant nucleus although a number of other women attach themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household; if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 476 245 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also [465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per [88?] hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

512 [518] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city [262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the [443] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the [782] temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then [515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to [264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sīn-pûn, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding; and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[588] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[969] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[794] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[778] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

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Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

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Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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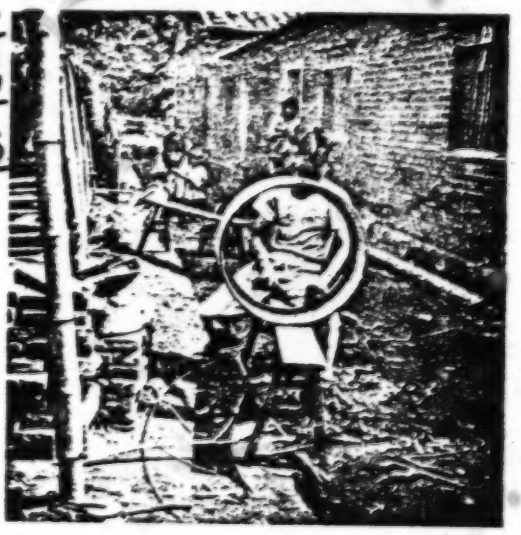

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
• 305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
593 teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

463 business. He also explained that every villager had his
626 haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was
a [305] poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pei had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to
191 specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
191 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived [522] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and [1165] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in [1135] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the [505] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and relatives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 333

The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

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Another possible way to earn money is to work in the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei factory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

464 369 [465] 493 494

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	5	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,259	13,446	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

According to the April 1957, official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

[493] Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the *average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 chia (0.7 acres)*, which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [492] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if [407] it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

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LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[3] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 15) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Land classification	1949–1951 Area *chia*	1949–1951 Number of families	1957 Area *chia*	1957 Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	82
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	56
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[2]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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HSIN HSING VILLAGE
LAND TENURE MAP

Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Lukang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

25.8204 *chia* of cultivated land was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers under individual, joint, or corporate ownership. The largest part of all cultivated land was paddy land. (See Table 14.)

Most of the leased land in 1949 was owned by 25 different private landlords. A small part belonged to publicly owned enterprises. Of these twenty-five private landlords, only two were Hsin Hsing villagers; they owned about 5.2 *chia* of land or about 14.6 percent of the total leased land—almost all of which they rented out to fellow villagers. (See Table 15.) Of the remaining leaseholds, 28.5

TABLE 14

AREA AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 92 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS BEFORE LAND REFORM, 1951

Land type	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percentage (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	25.4867	0.3337	25.8204	41.9
Tenanted	31.9950	3.7426	35.7376	58.1
Totals	57.4817	4.0763	61.5580	100.0

TABLE 15

OWNERSHIP OF HSIN HSING VILLAGE TENANTED LAND, 1949–1951

	Total number of *chia* Hsin Hsing tenanted land	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by private outside landlords [a]	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by public enterprises
Amount of tenant land	35.7	5.2	28.5	2.0
Percent of tenant land	100.0	14.6	79.8	5.6
Number of private landlords	25.0	2.0	23.0	—

[a] Landlords living outside Hsin Hsing village as well as outside the area.

chia or 79.8 percent of the total was owned by 23 private outside landlords. Thirteen of them, owning over 19 *chia* of this land, lived in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing, Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. The other ten, owning 9 *chia*, lived in more distant villages or in the cities and had little direct contact with their Hsin Hsing tenants. The remaining two *chia* of tenant land was public land, owned by public enterprises such as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation.

By 1954, the three-step program of land reform had been completed, and the almost 36 *chia* of leased land that had been cultivated by Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2545	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3823	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect [8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

423
427
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Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

423
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	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4753	—	1.4753	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

423
427
178
162

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.5	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.5–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were partial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.3	12	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.3–0.5	11	5	1	3	20	22.2
0.5–1.0	18	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.0–1.5	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	52	20	9	9	90	—
Percent of families	57.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 36 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7665		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2154		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.3716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as 423

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land		Area of farms cultivated (*chia*)			
	Number of families	Percent	Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.5–0.5	3	8.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.0–1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4374	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land		Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*)			
	Number of families	Percent	Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3369	0.0130	0.3499	1.8
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.3773	0.2600	1.6373	8.2
0.5–0.5	10	27.8	3.6438	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
0.5–1.0	15	36.1	7.7481	0.5918	8.3399	41.9
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	1	2.8	0.8218	1.3321	2.1539	10.8
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their makeshift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

311 Table 3. Sanlei Land Types and Distribution
*In chia (One chia equals 2.39 acres)

Land Category	Number of Plots	Median Size*	Mean Size*	Area Total*
Paddy	200	.0350	.0665	13.2920
Dry	124	.0435	.1698	21.0568
Woods	103	.1440	.2936	30.2435
House	61	.0185	.0228	1.5066
Burial	17	.0230	.1629	2.7685
Other	34	.0238	.0564	1.9188
			TOTAL	70.7862

175 Fukien. According to informants and confirmed by family
423 histories, the original land was improved and brought into
311 cultivation by the 18 hu acting as a corporate group. The
423 earliest settlement was a walled fort, frequently under attack by the aborigines who inhabited the nearby mountains. While some men worked in the fields, others were detailed as lookouts and guards. The lands were owned jointly and produce was shared communally. After a few short years (the exact date is uncertain), a decision was made to divide the land. There are suggestions that this was the original plan but there are also strong hints that the division process was one that caused considerable discord and may have been the outgrowth of a previous conflict. In any case, each large piece of land, by type and location, was divided into 18 equal plots, one for each household. The matching of household to plot was accomplished by withdrawing a slip of paper from a hat with chopsticks. Since there were several original large plots,

423 piece for a .005 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 427 656 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.

244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

311 natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in [423] Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the 427 government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, 435 it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases 435 at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

361 The remaining categories are important but not 311 economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

423 The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or 427 an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
• 311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
• 311 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has al-
243 ways permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[177] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

313 [443] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

• [311] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to [435] wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type; the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F T 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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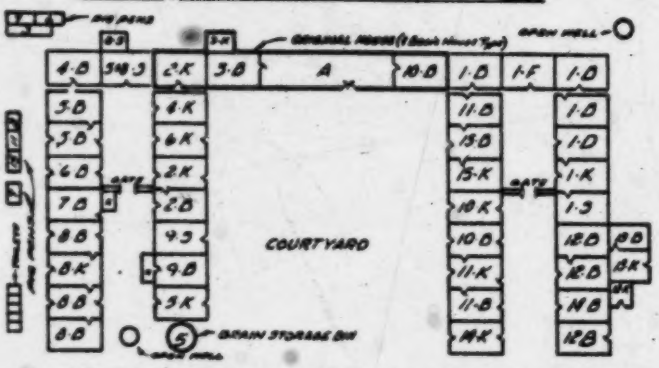

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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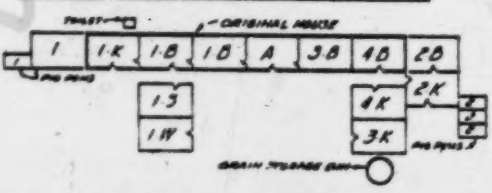

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

According to the April 1957 official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular [493] about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [492] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if [401] it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

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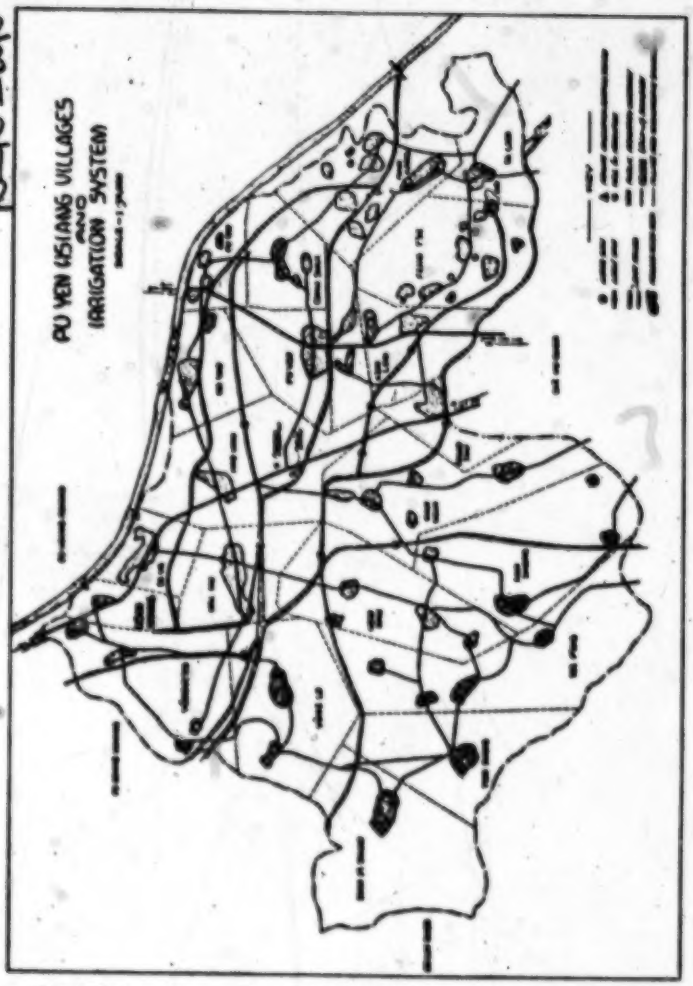

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members.

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?"

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of the money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however,

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312 [406] If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

312 243 Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the [483] [521] rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

312 578 685 Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-ch'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is 578 sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most [627] of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no [692] solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly in-312 creased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as 474 sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, 433 these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and 571 private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and 628 government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tau* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thia̍:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thia̍:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single ke̍, the kōng-thia̍: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental ke̍, the kōng-thia̍: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thia̍: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thia̍:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thia̍: and its

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
621 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its shia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first. 314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way 313 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which 443 regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

313 [443] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

311 [435] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

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221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

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221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

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464 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

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464 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice production in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

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178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[294] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biêng-liêng-kiù:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
632
[191] Many of the men but only a few women learned some
871 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
648 school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[49] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started
[242] to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
[474] creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] [462] [465] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 <u>Non-Agricultural Employment</u>

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years. Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis. The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Taiwan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work teams which share output equally. Income varies according to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

316 464 164 [165] There are serious drawbacks however, for health and safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 464 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely
182 to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[243] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

302
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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[465] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiⁿ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
718
342 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a new house the kōng-thiⁿ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiⁿ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiⁿ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
233 kōng-thiⁿ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
718 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
659 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiⁿ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

198 less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at
511 all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some
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[464] Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employ-
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342 • 333 village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively
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*599 Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed
511 by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in
435 Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children
as a bíⁿg-lâng-kiá:. There was always a ready market for male children
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ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kê. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tíu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now won't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*593 602 571 wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

341 342 59 [369] The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

342 • 333 824 That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. [343] Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

342 787 The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tal, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. Tc the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the atar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
• 333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 759 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 369 [465] Another possible way to earn money is to work in the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the wor[illegible]s divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thiâ:, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever
596 the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

633 Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
• 341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
197 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
000

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

The mountain ranges serve as a kind of climatic divide. The area north of the mountains, which includes the Taipei region, is known for its long rainy season and cold raw winters. In the area south of the divide, and especially around Taichung and the interior mountain region, the weather tends to be milder, with far less rain and many days of bright sunshine.

On the trip south from Taipei to Chang-hua City the train crosses several large rivers which originate in the interior mountains and flow west to the Strait of Formosa. The rushing torrents of water during and immediately after the rainy season dwindle to a trickle during the dry season, meandering through wide, sandy, and rocky river beds.

At Chang-hua City the traveler must leave the train for a bus headed southwest to the old port city of Lukang. Although the buses leave every fifteen minutes during the day, they are invariably crowded with people and their bundles of produce, fish, a chicken or two, or even building materials.

The thirty-minute trip in an old wooden Japanese bus is made entirely on dirt roads. The ride may be dusty or wet according to the season; but it is always bumpy and noisy. In the dry season strangling dust pours into the bus from all sides. During the wet season, there is always a possibility that the passengers will have to leave the bus and wade while the bus creeps slowly along over the flooded roadbed. Many menthol-distilling factories, brickworks, and small rice mills line the way. The bus must cross many small irrigation canals and maneuver around oxcarts. As the bus moves further away from Chang-hua City and approaches the seacoast area of Lukang, a change in the agricultural landscape, resulting from differences in irrigation systems, becomes more and more noticeable. In those places where there is still no irrigation system, there are large areas of dry fields.

After a half-hour wait in Lukang, the traveler boards another, similar bus for the trip to the village, which lies about three miles inland or southeast of Lukang. The uncomfortable fifteen-minute ride ends when the bus comes to a halt in front of the Hsin Hsing village store.

The houses in the village are constructed of bamboo, mud or fired brick, and plaster. The foundations and structural uprights are usually brick; the walls are a latticework of bamboo strips, filled in with plaster which is a mixture of mud and cow dung. The plaster filling is usually whitewashed. Sometimes the main supports are not brick but heavy bamboo poles. Newer houses, and the older houses of the wealthy, generally have roofs of cement tile, while the oldest and poorest houses have thatched roofs. Houses made of mud bricks are always thatched.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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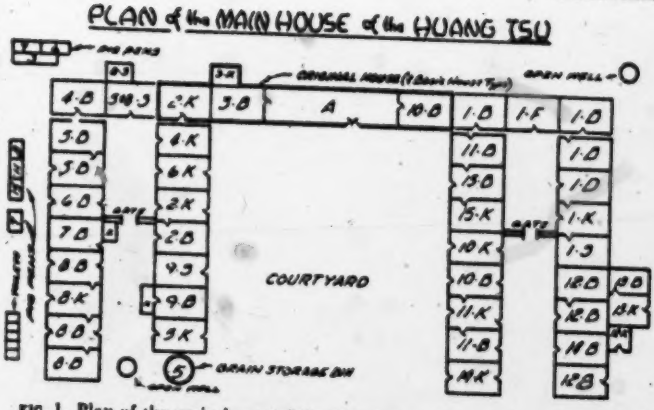

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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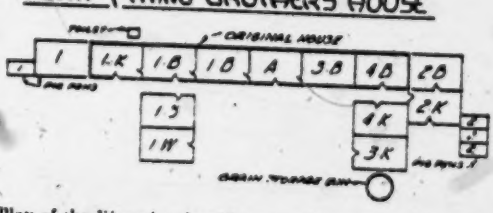

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; 2, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

621
575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-A]

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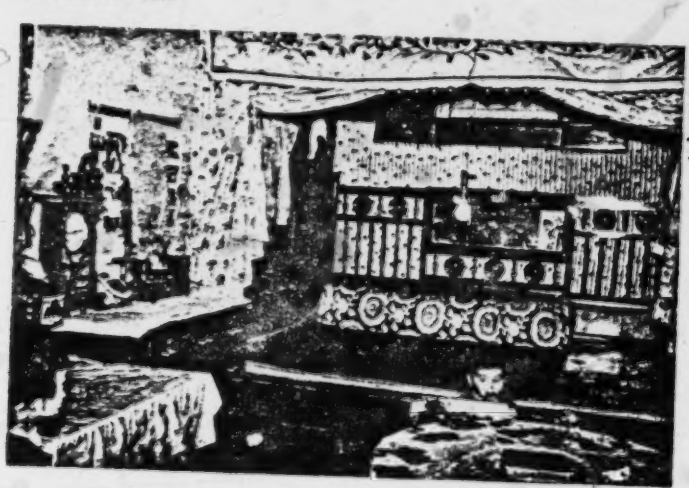
ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.



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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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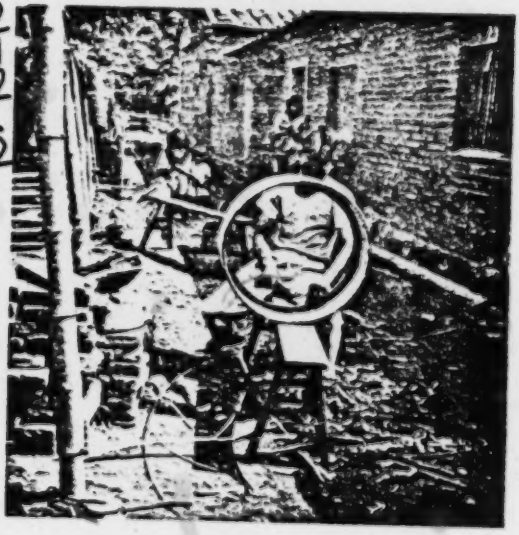

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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360 Beyond the Tu Ti Kung temple at the end of the arcade, the path to Hsichichou turns sharply to the right, narrows into a crooked little alley, and then suddenly opens out to the lush green countryside. From here one can see most of the district of Chichou. In the immediate foreground is a cluster of red brick houses which make up the village of Shalun; behind these are the green tile roofs of the Japanese built elementary school and police station; to the right is another cluster of poorer homes belonging to the village of Fantzupu; and in the distant foreground under a great tree is a small Tu Ti Kung temple behind which one can make out the roofs of Hsiachicou among the thickly leaved trees. After the cluttered dirty streets of the town, the scene is one 361 of remarkable beauty. The carefully patterned paddy fields create a • 342 framework of order and coherence; the graceful concave roofs of the red brick farm houses bring life to the mass of green; and in the background the massive prominence of the central mountain range gives the whole vista a sense of dignity and proportion.

342 As an introduction to life in Hsiachichou no aspect of the village is more revealing than the village houses. Embodied in the design of the houses and the living arrangements of their inhabitants are the essential dimensions of village life. As the variety of building materials reveals, the typical village house is an aggregate of structures dating from various periods. In most cases the original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into five parallel rooms. Almost without exception, the central room is the largest room in the house, and is entered by way of heavy double-leafed doors which face

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiâ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
778 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a
342 new house the kōng-thiâ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiâ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiâ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
233 kōng-thiâ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiâ:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiâ: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
654 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiâ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [307] of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
• 342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thîⁿ, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever
596 the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Of the six houses
121 constructed in the village during the past five years four were simply
178 box like structures built side by side to save the expense of a wall.
596 Since such construction precluded the possibility of later expansion,
342 the builders of these houses had evidently given up the vision of a
"great house of many generations and many branches."

182 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alter-
59
181 natives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity
511
[181] and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves,
[182]
[121] is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished,
[262] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor
separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their
rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it,
"Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out
[463] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who
have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a
result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people
of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably.
[342] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy
[209] tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number
[216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has in-
stalled an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village
families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture,
and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts
[454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have
is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is
adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable
manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a
[426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious
illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biẽng-liẽng-kìa:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

*591 ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most
*592 female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this
178 committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

*597 In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably.
511 For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away
178 their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been
[427] greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years
[463] ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most
[342] strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs
[333] and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kā. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tíu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now won't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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*593 592 their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was *593 561 required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he [867] was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

59 354 • 342 In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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chapter 6

[p. 59]

LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

342 summer and warmest in winter. Starting in the late forties, houses have been constructed of fired brick, always with tile roofs. A brick factory is located on the main road just over half-way to Hsin Tien. Fired-brick house types now constitute a majority in the village.

The original floors in all the house types described above are pounded earth but cement floors are now being added. The first room to be floored is either the kung t'ing (main room) or kitchen. Bedrooms still are seldom other than pounded earth.

Under the stimulation of the government, a new style house is being built entirely of reinforced concrete: floor, walls, and roof. The government requires use of one of three stock plans. The houses are designed to eventually become row houses with a common wall, i.e., reinforcing rods protrude in appropriate places. Additionally, each house is designed to eventually reach three [452] stories, each preceding roof becoming a floor. If someone builds a house as specified by the government, he can obtain a low-interest house loan. This stimulation has resulted in the construction of three recent houses in Sanlei. The advantages of the house style which include the natural cleanliness of all cement floors, long economic life, and relative resistance to typhoons must be balanced against the disadvantages of a pervasive dampness and chill

• 342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
[243] earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
[474] Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

787 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove. 787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally, 192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi- 354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

a 342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there 514 [177] is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

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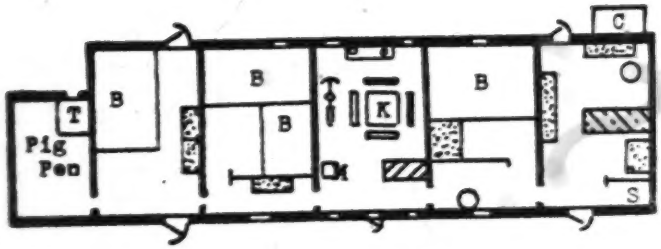

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[356]
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[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

342 592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal 511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United 207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 • 842 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [594] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

769 or special religious occasions, food sacrifices will vary in elaborateness according to the importance of the event. Paper money is often burned in a metal pot on the kung t'ing floor for the benefit of both gods and ancestors. Life crises events such as birth, death if not accidental, engagements, and weddings are all solemnized in the kung t'ing.

778 One should not believe however, that the kung t'ing
342 is a cherished and sacred room which is always approached with reverence. It is a common room, second only to the kitchen in frequency of use. Bicycles and other valuable goods are kept in the room while pickled radishes and home-made soy sauce may be stored in crocks under the ancestral table. Children often play in the room and the ever-present chickens wander in and out leaving droppings. Since the room is frequently owned jointly by more than one household, no one person truly feels it is his responsibility to keep it clean.

771 In one sense, the room furnishes a clue to the general approach to religion found in the village; it is elaborate but not well-maintained. One performs all the proper rituals but one is skeptical about their efficacy. Everyone half-believes and half does not believe in ancestors, magic, and religion. Older people are more interested in religion than younger people and women are more interested than men although there is considerable variability related to personality in both instances.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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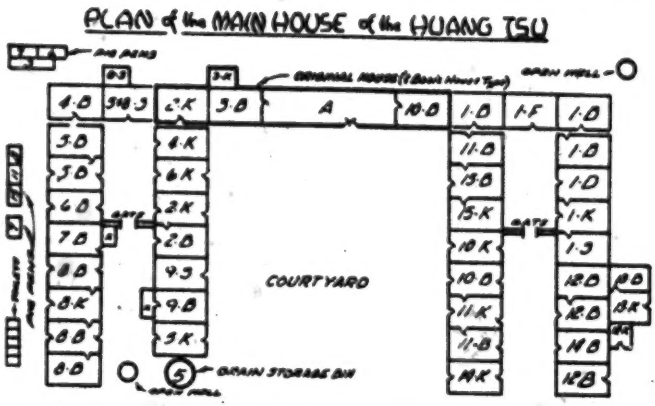

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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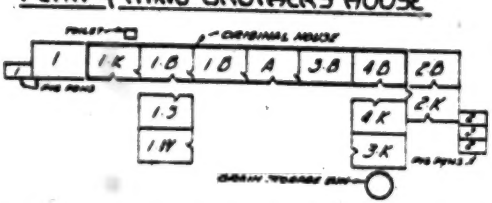

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
243 earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
474 Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
594 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

346 353 [532] [776] burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 857 794 The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, 778 [517] they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the 778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess 524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. 794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole 794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in 778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, [517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on [794] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[421] The temple belongs to the entire village; each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

121 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described
771 sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure
778 in the village. This building is the social center of the
621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple
778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of
[776] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events.
[782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

Earth God Temple

According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. Although there is great regional variation in details

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
• 347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

342 in winter.

• 351 [243 247] Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work. Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite 343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

387 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-A]

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ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.

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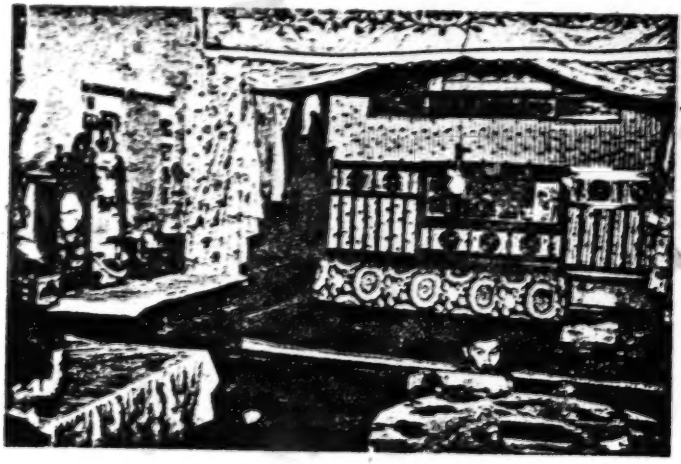

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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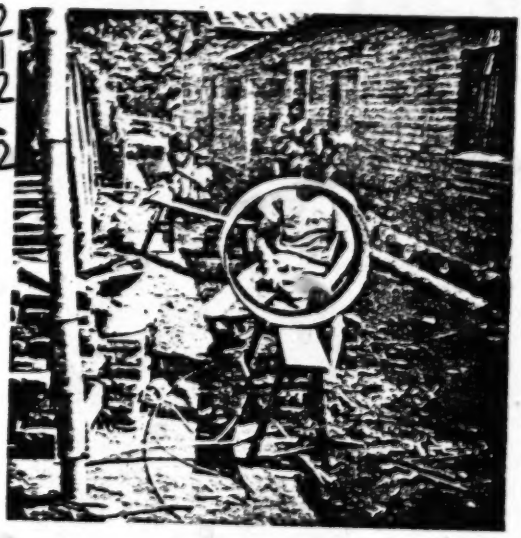

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with [352] business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here [356] after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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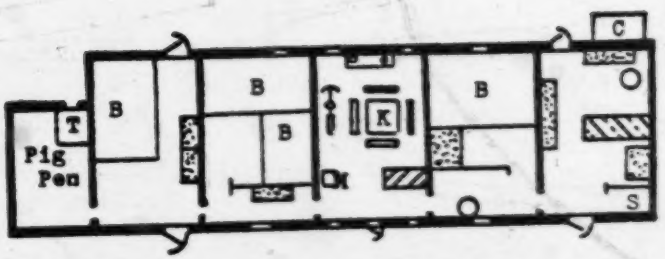

S - Shower
T - Toilet
- Closet or Shelf
B - Bed
- Kitchen Stove
C - Chicken Coop
- Desk
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
- Ancestral Table
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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515 A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of
[177] dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often baths with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[556] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a clut-
[235] tered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied
[231] by small pigs.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

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603 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

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[854] The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife normally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

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596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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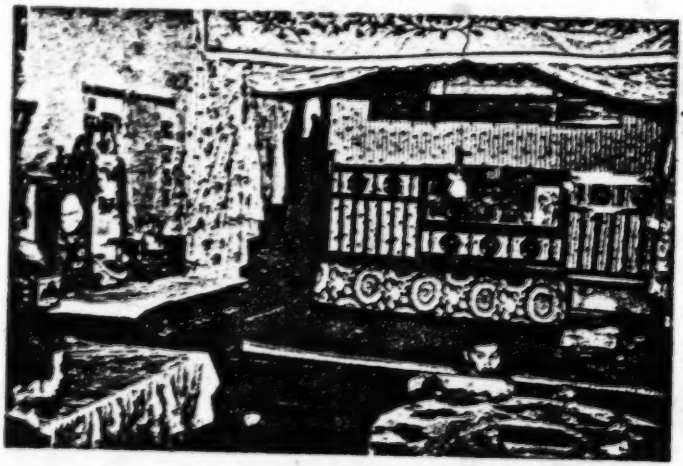
ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.



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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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353 778 sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several 778 members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting [618] machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.
[407]

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its 353 usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. 356 Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate 769 during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation 778 inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung* 776 *t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful 778 gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

776 Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with 778 the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih 794 Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

776 The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the 794 gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's 789 birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

554 Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsi- 776 bilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to 794 refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer to as the kōng-thiâ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a new house the kōng-thiâ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiâ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiâ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the kōng-thiâ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiâ: is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiâ: is terrazzo.

As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets facing the door of the kōng-thiâ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 • 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

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000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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chapter 6

[p. 59]

LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

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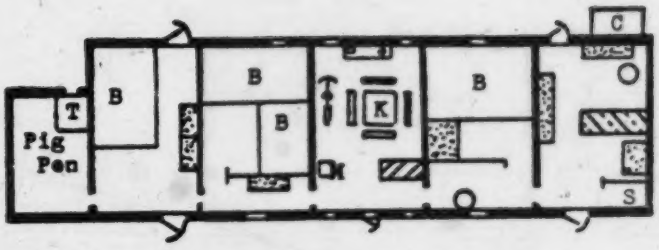

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
• [353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [781] of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thiⁿ, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thiâ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thiâ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thiâ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thiâ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thiâ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thiâ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thiâ: and its

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[242] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and cannopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.
787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally,
192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li
761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi-
• 354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

• 354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there 514 [177] is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823
787 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

a [354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally
[764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit
[464] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason
[334] and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thia̍: , the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thia̍: . When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thia̍: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thia̍: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thia̍: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thia̍: . As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thia̍: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with [352] business *interests meets his customers here at his desk against one* wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest [356] hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

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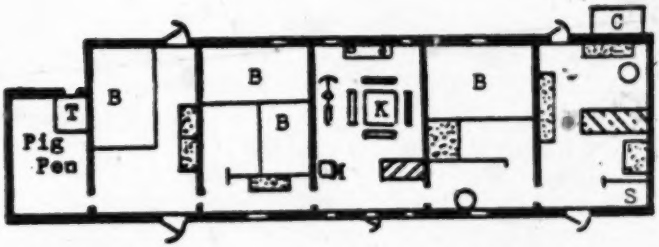

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

356
[556]
[235]
[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

• 356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The [197] fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[782] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 There are many taboos for a pregnant woman, such as
7% the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all
[356] during pregnancy. The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
796 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
856 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
847 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning
before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertent-
ly offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain
in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
844 is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because
796 of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place
in the regular bedroom.

878 An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen
844 is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a
796 small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor
845 for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers
with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore
having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but
still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible
to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, reli-
gious specialists are able to detect his hiding place and
the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hos-
pital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

843 There is a whole host of other taboos for the preg-
nant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the
baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes,
etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding
ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
as substitutes. [356] [582] Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624 about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
(625) rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

• [356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
46 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the [472] harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

[462] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently [357] been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager [466] before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the [362] man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

464 167 883 783 593 If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong [466] when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

464 167 Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city [578] or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasion- [595] ally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family [837] and that of his first wife.

[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

462 178 167 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may [illegible] their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sisoiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Sisoiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaoiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaoiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lâng-lí, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sím-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cí-bó-kiá, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

*597 *584 354 so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

*597 *584 *583 [435] This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sīm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sīm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

*597 • 357 648 This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bô-khn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

*597 only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīn-pûà. The
• 357 adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by
648 fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù
form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would
formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment
to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to
register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīn-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the
*597 child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one
357 finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted
daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted
by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they
are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so
when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the
family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning,
the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only
difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty
years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family
because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

*597 A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form
548 of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see
later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will
not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a
stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and
[435] raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful
[434] professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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581
+159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
x 596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
+593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant
• [591] scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

"I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
+159 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
+593 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
591 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she
584 would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

562 624 [594] in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

• 358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

783 [358]

Temple Gods

77% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

• 36 Beyond the Tu Ti Kung temple at the end of the arcade, the path to Hsichichou turns sharply to the right, narrows into a crooked little alley, and then suddenly opens out to the lush green countryside. From here one can see most of the district of Chichou. In the immediate foreground is a cluster of red brick houses which make up the village of Shalun; behind these are the green tile roofs of the Japanese built elementary school and police station; to the right is another cluster of poorer homes belonging to the village of Pantzupu; and in the distant foreground under a great tree is a small Tu Ti Kung temple behind which one can make out the roofs of Hsiachicou among the thickly leaved trees. After the cluttered dirty streets of the town, the scene is one 341 of remarkable beauty. The carefully patterned paddy fields create a 342 framework of order and coherence; the graceful concave roofs of the red brick farm houses bring life to the mass of green; and in the background the massive prominence of the central mountain range gives the whole vista a sense of dignity and proportion.

342 As an introduction to life in Hsiachichou no aspect of the village is more revealing than the village houses. Embodied in the design of the houses and the living arrangements of their inhabitants are the essential dimensions of village life. As the variety of building materials reveals, the typical village house is an aggregate of structures dating from various periods. In most cases the original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into five parallel rooms. Almost without exception, the central room is the largest room in the house, and is entered by way of heavy double-leafed doors which face

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the beidz-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[Rii] [FronTisPiece]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the Anlen dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

61 551 361 618 614 361 [342]

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

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The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind [592] of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

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Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

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However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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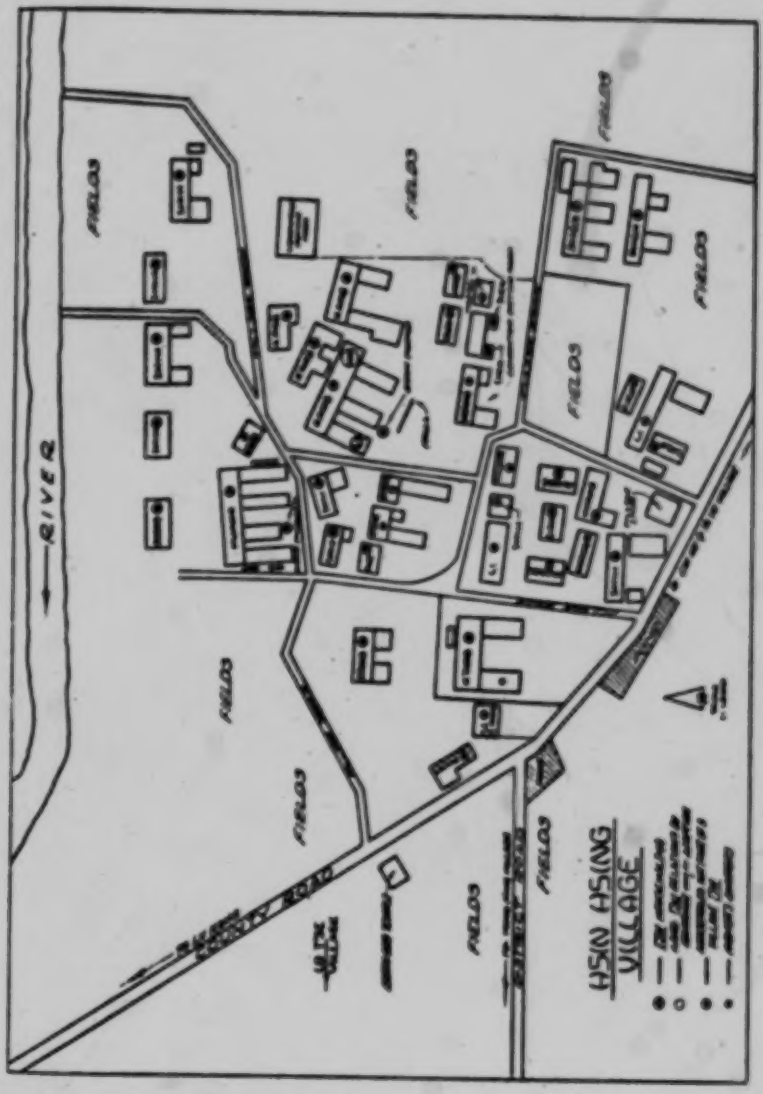

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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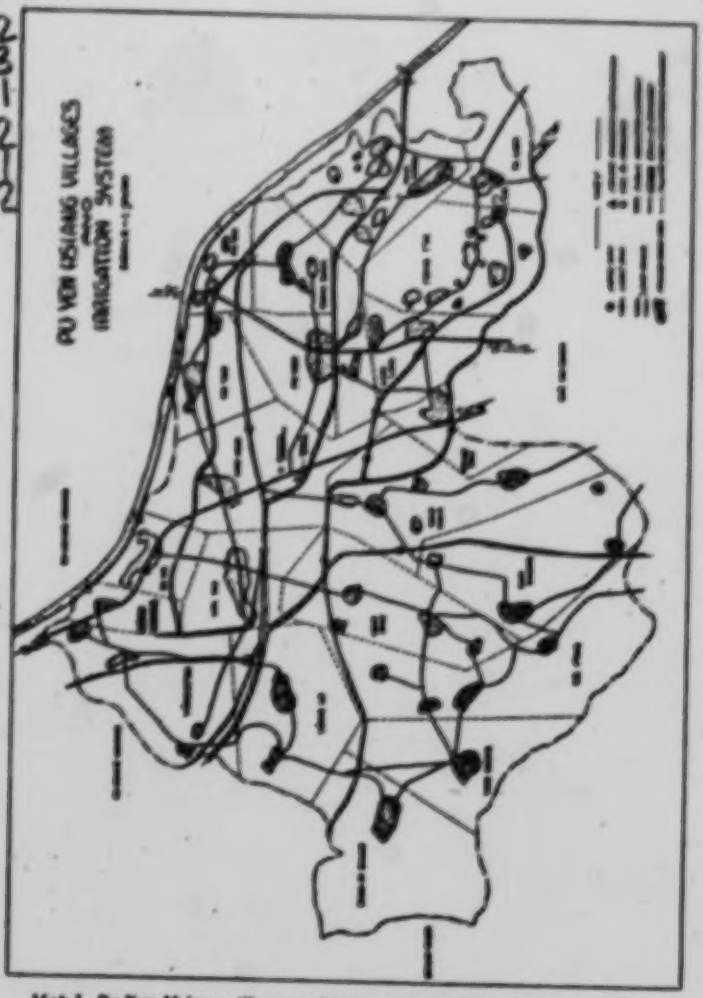

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P.100]

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Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Lukang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

36 Beyond the Tu Ti Kung temple at the end of the arcade, the path to Hsichichou turns sharply to the right, narrows into a crooked little alley, and then suddenly opens out to the lush green countryside. From here one can see most of the district of Chichou. In the immediate foreground is a cluster of red brick houses which make up the village of Shalun; behind these are the green tile roofs of the Japanese built elementary school and police station; to the right is another cluster of poorer homes belonging to the village of Pantzupu; and in the distant foreground under a great tree is a small Tu Ti Kung temple behind which one can make out the roofs of Hsiachicou among the thickly leaved trees. After the cluttered dirty streets of the town, the scene is one 341 of remarkable beauty. The carefully patterned paddy fields create a 342 framework of order and coherence; the graceful concave roofs of the red brick farm houses bring life to the mass of green; and in the background the massive prominence of the central mountain range gives the whole vista a sense of dignity and proportion.

342 As an introduction to life in Hsiachichou no aspect of the village is more revealing than the village houses. Embodied in the design of the houses and the living arrangements of their inhabitants are the essential dimensions of village life. As the variety of building materials reveals, the typical village house is an aggregate of structures dating from various periods. In most cases the original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into five parallel rooms. Almost without exception, the central room is the largest room in the house, and is entered by way of heavy double-leafed doors which face

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. 13
On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over
13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and [491]
south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The
mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant
trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine
different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipi-
tous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto
a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of
this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants
make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and
under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a
few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and
banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a
paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull,
humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air,
distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season
is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming
is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern 633
tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it [361].
is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland
but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
• 361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[242] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

361 • 444 [764] [787]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself. 124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations 173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the 126 175

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

776 death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

• 361 Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. 178 The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of [161] narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of 361 13 the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. [161] Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an [249] unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

178 Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Pei- 621 hotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. 505 The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of 433 the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more com- 178 621 fortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage 433 of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less 48 than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

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Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
494 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621] (TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46
contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

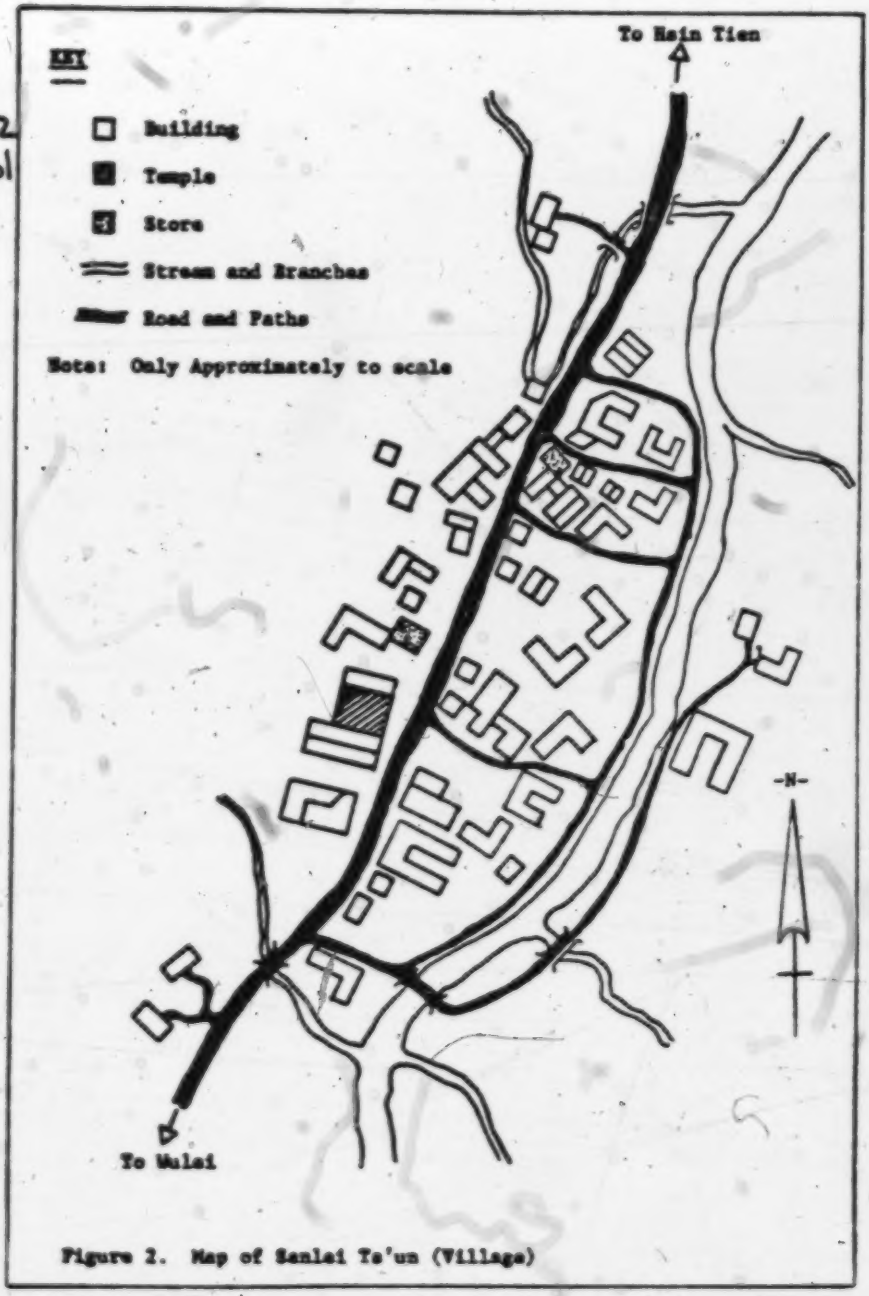

Figure 2. Map of Sanlei Ts'un (Village)

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

000 contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1] Sanlei vil-
• 361 lage is long and narrow. To the right is a single line of houses following the road with the first and last two separated from the remaining houses which are very close together. On the left, the distance from the road to the creek ranges from 50 to 125 feet. The majority of village buildings are in this area, many fronting on the road, others on one of the five paths from road to creek, and the rest on the courtyard in front of the temple. Three buildings are located across the creek (see Figure 2).

Weather

132 Taiwan lies off the east coast of Asia athwart the Tropic of Cancer and is surrounded by warm ocean currents. The northern and summer monsoons influence the weather although all weather is conspicuously modified by Taiwan's rugged topography (Cressey, 1955:238). The north is subtropical and the south, tropical. In the north, winters are cold but rarely does the temperature extend below 40° F. Summers are long and hot, but the temperature reaches 95° F infrequently in the village. Most nights are cool due to the ever present winds. Humidity is nearly always high. Taiwan is in the prime typhoon belt and about three typhoons a year usually pass directly over some part of the island and many others pass nearby. Typhoons dump copious quantities of rain and the winds often cause extensive damages.

311 natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in [423] Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the 427 government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, 435 it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases 435 at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

361 311 The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

423 The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or 427 an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

• 361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
62 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its ghia ghang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Ghang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

• 361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The chia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 to establish a central water system which required building 666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

Control of crimes is easy to maintain because [36] [49] there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

846
834 resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very
831 funny.

Babies

852 There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

853 Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the
853 children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a
855 child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered
832 while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

362 Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.27]

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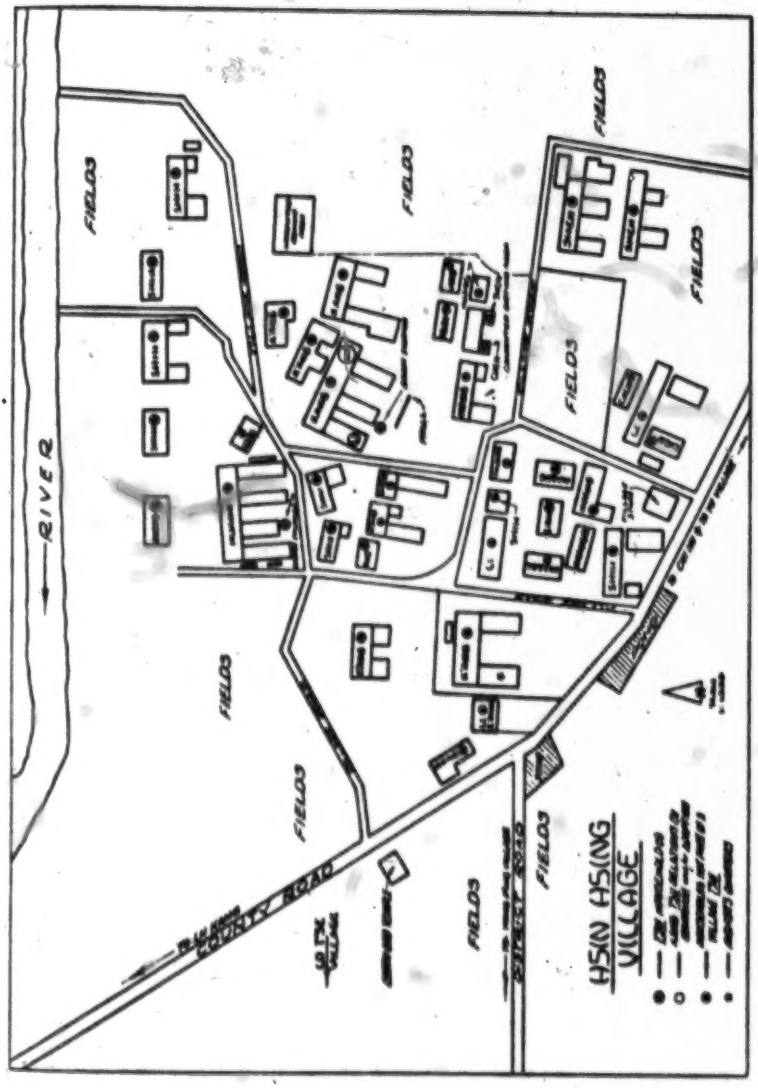

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
179 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
• 363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
000

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[517] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[755] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

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VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

207 There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

205 The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such

204 places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The shia shang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 666 to establish a central water system which required building a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the
621 dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located
653 across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao
664 who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood.
365 The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

621 These two neighborhoods became factions which were
665 mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[2] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hain Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are success-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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178 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change
167 their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living.
829 They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of
• 369 change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1948 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

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Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the beidz-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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Peihotien

Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

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Peihotien

444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
• 369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

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wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

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#159 #596 123 124 828 more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

#159 #596 123 124 I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

#159 #596 [369] [291] Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fifteen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
466 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
• 369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[368] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
651] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
[648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any
case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes
has created the belief that no one can make a profit rais-
ing pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with en-
couraging hog production. Although they have passed out
much literature, they have had little success in promoting
pig production. No small part of their failure is because
they too believe that there is little profit in pigs al-
though in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only
farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast.
Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out
a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at
the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently
is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
a 369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
892 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
• 869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

464 There have been migrants from the village to the
• 369 city, usually Taipei, over an extended period of time.
166 Although the village population is about 50% larger than
[161] it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
• 369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
291 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
• 369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

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[178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

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[805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work
[369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time.

As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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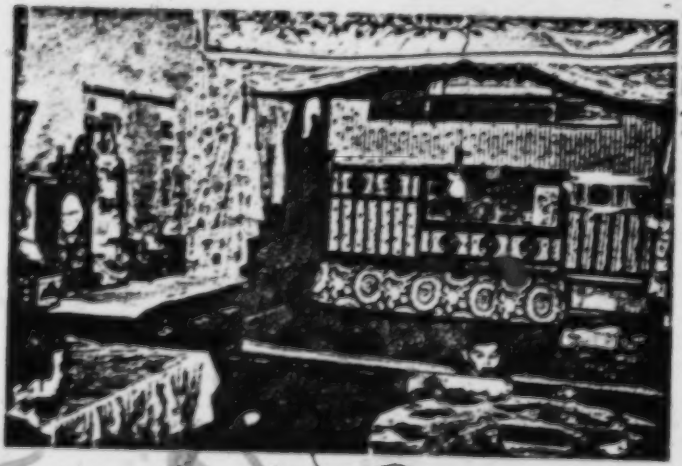
ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.



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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
252 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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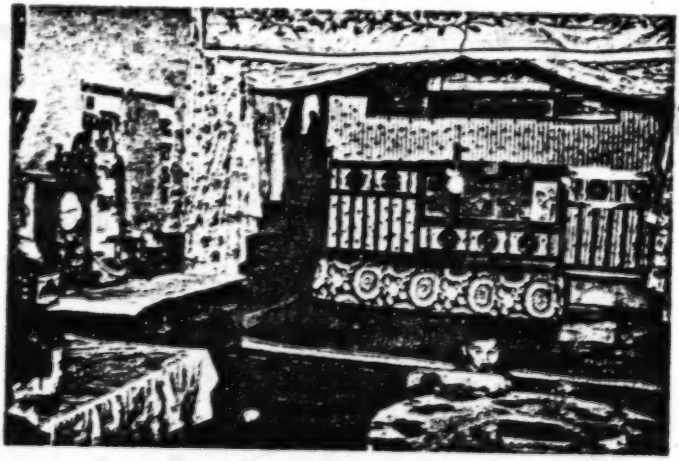
ABOVE: Housebuilding in Hsin Hsing. BELOW: Bedroom of a village landlord's married son.



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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

312 653 406

Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

312 653 578 406

When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-eh'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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According to the April 1957, official records, 86 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

[493] [492] [407] [312]

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

353 sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several
778 members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting
[678] machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.
[407]

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its
353 usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted.
356 Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate
779 during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation
778 inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung*
776 *t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful
778 gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

776 Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with
778 the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih
794 Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

776 The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the
794 gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's
789 birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

554 Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsi-
776 bilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to
794 refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3;Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than [433] earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
• 412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

592 to have a male manager. This is probably related to the
[516] uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no
391 relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 There is one regular exception: married women
593 make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the
[824] money they earn for these activities does not go into
[412] the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to
[291] question what the woman does with this personal money.
[262] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved
[426]
[454]
[388]

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
42 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

[P. 148-C]

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ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung ch'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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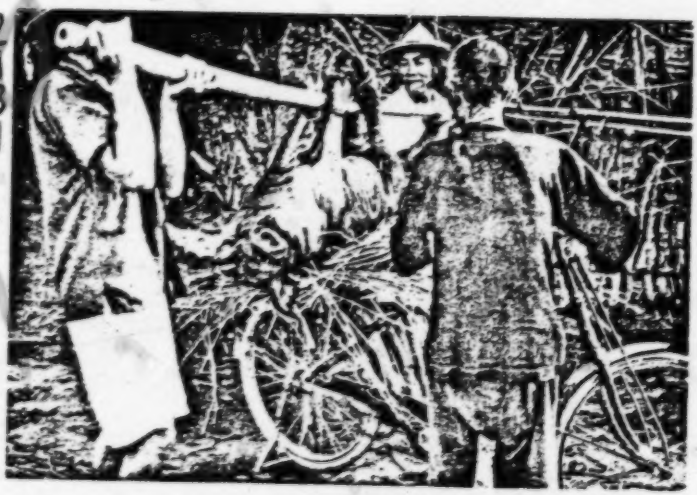

ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	39	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

to be only one, or possibly two, farmers with enough extra cash to take advantage of it. A cement drying area built with the help of this public money quickly becomes a semipublic area. The actual owner has first claim on its use, but if he is not using it, any other villager may do so without asking his permission. On the other hand, a drying area which is not cemented is definitely considered private property, and before a villager may use it he must gain the permission of the owner.

Moneylending (Rural Credit)

A major problem which still confronts the Taiwanese farmer, just as it did the mainland farmers under the Nationalists, is the difficulty in obtaining low-interest loans. The little progress made thus far in easing this problem in the Hsin Hsing area has been through the efforts of the local Farmers' Association. The association in Pu Yen has used its own available funds, together with the financial and organizational help of JCRR, to offer low-interest loans to small farmers. Other loans which have been made available by the provincial Food Bureau and the Land Bank have been of little help in easing the credit situation of the small farmer, since such loans require too much security or else are mainly for business purposes. The result is that most farmers still resort to high-interest private moneylenders or to moneylending clubs.

The Farmers' Association, under the Shih Fan Tai K'uan, "Model Money Lending" system, makes cash loans which are to be repaid in cash, to small farmers. The rules for the granting of these loans are made by each district Farmers' Association, but they must be approved by JCRR. The loans can be made only to regular members of the Farmers' Association, to help them purchase farm implements necessary to increase their production. The maximum loan made by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association in 1958 was NT $5,000. This was lent for a maximum period of two years, and payments on the loan were due every six months. The actual time permitted for repayment of the loan depends upon the amount of money borrowed. The interest rate charged by the Farmers' Association is 1.5 percent per month.

The only security demanded of the borrower is the guarantee of two other members of the Farmers' Association. A committee of the association decides if the borrower is a good risk by examining the amount of land he operates (owned and rented). According to the Extension Head of the Farmers' Association, the most important consideration is that the man can be trusted and also that he have good guarantors. Thus, if his reasons for wanting the loan are accepted, even a man who owns only a small piece of land may be able to borrow the maximum amount of money for the full two-year term. At the Pu Yen association

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596 thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of 596 the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 per- 592 cent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint 162 families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

596 The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

[171] In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

[162] According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin [592] Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, al- [592] though perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. • 421 Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general 596 household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

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Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	156		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	39	2	2
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or [612] friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in* [602] *ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 426 404 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:155). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.

4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."

5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).

6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.

2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.

3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.

[356] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?

5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).

[212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.

[781] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).

2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."

3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the

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/For historical background on land tenure in Taiwan as it is indirectly related to the Taichung peasants, see category 116, pp. 88-90./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

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ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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According to the April 1957, official records, 96 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land
• 423 as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were
423 still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount
of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular [493] about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.5 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling [492] back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [407] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two
423 miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and
427 Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing
628 villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several
428 factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land
[427] wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's [redacted]rplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their [242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. [167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban [621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, [628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual [602] reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chia* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ownership became even more concentrated in the postwar period than in the pre-war period" (Klein, 1958:53). Large numbers of tenants and would-be tenants were in continuing competition for the land they needed to support their families. The competition, unfortunately, tended to put the tenants at the landlords' mercy and helped perpetuate the already unsatisfactory land tenure system.

Klein also points out that the "increased demand for food by urban dwellers and for rural land by farmers, resulted in the many abuses practiced by rural landowners becoming qualitatively worse and quantitatively more numerous than before. One of the notorious abuses was that of charging oppressively heavy rents" (1958:53). From "1945 through 1947, rents of 60 per cent and 70 per cent (of the annual main crop) became not uncommon in the more fertile and densely populated areas. In some areas the rent was 'ironclad' which meant that in the event of crop disaster or failure, the rent, determined as a percentage of the normal or expected yield was to be paid in full anyway" (Klein, 1958:53–54).

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The high rental rates in the moderately fertile Hsin Hsing village area seem to have been standardized according to the type and quality (grade) of the land being rented, and were, in addition, influenced by the relationship between the particular landlord and tenant. Hsin Hsing villagers imply that land rents before the Land Reform Reduction Law were no higher than they are today. Their most vivid memory is one of insecurity on the land rather than excessive rents. Many seem to have forgotten how bad the rent situation really was. Former landlords, however, admit almost nostalgically that land rents in this area were as high as 60 percent of the annual main crop. But the landlord paid all the taxes, and he and the tenant shared the expense of the fertilizer. The tenant paid all the labor costs.

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Everyone agrees that rent was generally paid in kind, seldom in money, and "the landlord, as a rule, charged the tenant a fixed amount of rice for paddy land regardless of how small a crop the tenant might raise or what crop he planted" (Chang, 1954:10–11). Nevertheless, if the tenant, through his own efforts, increased the production of his rented land, he usually had to pay a larger rent. There is no question that this greatly stifled the tenants' incentive to increase production. The payment of rent in kind—in rice for paddy land—meant that "In case the tenant planted crops other than rice, he had to sell his crops and buy rice from [the] market to meet the charge. The buying and selling of crops meant extra losses to the tenant" (Chang, 1954:11).

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There is no indication before 1949 in the Hsin Hsing area that the landlord collected rent in advance. Usually, he took 60 percent of the rent immediately after the first crop was harvested and the remaining

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

423 427 671 The law provided for a ceiling on farm rental of 37.5 percent of a predetermined estimated yield, regardless of any production above that figure. In the event of a crop failure, the law stipulated that "the lessee and the lessor may make arrangements between themselves for the reduction of rent in accordance with local custom. . . . If the total yield is less than 20 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:222). It guaranteed, through landlord-tenant contracts, that the rights and welfare of the tenant farmer would be safeguarded. However, there was still "no adequate provision for the protection of tenant's rights owing to the restrictions imposed by certain articles of the Land Law and the Civil Code. Hence there occurred, after the enforcement of farm rent reductions, many cases in which some landlords tried to take back their leased land from their tenants by resorting either to compulsion or promises of material benefit" (T'ang, 1954:32).

T 423 429 Loopholes in the law made it possible for landlords to make up for having to reduce the land rent by charging house rent and other new charges. In 1949 there were several cases of landlords who successfully convinced their gullible, or perhaps trusting, Hsin Hsing village tenants that there was no reason to draw up a land contract, since their verbal agreement had always been adequate in the past. On this basis, the landlord promised, the tenant "could consider that his family would be able to work the land forever on the same basis of mutual trust and good *kan-ch'ing* which had always existed between them." The rent would, of course, be the legal 37.5 percent paid by other tenants.

In several instances in Hsin Hsing and in other villages—according to an informant who works in the Public Office and used to have a position in the Land Office—uneducated tenants were persuaded not to report themselves as tenants. In these cases, since there was no one claiming tenancy rights, the landlord would say that he himself tilled this land. If later the rightful tenant should dispute the matter (and there have been a number of such cases), the landlord would officially claim that the tenant was not a tenant at all but only a hired laborer. In this way, the landlord, who realized there was to be a transfer of land to the tenants, felt he had a better chance to retain ownership of his land. In Hsin Hsing village, there are still a few small plots of land covered by such a verbal agreement between a landlord and his tenant.

Farm Rent Reduction Act of 1951

Tn 423 671 The many instances of landlords' abuses of tenants plus the weak enforcement of the 1949 provincial law led to a need for the "Farm Rent Reduction to 37.5 Percent Act." This national act was passed by

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ments to the government; the amount of these payments did not exceed the 25 percent of the crop paid in rent, but as an owner, the farmer was responsible for taxes and other charges. The financial benefits of ownership would thus not accrue to the new owner until the entire purchase price was paid off in ten years. The sale was important and contributed to the landownership of a few former tenant families in Hsin Hsing. However, it was far less important and attracted less interest than the Land-to-the-Tiller Act which went into effect in 1953 (Chang, 1954: 60–61).

The Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953

Under the act, the government was given authority to expropriate the land of landlords and to create owner-farmers. Basically, it provided for government purchase of certain tenant-cultivated lands for the purpose of resale to the tenant-cultivators. In the Hsin Hsing village area, where most of the land is of medium grade, most landlords could retain a maximum of three *chia* (7.2 acres) of paddy land or six *chia* (14.4 acres) of dry (nonirrigated) land. The purchase price of the expropriated land was "fixed at 250 per cent of the total annual main crop yield (the standard volume of main crop as stated in the earlier 37.5 per cent rent contract). Of the purchase price, 70 per cent paid to the landlord is in land bonds and 30 per cent in government enterprise stockshares" (Chang, 1954:65).

The government's "resale price" of the land to the former tenant "is the same as the purchase price, plus a 4 per cent interest per annum and is to be amortized by the purchaser in ten equal annual installments" (Chang, 1954:65–66). Former tenants make a total of twenty semiannual payments, one after each harvest. The payments can be in rice for paddy land, or in cash for dry land, based on the current value of sweet potatoes. According to the law, "the average annual burden to be borne by the purchaser shall not exceed the burden on the same grade of land presently borne by the tenant farmer under the 37.5 per cent rent reduction program" (T'ang, 1954:190).

There was a general restriction written into the Land-to-the-Tiller Act to prevent the reaccumulation of land by large landholders or the manipulation and shifting of ownership of land reform land. It stipulates that "any purchaser who has acquired land under this Act shall not transfer the land to any other person before the purchase price is fully paid; transfer of land, after its purchase price is fully paid, shall be permitted only when the transferee can till the land himself or can use it for industrial purposes" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Law, Chapter IV, Article 28). This means that technically there is no limitation on the amount of land that may be purchased and accumulated, except that the purchaser must have the ability to cultivate it.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

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LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

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Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 15) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

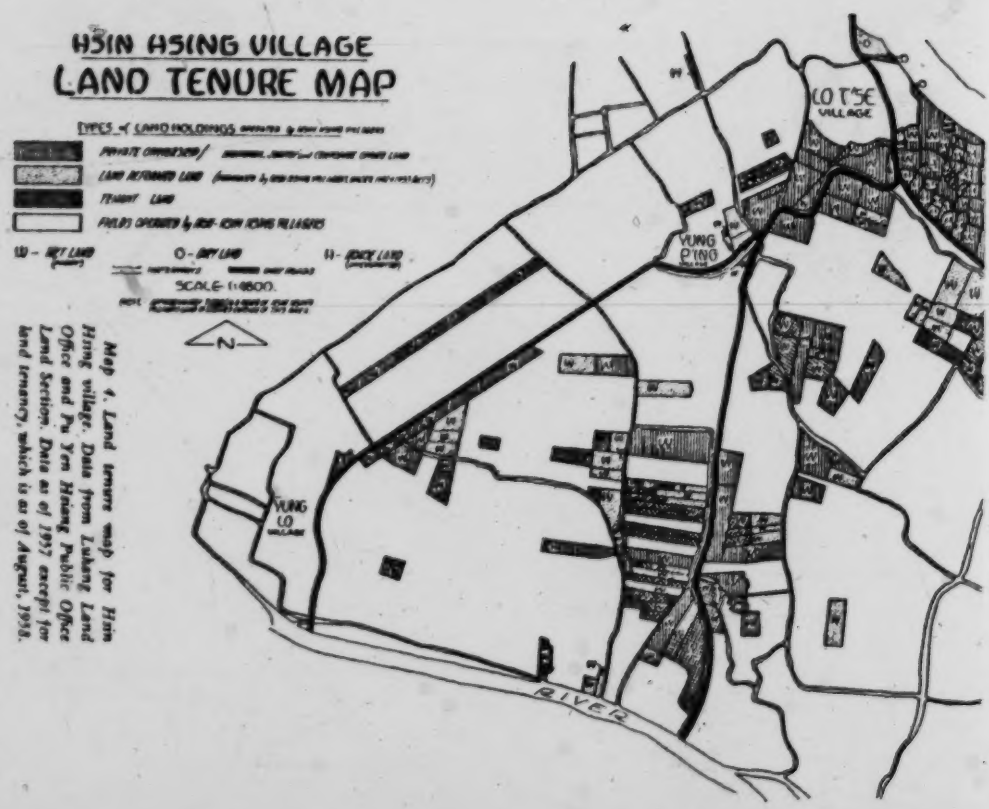
Land classification	1949–1951		1957	
	Area *chia*	Number of families	Area *chia*	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	62
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[3]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]



Map 1. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Lukang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

25.8204 *chia* of cultivated land was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers under individual, joint, or corporate ownership. The largest part of all cultivated land was paddy land. (See Table 14.)

Most of the leased land in 1949 was owned by 25 different private landlords. A small part belonged to publicly owned enterprises. Of these twenty-five private landlords, only two were Hsin Hsing villagers; they owned about 5.2 *chia* of land or about 14.6 percent of the total leased land—almost all of which they rented out to fellow villagers. (See Table 15.) Of the remaining leaseholds, 28.5

TABLE 14

AREA AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 92 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS BEFORE LAND REFORM, 1951

Land type	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percentage (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	25.4867	0.3337	25.8204	41.9
Tenanted	31.9950	3.7426	35.7376	58.1
Totals	57.4817	4.0763	61.5580	100.0

TABLE 15

OWNERSHIP OF HSIN HSING VILLAGE TENANTED LAND, 1949–1951

	Total number of *chia* Hsin Hsing tenanted land	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by private outside landlords [a]	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by public enterprises
Amount of tenant land	35.7	5.2	28.5	2.0
Percent of tenant land	100.0	14.6	79.8	5.6
Number of private landlords	25.0	2.0	23.0	—

[a] Landlords living outside Hsin Hsing village as well as outside the area.

chia or 79.8 percent of the total was owned by 23 private outside landlords. Thirteen of them, owning over 19 *chia* of this land, lived in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing, Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. The other ten, owning 9 *chia*, lived in more distant villages or in the cities and had little direct contact with their Hsin Hsing tenants. The remaining two *chia* of tenant land was public land, owned by public enterprises such as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation.

By 1954, the three-step program of land reform had been completed, and the almost 36 *chia* of leased land that had been cultivated by Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6958	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4753	—	1.4753	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.3	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.3–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were partial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.5	12	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.5–1.0	11	5	1	3	20	22.2
1.0–1.5	18	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.5–2.0	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
2.0–2.5	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Number of families	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Percent of families	52	20	9	9	90	—
	57.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 36 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7665		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2154		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.3716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as 423

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4574	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3569	0.0130	0.3699	1.8
0.1–0.5	7	19.4	1.3773	0.2000	1.5573	8.2
0.5–1.0	10	27.8	3.6438	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
1.0–1.5	13	36.1	7.7481	0.5918	8.3399	41.9
1.5–2.0	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	1	2.8	0.8218	1.3321	2.1539	10.8
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—
	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the equivalent of owner operated land (and legally this is how it is considered), then it is notable that of the 61.2208 *chia* operated by the villagers in 1957 44.9285 *chia*, or 73.4 percent, was privately owned and the remaining 26.6 percent tenant operated.

Thirty-six families, about 40 percent of the Hsin Hsing village farming families, were benefited by the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Before the reform program, 19 of these 36 families owned no land at all, and their livelihood depended strictly on the land they rented and whatever outside income they had. However, the other 17 families, besides their rented land, owned only about 4.5 *chia* of land, most of which was paddy field. After the Land Reform Program, which affected almost 15.5 *chia* under the 1951–1953 acts, land that these 36 families cultivated as owners increased to 19.9 *chia*, of which about 17.5 *chia* was paddy. In 1957, 19 of these same 36 households continued to work a little below 6 *chia* of land as tenant farmers. (See Table 21.) This tenant land is cultivated under the strict enforcement of the 37.5 percent Rent Reduction Act.

The change in the landholding status of the 36 families directly affected by the reform program is shown in Table 22, Parts A and B. Before land reform only 3 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia* of land, but in the post-land reform period, 17 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia*. The average area purchased by Hsin Hsing tillers under the reform was 0.44 *chia*, usually in one and sometimes two plots of land per family. This means that in Hsin Hsing village, of the 54 plots of land sold to the tillers by the government, the size of the average plot sold was less than 0.5 *chia* of land.

Chang Yen-t'ien (1954:86) writes that in Taiwan about 46.44 percent of the total pre-reform tenants, including part-tenants, purchased land through the reform program. But he notes that "more than half of the former tenant families . . . are still entirely or partly under the influence of tenancy."

For Hsin Hsing village, the records show that 62 percent of the 58 pre-reform tenants purchased some land reform land, and the figure is probably this high because of the higher rate of tenancy in Hsin Hsing than in Taiwan as a whole. Thirty-six households, or 65.5 percent, of the 58 are still to some extent tenants, however. This is mainly because the land they rented happened to be part of the 3 *chia* of land the landlord could retain under the 1953 law. While this was true for landlords in all of Taiwan, the average land purchase figure may be larger for the whole of Taiwan than for Hsin Hsing because elsewhere in Taiwan there were large tracts of public land available for purchase and, in addition, at the time of the restoration there was little Japanese-cultivated land in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing for Hsin Hsing villagers to take over. These factors have gener-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.82 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "it was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three; reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 627 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

618 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 618 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic conditions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

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596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which
• 423 could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and gen-
474 erally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships
857 from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friend-
572 ships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since child-
hood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into
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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 3. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

776 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth
778 god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

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[423] The original settlers constituted a corporate group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of San-lei has been classified and graded by the government. The

The
423 amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to
651 the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value.
[435] The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

311 As pointed out in the section on topography, San-
243 lei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around
95 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in
423
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311 Table 3. Sanlei Land Types and Distribution
*In chia (One chia equals 2.39 acres)

Land Category	Number of Plots	Median Size*	Mean Size*	Area Total*
Paddy	200	.0350	.0665	13.2920
Dry	124	.0435	.1698	21.0568
Woods	103	.1440	.2936	30.2435
House	61	.0185	.0228	1.5066
Burial	17	.0230	.1629	2.7685
Other	34	.0238	.0564	1.9188
			TOTAL	70.7862

175 Fukien. According to informants and confirmed by family
423 histories, the original land was improved and brought into
311 cultivation by the 18 hu acting as a corporate group. The
423 earliest settlement was a walled fort, frequently under attack by the aborigines who inhabited the nearby mountains. While some men worked in the fields, others were detailed as lookouts and guards. The lands were owned jointly and produce was shared communally. After a few short years (the exact date is uncertain), a decision was made to divide the land. There are suggestions that this was the original plan but there are also strong hints that the division process was one that caused considerable discord and may have been the outgrowth of a previous conflict. In any case, each large piece of land, by type and location, was divided into 18 equal plots, one for each household. The matching of household to plot was accomplished by withdrawing a slip of paper from a hat with chopsticks. Since there were several original large plots,

• 423 each household received a number of one-eighteenth sections. Subsequent to the division, some households continued developing land, creating additional plots more remote from the village center. Additional households migrated in and others died off. Some plots were purchased and others were developed. This historical pattern meant the villagers had started with smaller than average plot sizes.

428 The traditional Chinese pattern of equal inheritance by all the sons compounded the problem. In practice, equal inheritance often meant that if a man had four sons and four plots of land, each son obtained one-fourth of each plot. Conceivably, each son could have received one of the four plots, but plots regularly vary in quality and convenience to the village center and it usually proved impossible to find four that were equal.

423 There were counter-trends to the fragmentation. An individual might inherit two neighboring pieces from father and uncle or he might buy a piece neighboring his own. There was some consolidation by trading. Men who owned two small adjacent plots in two different locations could trade one plot in order to own two in only one location. This occurred but was infrequent because of the necessity for establishing equality. The only such consolidation that took place during our stay in the village, involved a trade of a slightly more valuable .008 chia

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 424 659 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

423 427 656 rent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the total main crop yield (C. Chen, 1961). Since the usual rent in the Sanlei area averaged about fifty per cent of the main crop, this reduction immediately affected the economic situation of village tenants. It had a secondary effect of reducing the land value of tenanted land because the rental income was lowered and flexibility was lost due to the requirements for a minimum lease of six years, binding on heirs, successors, and assigns.

423 The second step involved the sale of public land in a series of six successive sales between 1948 and 1958 (Koo, 1968:36) with most plots sold after 1951 (Koo, 1968: 35). There was no paddy land affected by these sales in Sanlei although some villagers did acquire mountain land in the various sales. According to villagers and by notation on land records, the sale of mountain land to tenants in Sanlei had actually begun under the Japanese.

The third step was the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953 which was designed to accomplish three basic objectives:

> (1) to help tenants acquire landownership without increasing financial burden; (2) to protect the interests of landlords; and (3) to convert land-holdings into industrial holdings (Koo, 1968:37).

In essence, land was compulsorily purchased from certain landlords and sold on easy terms to their tenants. The

property subject to forced sale included a landlord's excess over 3.0 chia, land owned jointly, and land owned by a lineage or temple (C. Chen, 1961). This too had little effect in Sanlei because the village never had high rates of tenancy. It is estimated that 75% of the paddy land was owner-cultivated before the land reform program. As described above, much of Sanlei land is not of high quality. Traditionally, there has been a higher percentage of owner-operated fields where most land is low quality (Kirby, 1960:70). In the Land-to-the-Tiller program, only 15 Sanlei paddy plots totaling 1.0175 chia, less than 8% of the paddy land, changed hands. Three of these plots were part of one man's excess holdings over 3.0 chia and one was owned by a temple. The remaining plots were lost because a tenant was renting land held by joint owners.

There were no large land-holdings in the area immediately around Sanlei but large holdings were common closer to Hsin Tien where land grades of 6 or 7 are common. One landlord who owned 30 chia of paddy fields lived in T'oulei but only a small portion of his holdings were located in Talei Li.

A typical case to illustrate a transfer (forced sale) was that of Liao Mou-tu and Liao Mou-ti, two of the wealthier villagers (Liao Mou-tu's chia is diagramed in Figure 5). These two men were brothers whose household had divided but subsequently, had jointly purchased .05

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean. 244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po- 245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot, 311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

311 natural vegetation and forestation but much is being devel-
[423] oped. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the
427 government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962,
435 it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases
435 at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

361
311 The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

423 The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or
427 an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land [651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate 133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small 312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable 311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
• 423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621
461 It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178
621 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
461 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182
241 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
462 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
464

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

I:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing ma- [409] chine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, [426] and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes [427] owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fer- [262] tilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [231] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [442] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [256] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [442] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [435] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [433] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	39	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	25	1	2

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

to be only one, or possibly two, farmers with enough extra cash to take advantage of it. A cement drying area built with the help of this public money quickly becomes a semipublic area. The actual owner has first claim on its use, but if he is not using it, any other villager may do so without asking his permission. On the other hand, a drying area which is not cemented is definitely considered private property, and before a villager may use it he must gain the permission of the owner.

Moneylending (Rural Credit)

A major problem which still confronts the Taiwanese farmer, just as it did the mainland farmers under the Nationalists, is the difficulty in obtaining low-interest loans. The little progress made thus far in easing this problem in the Hsin Hsing area has been through the efforts of the local Farmers' Association. The association in Pu Yen has used its own available funds, together with the financial and organizational help of JCRR, to offer low-interest loans to small farmers. Other loans which have been made available by the provincial Food Bureau and the Land Bank have been of little help in easing the credit situation of the small farmer, since such loans require too much security or else are mainly for business purposes. The result is that most farmers still resort to high-interest private moneylenders or to moneylending clubs.

The Farmers' Association, under the Shih Fan Tai K'uan, "Model Money Lending" system, makes cash loans which are to be repaid in cash, to small farmers. The rules for the granting of these loans are made by each district Farmers' Association, but they must be approved by JCRR. The loans can be made only to regular members of the Farmers' Association, to help them purchase farm implements necessary to increase their production. The maximum loan made by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association in 1958 was NT $5,000. This was lent for a maximum period of two years, and payments on the loan were due every six months. The actual time permitted for repayment of the loan depends upon the amount of money borrowed. The interest rate charged by the Farmers' Association is 1.5 percent per month.

The only security demanded of the borrower is the guarantee of two other members of the Farmers' Association. A committee of the association decides if the borrower is a good risk by examining the amount of land he operates (owned and rented). According to the Extension Head of the Farmers' Association, the most important consideration is that the man can be trusted and also that he have good guarantors. Thus, if his reasons for wanting the loan are accepted, even a man who owns only a small piece of land may be able to borrow the maximum amount of money for the full two-year term. At the Pu Yen association

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

42 Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and
474 their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

618 Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to
426 lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available.
596 As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-
578 time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint
736 family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

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618 Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between
574 patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such
585 times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to
612 the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'ing t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

511 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local
426 wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter
602 how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable
888 to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

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517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane • 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

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444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
• 426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [29] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [888]

ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for security in her old age and also invest it in money lending clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males, the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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According to the April 1957 official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land
423 as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were
still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount
427 of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular
[493] about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.5 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling
[492] back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork
[407] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by
[312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two
423 miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and
427 Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing
628 villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several
428 factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land
[427] wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing ma- [407] chine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, [426] and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. [427] While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fer- [262] tilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [231] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [442] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [256] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly 243 common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize [423] any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [442] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [435] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, [433] one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	39	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is [612] [602] paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[3] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose 571 *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between [602] two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 404 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ownership became even more concentrated in the postwar period than in the pre-war period" (Klein, 1958:53). Large numbers of tenants and would-be tenants were in continuing competition for the land they needed to support their families. The competition, unfortunately, tended to put the tenants at the landlords' mercy and helped perpetuate the already unsatisfactory land tenure system.

Klein also points out that the "increased demand for food by urban dwellers and for rural land by farmers, resulted in the many abuses practiced by rural landowners becoming qualitatively worse and quantitatively more numerous than before. One of the notorious abuses was that of charging oppressively heavy rents" (1958:53). From "1945 through 1947, rents of 60 per cent and 70 per cent (of the annual main crop) became not uncommon in the more fertile and densely populated areas. In some areas the rent was 'ironclad' which meant that in the event of crop disaster or failure, the rent, determined as a percentage of the normal or expected yield was to be paid in full anyway" (Klein, 1958:53–54).

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The high rental rates in the moderately fertile Hsin Hsing village area seem to have been standardized according to the type and quality (grade) of the land being rented, and were, in addition, influenced by the relationship between the particular landlord and tenant. Hsin Hsing villagers imply that land rents before the Land Reform Reduction Law were no higher than they are today. Their most vivid memory is one of insecurity on the land rather than excessive rents. Many seem to have forgotten how bad the rent situation really was. Former landlords, however, admit almost nostalgically that land rents in this area were as high as 60 percent of the annual main crop. But the landlord paid all the taxes, and he and the tenant shared the expense of the fertilizer. The tenant paid all the labor costs.

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Everyone agrees that rent was generally paid in kind, seldom in money, and "the landlord, as a rule, charged the tenant a fixed amount of rice for paddy land regardless of how small a crop the tenant might raise or what crop he planted" (Chang, 1954:10–11). Nevertheless, if the tenant, through his own efforts, increased the production of his rented land, he usually had to pay a larger rent. There is no question that this greatly stifled the tenants' incentive to increase production. The payment of rent in kind—in rice for paddy land—meant that "In case the tenant planted crops other than rice, he had to sell his crops and buy rice from [the] market to meet the charge. The buying and selling of crops meant extra losses to the tenant" (Chang, 1954:11).

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There is no indication before 1949 in the Hsin Hsing area that the landlord collected rent in advance. Usually, he took 60 percent of the rent immediately after the first crop was harvested and the remaining

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to land reform—his wife and sons were not concerned with continuing these good relations. Whenever the opportunity arose for securing higher rents from a new tenant, the wife and sons threw the former tenant off the land. Most of the villagers felt hostile towards this family for its greediness and betrayal of the formerly good *kan-ch'ing*.

Ironically, in the postwar period, it was the constant fear and uncertainty which prevented the active growth of any movement or demand among the tenant farmers in this area for some kind of land reform. Such activity would immediately endanger a tenant's relationship with the landlord, especially the local ones, and his tenure on the land would be jeopardized. Even to complain about the situation was dangerous. Other farmers, desperately in need of additional land, might inform the landlord that the tenant was criticizing his treatment or perhaps abusing or neglecting the land. Then, after planting the seed of distrust, the informer might offer to rent the land himself. The tenant's fear of such competitive tactics and his insecure relations with his landlord ensured his continued submission to the system.

LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In mainland China, land reform in the form of a rent reduction program had been attempted as early as 1929 by the Chekiang provincial government (Chang, 1954:16). The program and others, which were intended eventually to transfer landownership from landlord to tenant, were attempted by other provincial governments also, as well as by the Nationalist government in various provinces such as Fukien, Szechwan, and Kwangsi up to the time of the Communist take-over in 1949 (Chang, 1954:16–19; T'ang, 1954:89–95). However, while some of the programs were successful, they were all very limited and at best effective only in localized areas of the mainland.

After the Nationalist government took over in Taiwan, a large-scale Land Reform Program was successfully carried out on the island. This was a "Three Step Program" instituted officially by the National government in 1951 and completed in 1953. Chang (1954:20) wrote: "The first phase, also the mildest reform, seeks improvement of the tenant's living without overthrowing the tenancy system or changing the tenant's status. The second phase, the converting of a fraction of tenants into owner-farmers by selling public land to them, may be taken as a trial or transitional stage. The third phase, Land-to-the-Tiller, aims at turning all tenants into owner-farmers . . . the last and final goal of land reform."

The program was based on a law known as the "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province," promulgated by the provincial government of Taiwan on April 10, 1949.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 427 671 The law provided for a ceiling on farm rental of 37.5 percent of a predetermined estimated yield, regardless of any production above that figure. In the event of a crop failure, the law stipulated that "the lessee and the lessor may make arrangements between themselves for the reduction of rent in accordance with local custom. . . . If the total yield is less than 20 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:222). It guaranteed, through landlord-tenant contracts, that the rights and welfare of the tenant farmer would be safeguarded. However, there was still "no adequate provision for the protection of tenant's rights owing to the restrictions imposed by certain articles of the Land Law and the Civil Code. Hence there occurred, after the enforcement of farm rent reductions, many cases in which some landlords tried to take back their leased land from their tenants by resorting either to compulsion or promises of material benefit" (T'ang, 1954:32).

T 423 427 Loopholes in the law made it possible for landlords to make up for having to reduce the land rent by charging house rent and other new charges. In 1949 there were several cases of landlords who successfully convinced their gullible, or perhaps trusting, Hsin Hsing village tenants that there was no reason to draw up a land contract, since their verbal agreement had always been adequate in the past. On this basis, the landlord promised, the tenant "could consider that his family would be able to work the land forever on the same basis of mutual trust and good *kan-ch'ing* which had always existed between them." The rent would, of course, be the legal 37.5 percent paid by other tenants.

In several instances in Hsin Hsing and in other villages—according to an informant who works in the Public Office and used to have a position in the Land Office—uneducated tenants were persuaded not to report themselves as tenants. In these cases, since there was no one claiming tenancy rights, the landlord would say that he himself tilled this land. If later the rightful tenant should dispute the matter (and there have been a number of such cases), the landlord would officially claim that the tenant was not a tenant at all but only a hired laborer. In this way, the landlord, who realized there was to be a transfer of land to the tenants, felt he had a better chance to retain ownership of his land. In Hsin Hsing village, there are still a few small plots of land covered by such a verbal agreement between a landlord and his tenant.

Farm Rent Reduction Act of 1951

Tn 423 671 The many instances of landlords' abuses of tenants plus the weak enforcement of the 1949 provincial law led to a need for the "Farm Rent Reduction to 37.5 Percent Act." This national act was passed by

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949–1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

	1949–1951		1957	
Land classification	Area *chia*	Number of families	Area *chia*	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	62
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 *chia* (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 *chia* (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 *chia* (39 acres).[2]

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 *chia* of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 *chia*, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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HSIN HSING VILLAGE
LAND TENURE MAP

Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Luhang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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25.8204 *chia* of cultivated land was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers under individual, joint, or corporate ownership. The largest part of all cultivated land was paddy land. (See Table 14.)

Most of the leased land in 1949 was owned by 25 different private landlords. A small part belonged to publicly owned enterprises. Of these twenty-five private landlords, only two were Hsin Hsing villagers; they owned about 5.2 *chia* of land or about 14.6 percent of the total leased land—almost all of which they rented out to fellow villagers. (See Table 15.) Of the remaining leaseholds, 28.5

TABLE 14

AREA AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 92 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS BEFORE LAND REFORM, 1951

Land type	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percentage (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	25.4867	0.3337	25.8204	41.9
Tenanted	31.9950	3.7426	35.7376	58.1
Totals	57.4817	4.0763	61.5580	100.0

TABLE 15

OWNERSHIP OF HSIN HSING VILLAGE TENANTED LAND, 1949–1951

	Total number of *chia* Hsin Hsing tenanted land	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by private outside landlords *	Hsin Hsing tenanted land owned by public enterprises
Amount of tenant land	35.7	5.2	28.5	2.0
Percent of tenant land	100.0	14.6	79.8	5.6
Number of private landlords	25.0	2.0	23.0	—

* Landlords living outside Hsin Hsing village as well as outside the area.

chia or 79.8 percent of the total was owned by 23 private outside landlords. Thirteen of them, owning over 19 *chia* of this land, lived in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing, Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. The other ten, owning 9 *chia*, lived in more distant villages or in the cities and had little direct contact with their Hsin Hsing tenants. The remaining two *chia* of tenant land was public land, owned by public enterprises such as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation.

By 1954, the three-step program of land reform had been completed, and the almost 36 *chia* of leased land that had been cultivated by Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownreship. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

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	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4758	—	1.4758	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

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TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.3	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.3–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were partial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.5	12	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.5–1.0	11	5	1	3	20	22.2
1.0–1.5	18	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.5–2.0	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
2.0–2.5	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Number of families	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Percent of families	32	20	9	9	90	—
	57.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

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TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 56 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7665		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2154		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

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423 The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the equivalent of owner operated land (and legally this is how it is considered), then it is notable that of the 61.2208 *chia* operated by the villagers in 1957 44.9283 *chia*, or 73.4 percent, was privately owned and the remaining 26.6 percent tenant operated.

Thirty-six families, about 40 percent of the Hsin Hsing village farming families, were benefited by the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Before the reform program, 19 of these 36 families owned no land at all, and their livelihood depended strictly on the land they rented and whatever outside income they had. However, the other 17 families, besides their rented land, owned only about 4.5 *chia* of land, most of which was paddy field. After the Land Reform Program, which affected almost 15.5 *chia* under the 1951–1953 acts, land that these 36 families cultivated as owners increased to 19.9 *chia*, of which about 17.5 *chia* was paddy. In 1957, 19 of these same 36 households continued to work a little below 6 *chia* of land as tenant farmers. (See Table 21.) This tenant land is cultivated under the strict enforcement of the 37.5 percent Rent Reduction Act.

The change in the landholding status of the 36 families directly affected by the reform program is shown in Table 22, Parts A and B. Before land reform only 3 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia* of land, but in the post-land reform period, 17 of the 36 owned more than 0.5 *chia*. The average area purchased by Hsin Hsing tillers under the reform was 0.44 *chia*, usually in one and sometimes two plots of land per family. This means that in Hsin Hsing village, of the 54 plots of land sold to the tillers by the government, the size of the average plot sold was less than 0.3 *chia* of land.

Chang Yen-t'ien (1954:86) writes that in Taiwan about 46.44 percent of the total pre-reform tenants, including part-tenants, purchased land through the reform program. But he notes that "more than half of the former tenant families . . . are still entirely or partly under the influence of tenancy."

For Hsin Hsing village, the records show that 62 percent of the 58 pre-reform tenants purchased some land reform land, and the figure is probably this high because of the higher rate of tenancy in Hsin Hsing than in Taiwan as a whole. Thirty-six households, or 65.5 percent, of the 58 are still to some extent tenants, however. This is mainly because the land they rented happened to be part of the 3 *chia* of land the landlord could retain under the 1953 law. While this was true for landlords in all of Taiwan, the average land purchase figure may be larger for the whole of Taiwan than for Hsin Hsing because elsewhere in Taiwan there were large tracts of public land available for purchase and, in addition, at the time of the restoration there was little Japanese-cultivated land in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing for Hsin Hsing villagers to take over. These factors have gener-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952 Number of farming households	1951–1952 Percent of households	1957 Number of farming households	1957 Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 55.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their *native village*.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biēng-liēng-kiá:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 6

[p. 59]

LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

rent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the total main crop yield (C. Chen, 1961). Since the usual rent in the Sanlei area averaged about fifty per cent of the main crop, this reduction immediately affected the economic situation of village tenants. It had a secondary effect of reducing the land value of tenanted land because the rental income was lowered and flexibility was lost due to the requirements for a minimum lease of six years, binding on heirs, successors, and assigns.

The second step involved the sale of public land in a series of six successive sales between 1948 and 1958 (Koo, 1968:36) with most plots sold after 1951 (Koo, 1968: 35). There was no paddy land affected by these sales in Sanlei although some villagers did acquire mountain land in the various sales. According to villagers and by notation on land records, the sale of mountain land to tenants in Sanlei had actually begun under the Japanese.

The third step was the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953 which was designed to accomplish three basic objectives:

> (1) to help tenants acquire landownership without increasing financial burden; (2) to protect the interests of landlords; and (3) to convert land-holdings into industrial holdings (Koo, 1968:37).

In essence, land was compulsorily purchased from certain landlords and sold on easy terms to their tenants. The

423 property subject to forced sale included a landlord's excess over 3.0 chia, land owned jointly, and land owned [427] by a lineage or temple (C. Chen, 1961). This too had little effect in Sanlei because the village never had high rates of tenancy. It is estimated that 75% of the paddy land was owner-cultivated before the land reform program. As described above, much of Sanlei land is not of high quality. Traditionally, there has been a higher percentage of owner-operated fields where most land is low quality (Kirby, 1960:70). In the Land-to-the-Tiller program, only 15 Sanlei paddy plots totaling 1.0175 chia, less than 8% of the paddy land, changed hands. Three of these plots were part of one man's excess holdings over 3.0 chia and one was owned by a temple. The remaining plots were lost because a tenant was renting land held by joint owners.

There were no large land-holdings in the area immediately around Sanlei but large holdings were common closer to Hsin Tien where land grades of 6 or 7 are common. One landlord who owned 30 chia of paddy fields lived in T'oulei but only a small portion of his holdings were located in Talei Li.

A typical case to illustrate a transfer (forced sale) was that of Liao Mou-tu and Liao Mou-ti, two of the wealthier villagers (Liao Mou-tu's chia is diagramed in Figure 5). These two men were brothers whose household had divided but subsequently, had jointly purchased .05

natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

627 they must be skilled in inter-personal relations and since it takes time to build a reputation which includes all these specifications, particularly the last one, most good mediators are between the ages of 50 and 60.

671 The entire legal process in China, both formal and informal, seems to be more concerned with "reasonableness" and "fairness" than with hard definitions of "right" and "wrong." Decisions do not seem arbitrary and have a high level of predictability.

427 There are a number of kinds of local participation. 686 Special mediation boards are created for special purposes 672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced
[558] to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

According to the April 1957, official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.5 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

[493] [492] [401] [312]

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4.5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428].

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

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Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *siaosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

*583 591 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

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liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tsuruo Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Usuru Okada, Kiso Shaki, op. cit., p. 7.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

423 each household received a number of one-eighteenth sections. Subsequent to the division, some households continued developing land, creating additional plots more remote from the village center. Additional households migrated in and others died off. Some plots were purchased and others were developed. This historical pattern meant the villagers had started with smaller than average plot sizes.

• 428 The traditional Chinese pattern of equal inheritance by all the sons compounded the problem. In practice, equal inheritance often meant that if a man had four sons and four plots of land, each son obtained one-fourth of each plot. Conceivably, each son could have received one of the four plots, but plots regularly vary in quality and convenience to the village center and it usually proved impossible to find four that were equal.

423 There were counter-trends to the fragmentation. An individual might inherit two neighboring pieces from father and uncle or he might buy a piece neighboring his own. There was some consolidation by trading. Men who owned two small adjacent plots in two different locations could trade one plot in order to own two in only one location. This occurred but was infrequent because of the necessity for establishing equality. The only such consolidation that took place during our stay in the village, involved a trade of a slightly more valuable .008 chia

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

• 428 562 divorcee who has returned home, she may receive a share about equal to her brothers but since marriage and remarriage is common, the occurrence of these conditions is infrequent. If family division occurs with yet unmarried daughters in the household, part of the process will be an assumption of the obligation to see that each has a good match. The implications of the equal inheritance law is such that if there were two boys and a girl in a family, each should receive one third of the estate (assuming both parents are dead). In Sanlei, each boy would get one half if the girl was married. If she was not married, one brother, most likely the eldest, would get a larger share, the extra amount sufficient to provide a dowry for his sister. Only if the girl were married with an adopted-in husband (chao fu) or if her eventual marriage prospects were nearly nil would she obtain a one-third share. Girls appear to sign papers when it is occasionally necessary to give up their rights without pressure, but often it is merely understood that the daughter has few, if any, rights. No female has yet contested a division in the courts.

The immediately preceding action of females does not appear consistent with what I have argued about the status of women. That is, women seem to be extremely inferior to men with respect to inheritance although I claim women approach equality with men but I believe the appearance is

428 562 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100% of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and 428 562 587 589 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands. There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu

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428 husband will get a full share of her parent's estate al-
562 though her husband may receive a portion of her share as specified in the original marriage contract.

In summary, the traditional system did provide for a woman by assigning some man responsibility for her economic welfare. The new system of inheritance which makes women equal to men in economic terms is also designed to provide for women but in a different manner. The old system works and no woman has yet decided to attempt to introduce the new system into the village because the immediate personal gain might not offset the potential long-term security for women currently provided by the community.

In general, division of a family involves the male patriline. Family division can best be viewed as anticipated inheritance. All a man's sons have rights to his property even while he is still in active control. For example, sale of a piece of property may be of questionable validity without the approval of a man's sons. In Sanlei, if there is only one son (producing a stem family) family division will probably never occur. If there are two or more sons, division is most likely when the youngest son marries and has a child, but if the father dies before the last son is married, division is likely to occur soon after the funeral. Most divisions occur before the death of the last parent.

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59 Inheritance, real or anticipated in the case of division before the death of parents, is equal for all sons (with exceptions to be discussed later). Diagrammed in Figure 9 is a patrilineal descent group which we will assume represents a single chia with division about to occur. Conceivably, division could produce various combinations of new chia but in Sanlei, the actual division will nearly always produce three new units: (2,5), (3,6), and (4), each unit receiving an equal share. Variations reflect the condition of (1) or (4). (1) may be attached to one of the three units; (1) may constitute a separate unit with an equal or partial share to be later split again after his death; or (1) may be a separate unit with no share but supported by the other three on a rotating basis. If (4) is unmarried, he may be attached, with his share, to one of the first two groups with a strong tendency for the parents to remain with the youngest son (4).

Almost always, a division focuses on one generational level only. That is, (5) or (6) never break off into distinct units at the time (2), (3) and (4) are dividing. It is possible that (2) and (5) could break off as a single unit and leave the rest of the original family as a whole, but this never takes place. If (2) insists on breaking off, the whole family will divide into the three units posited above although if only (2) is insistent, there may be above average amounts of bitterness generated.

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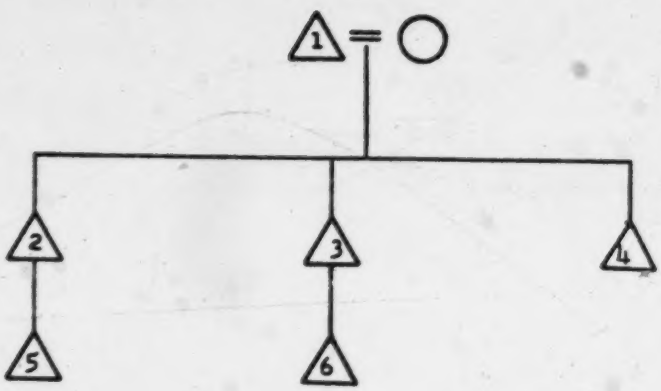

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town. [431] [764]

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

685 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

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581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
19 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[777] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[5]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 79 756 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

*562 that a family achieves its most important goal, the perpetuation of its
842 line. Female children, on the other hand, are "something to lose money
on" because the money invested in raising a female child is lost when
she marries. Her children become heirs and descendants of her husband's
family, and her labor and skills a contribution to the welfare of her
husband and his relatives. Whereas a son will remain with his parents
and support them in their old age, the most that can be expected of a
daughter is that she will mourn her parents when they die. As a result,
most villagers feel that it is imperative to have male children and see
little point in raising their female children. As one of our more out-
spoken informants put it, "There is no point in having daughters if you
have sons. Daughters are just things you waste money on. You feed them
and take care of them when they are small, and then when they are old
enough to help you they marry and belong to someone else."

*583 The family which chooses to raise their female children does, of
course, receive a bride price when they marry, "to thank them for raising
the girl." While this is often a considerable sum of money, it does
not really compensate a family for the expenses incurred in the girl's
upbringing. The bride price is usually barely adequate to cover the
expenses of the girl's engagement and marriage, and often a family finds
that the marriage of a daughter actually costs them money. A marriage
in a family invariably involves a number of dinners and teas, and when
these are held in the bride's home they are the responsibility of her
• [431] family. The family must also provide themselves with new clothes to
attend the various festivities, and when they visit the groom's home they

A 583 • 431 are expected to bring small gifts of fruit or perhaps tea. The major expense, however, is the dowry. At the very minimum a respectable dowry must include a complete wardrobe for the bride; a suit, hat, shoes, and shirt and tie for the groom; a bed, chairs, a wardrobe and other furnishings for the couple's bedroom; quilts and other bedding for the bridal couch; several yards of three or four woolen and cotton materials; a pair of candleholders and perhaps other decorations for the groom's family altar; such kitchen utensils as the bride will need for her personal use; a respectable supply of canned goods, tea, and other luxury foodstuffs; several rings, a necklace, and other jewelry for the bride's personal adornment; and at least a thousand dollars in cash. As the bride's relatives are often heard to comment on the occasion of a wedding, "A daughter's getting married is like a thief's getting into the house."

+ 583 554 On occasion, a very poor family will demand a large bride price and send only a small dowry in return, thereby managing to recoup some of the costs of raising the girl. This does not occur often, however, and for very good reasons. For one thing, the family which sends a daughter in marriage without a respectable dowry places her in a difficult position in her husband's home. The husband's family expects a dowry of approximately the same worth as the bride price, and if they are disappointed in this expectation the bride will find her parents-in-law "waiting with angry faces." For another, the family which sends a daughter without an adequate dowry risks the loss of their own face. Custom demands that a dowry be delivered to the groom's home on open

*583 preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more
*584 than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûn,
435 it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even
[301] NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all,
[585] there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding,
[584] all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items.
[585] It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank
*583 them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family
585 which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent
• 431

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sim-pua than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sim-pua marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

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*159 *596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

*159 *596 578 604 607 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

*431 [626] How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained. "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him. "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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friends, and I can give things to mine. Didn't this man ever give things to us? He nearly always brings us a big bag of taste powder when he comes. I didn't ever hear him say it was only for me, did you? A person who wants to run a business outside can't be like this.

"Think about it this way for a minute. Suppose this person really had been very bad to you. And now here he is asking you for something, not you asking him. It is he who would be bringing shame on himself by asking, not on you. You can bring shame on yourself only by not giving it to him.

"You say he would not invite you to stay in his house for one night, but did you explain to him what the situation amounted to? No, you just said you had missed your bus. How was he to know it was the last bus or that there was no late train? He is my friend. If your friend came and asked for something and I wouldn't let you give it to him, how would you feel?"

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A-bok had had all the lecturing on proper behavior that he could take for one evening, and he said rather loudly, "All right. All right. Don't just stand there and oppress me about it all night."

This bit of disrespect caused Lim Chieng-cua to drop the tight rein he had been holding on his infamous temper. He yelled at A-bok, "You accuse me of oppressing you! You are the one who is doing the oppressing. Haven't I explained anything to you?"

Evidently the expression on A-bok's face (which I couldn't see) angered Lim Chieng-cua even more, and he moved as if to strike him. A-bok jumped up and ran out of the room. A good friend of the family who had been sitting with us immediately pulled on Lim Chieng-cua's arm and began talking to him in a soothing manner. "All right. All right. This is just a little thing. There is no good in it for anyone in quarreling over it."

Lim Chieng-cua calmed down a little and the friend continued to talk to him softly and unemotionally—a trick this man has that makes him much called upon in the village to settle family disputes. "Don't argue with the boy anymore. He is young yet and still doesn't understand the 'affairs of the world.' You are of an older generation and must not lose dignity by arguing with him. If he cannot understand, just forget it for now."

After a bit, the friend in his role as peace-maker went in to talk to Lim A-bok and his mother. A-pou was scolding her son. "If he wants to hit you, just let him hit you. Why do you run? Let the others see how he treats us."

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625 night stick, and piece of pepe. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[36] [49] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 • 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties
• [831] and celebrations. Gifts are received f[illegible]ployers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in-
[574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair
[787] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the
[777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[13] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hain Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[9] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownreship. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[3] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

*597 records only 4 cases of male adoption in the years before 1930, and only
*562 4 more in the years after 1930. For reasons which we have discussed earlier, it is always difficult for a family to arrange to adopt a khe-páng-kiá:. Most families value their male children so highly that they are not willing to part with one of them simply because of the plight of a relative. There is no great compensation, and the loss is considerable. In the years before 1930 no family living in Hsiachichou adopted a male child from an agnate of another kẽ, and we know of
[432] only one case of such an adoption in the years since 1930. The family which wants to adopt a son must almost always buy the child from a stranger or a professional dealer, and this involves difficulties so serious as to discourage most families from undertaking an adoption.

*597 One of these difficulties is, of course, the very expense of buying
556 a male child. Many families cannot manage to accumulate the necessary
[435] six or seven thousand dollars, and those who can are usually unwilling to spend so much money on a gamble. If they could be certain that they were not going to bear male children of their own, a family would probably be willing to spend all they could possibly afford to obtain a son, but they cannot be certain and the price is very high. They therefore hesitate in the hope that they may eventually have children of their own. The importance of the consideration of the costs of buying a male child is apparent from the fact that it has only been the wealthiest families in the village which have adopted male children. Three of the 8 adoptions by families living in Hsiachichou were among those few families which own the majority of the village land and one other adoption was

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
[602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
241 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
433 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
464 ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In
[434] that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 95.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing ma- [407] chine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, [426] and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes [427] owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fer- [262] tilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [231] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [442] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [256] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [442] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [435] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [433] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ownership became even more concentrated in the postwar period than in the pre-war period" (Klein, 1958:53). Large numbers of tenants and would-be tenants were in continuing competition for the land they needed to support their families. The competition, unfortunately, tended to put the tenants at the landlords' mercy and helped perpetuate the already unsatisfactory land tenure system.

Klein also points out that the "increased demand for food by urban dwellers and for rural land by farmers, resulted in the many abuses practiced by rural landowners becoming qualitatively worse and quantitatively more numerous than before. One of the notorious abuses was that of charging oppressively heavy rents" (1958:53). From "1945 through 1947, rents of 60 per cent and 70 per cent (of the annual main crop) became not uncommon in the more fertile and densely populated areas. In some areas the rent was 'ironclad' which meant that in the event of crop disaster or failure, the rent, determined as a percentage of the normal or expected yield was to be paid in full anyway" (Klein, 1958:53–54).

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The high rental rates in the moderately fertile Hsin Hsing village area seem to have been standardized according to the type and quality (grade) of the land being rented, and were, in addition, influenced by the relationship between the particular landlord and tenant. Hsin Hsing villagers imply that land rents before the Land Reform Reduction Law were no higher than they are today. Their most vivid memory is one of insecurity on the land rather than excessive rents. Many seem to have forgotten how bad the rent situation really was. Former landlords, however, admit almost nostalgically that land rents in this area were as high as 60 percent of the annual main crop. But the landlord paid all the taxes, and he and the tenant shared the expense of the fertilizer. The tenant paid all the labor costs.

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Everyone agrees that rent was generally paid in kind, seldom in money, and "the landlord, as a rule, charged the tenant a fixed amount of rice for paddy land regardless of how small a crop the tenant might raise or what crop he planted" (Chang, 1954:10–11). Nevertheless, if the tenant, through his own efforts, increased the production of his rented land, he usually had to pay a larger rent. There is no question that this greatly stifled the tenants' incentive to increase production. The payment of rent in kind—in rice for paddy land—meant that "In case the tenant planted crops other than rice, he had to sell his crops and buy rice from [the] market to meet the charge. The buying and selling of crops meant extra losses to the tenant" (Chang, 1954:11).

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There is no indication before 1949 in the Hsin Hsing area that the landlord collected rent in advance. Usually, he took 60 percent of the rent immediately after the first crop was harvested and the remaining

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
464 178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin; and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

*597 1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of
*562 the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The
*592 only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years
858 have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was trans-
178 ferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other
182 changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in retent years, it is obvious
that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

*597 In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular
*562 girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large
556 degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families
178 in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably
undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not
needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reason-
ably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female
child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a
girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her
natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition
of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the
village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their
female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely
to give away their daughters than another family. In the language
of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case
• [833] in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed
during the course of the last three or four decades, some families
have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the kʰ had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien.

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[494] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
433 and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
464 economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
571 cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
871 creased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
499 from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653 route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

243 the village, the flat land has been largely devoted to
31 irrigated fields for the cultivation of rice. As specified above, the available water from the mountainsides has al-
243 ways permitted irrigation with a minimum of effort. Sanlei
433 is a double-cropping area, most paddy fields having two crops of rice each year with the occasional substitution of sweet potatoes for rice. In the last ten to fifteen years, there has been the inauguration of a third crop of vegetables in the paddy fields for about half of the fields while the other half stands idle.

242 There are two major varieties of rice, the native
243 tsai lai and the p'eng lai[1] which was introduced by the
[177] Japanese. P'eng lai has a much higher yield, brings a better market price, and especially important today, is much more responsive in yield increase to applications of fertilizer. However, it is somewhat less resistant to weather, insects, and disease, the latter two especially significant for the second crop. According to local in-
[134] formants, p'eng lai requires rich and deep soil. Since the good soil in Sanlei is about four to six inches deep, insufficient for p'eng lai, experiments with p'eng lai have often proved disastrous and today, only two or three farmers plant it and only in fields closest to the bottom of the valley, next to the river. As a result, tsai lai is the major form grown in Talei Li.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One [462] [857] [433] chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

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324 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

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458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

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[662]

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 according to the government, many of the tea plantations
433 are old and degenerate with only a few containing the
439 newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may
242 remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves
a 433 (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several
[242] years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 In contrast with rice production which is primarily
462 a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 a 433 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising [m] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 .433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertiliser in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared. 245 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will 433 produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production 245 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases 242 and insects have only become problems since the increased [494] amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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242
474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
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474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

245 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, 245 a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not 465 462 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who 245 462 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative [464] is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talai women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 245 There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
657 was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
648 the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai-
[464] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.5
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[13] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
[602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T
241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 464 169 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 592 888 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 434 464 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 511 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.82 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more casually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money. 596 618 769

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate. 596 434 618 769 596 618 769

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment. 596 618 769 353 778

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīm-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīm-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cî-bô-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sîm-pûà to lông-lù" (sîm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sīm-pûa than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sīm-pûa marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their makeshift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

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sophisticated than most village girls, my informant shares their view —such things don't happen to the daughter of Lim Hue-lieng. Naturally, she came home and reported the whole story to her mother. It was also written in Gioq-ki's "fate" that she sit in the sun under her neighbor's window that afternoon, knitting. Gioq-ki burst into her neighbor's house and demanded the whole story which, though understandably reticent, the girl and her mother were forced to relate. They warned her repeatedly to ignore the affair "because he brings home your income and you should be careful that it keeps coming. Forget about him, but don't throw away his money." Gioq-ki, of course, ignored them and confronted her husband with his philandering the minute he came home.

The village spent half the night listening to their quarrel. The girl next door told me, "My relative really feels bad about all this. She said, 'What is wrong with Gioq-ki? She is a very smart girl. Why did she marry this mainlander? If I were like her, I would leave him immediately.' I think she is right. I would rather not have any husband at all than one like this. She isn't his only girl friend, either. He has lots of women. Someone from the village saw him in a train station with another woman, too. That is why he doesn't bring all of his salary home."

The girl's mother, a retired wine house girl, added: "It is best not to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife and particularly this one because Gioq-ki is very much in love with her husband —even though she denies it. But she didn't know anything about all these women. She is really very poor, and he never gives her enough money. I know what his job is, and I know he can make at least NT$1800, but he never gives her more than NT$300. Her uncle told her she must go to Taipei on his next pay day and collect his salary before he does. She is going to do this and that will take care of it. No money, no girlfriends."

Chang Jong-kuei didn't return to the village for several days. Gioq-ki followed her relatives' advice and went to collect his pay at the newspaper office. Since Chang often does night work at the newspaper, he has a small sleeping room in the building. Gioq-ki decided to leave the older children in this room so that he would have to return to the village to bring them home. Her plan did not succeed. She met her husband on the street and there was a scene that ended with the crying children being pushed back and forth between them.

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#159 #596 609 understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she #159 #596 607 244 • 434 talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

[443] "When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

#596 #159 607 434 435 [231] "When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

[244]

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admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan (Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969)

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.[7] No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

163 The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

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434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

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165 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 621 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 438 There are four commercially significant agricultural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging [628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Peuti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463
465 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

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[244] The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. [466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance [745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] 511 463 465 A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
• 434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
42 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

625 [435] [573] participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and [648] had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a [191] difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
524 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
435 [585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the cere-
mony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with
five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone
of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses.
Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with
feasts too for there were more guests in the village than
residents. For one of the richer households, the addition-
al expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this
figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but
$50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too un-
happy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai
pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems
common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall
growing prosperity.

Summary :

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although
little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy
of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Addi-
tionally, almost everyone in the village can and does per-
form religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in
most homes and special worship connected with almost every
important event: life crises, health, and economic.

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 Most of the money young adults earn is turned over
[434] to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still
[913] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's six-
702 teenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military
[46] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since
[80] the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tzu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 664 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $500 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

#534 taken very seriously. It is usually not until a daughter is at least sixteen years old and a son at least eighteen that their families will begin to think seriously about their marriage. The stimulus is often a suggestion from some friend or relative who is interested in acting as go-between. Theoretically, the preferred patrilocal marriage is always initiated by the male's family, but in fact most marriages of this kind are initiated by a go-between. Almost every woman of forty years of age or more is a potential marriage broker, and many elderly women manage to turn the role of go-between into a fairly lucrative [435] business. The fee for arranging a marriage in Hsiachichou in 1960 was approximately NT$1000, something more than a good month's salary. The result is that as soon as a family has a child of marriageable age there begins what one informant described as "old ladies coming and going all day and talking about this and talking about that."

A well known Hokkien proverb declares that marriages are made by go-betweens, and there is a great deal of truth in this. It is impossible to have a marriage in Hsiachichou without a go-between. She is the match-maker and confidante; she is the honest broker who negotiates the bride price on one side and the dowry on the other; she is the master of ceremonies at the wedding; and after the wedding she becomes the disinterested but sympathetic third party who is always available to mediate marital conflicts. Even when the match is already decided upon the services of a go-between are required to effect the union. One young village man who was himself an orphan asked a young woman whom he had met at work to marry him, and when she agreed he then hired a go-between

*597 *584 554 so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

*597 *584 *583 • [495] This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sǐm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sǐm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

*597 357 648 This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bó-kàn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīn-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīn-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cā-kó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sǐm-pûà to lông-lù" (sǐm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

178 less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at
511
463 all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some
[427] percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed
511 by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in
435 Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a bíng-lí̍ng-kì: . There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

*597 more than one of their female children. We know that in three of these
*562 nine cases several children in the family had died shortly before the
*593 second daughter was born. Since families in which children have recently died often see the birth of their next child as a sign of a change in their fortunes, it is possible that these three girls were kept because of their significance in terms of the family's previous losses. At least this was suggested to us by the mother of one of these girls who told us that her family had decided not to give away the second girl "because we had been having such bad luck with our children. Three of them died before she was born, and we were so glad that she didn't die that we couldn't give her away."

*597 As we have already mentioned in describing the various forms of
554 marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou, the sĭm-pûa̍ form of adoption is generally viewed as more prestigeful than the lông-lū form of adoption. Several village women said that they didn't like the idea of giving a child away as a lông-lū "because people would talk about it." The compensating advantage of a lông-lū adoption is that the bride price is
• [435] usually somewhat larger than in the case of a sĭm-pûa̍ adoption. The bride price for a sĭm-pûa̍ is a nominal seventy or eighty dollars, but a family can often ask as much as five or six hundred dollars for a lông-lū. We might therefore expect to find some relationship between a family's income and the likelihood of their giving out their daughters as lông-lū
*597 or sĭm-pûa̍. Having money and the status which money creates, wealthy
556 families should be less concerned about the size of the bride price and more concerned about face. As a result, they should be more likely to

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan. In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a year's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 118 boys born into the village before

583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advantages of the sīm-pûà marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sīm-pûà, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage.

When asked why they adopted a sīm-pûà for a son, villagers usually begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûa, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

*597 records only 4 cases of male adoption in the years before 1930, and only
562 4 more in the years after 1930. For reasons which we have discussed earlier, it is always difficult for a family to arrange to adopt a khe-páng-kiá:. Most families value their male children so highly that they are not willing to part with one of them simply because of the plight of a relative. There is no great compensation, and the loss is considerable. In the years before 1930 no family living in Hsiachichou adopted a male child from an agnate of another kẻ, and we know of
[432] only one case of such an adoption in the years since 1930. The family which wants to adopt a son must almost always buy the child from a stranger or a professional dealer, and this involves difficulties so serious as to discourage most families from undertaking an adoption.

*577 One of these difficulties is, of course, the very expense of buying
556 a male child. Many families cannot manage to accumulate the necessary
[435] six or seven thousand dollars, and those who can are usually unwilling to spend so much money on a gamble. If they could be certain that they were not going to bear male children of their own, a family would probably be willing to spend all they could possibly afford to obtain a son, but they cannot be certain and the price is very high. They therefore hesitate in the hope that they may eventually have children of their own. The importance of the consideration of the costs of buying a male child is apparent from the fact that it has only been the wealthiest families in the village which have adopted male children. Three of the 8 adoptions by families living in Hsiachichou were among those few families which own the majority of the village land and one other adoption was

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money
because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 596 607 understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she 159 596 607 244 434 talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

[443] "When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

596 159 607 434 435 "When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me [231] NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this [244] much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[437] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade lower 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primar-
462 ily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
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474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hain Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 65 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hain Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

313 [443] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

311 [435] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[435] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

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Table 5. Financial Statement, Liao Mou-tu Chia

Net Worth

$ 110,000	.8 chia self-owned paddy field
36,000	.3 chia self-owned dry field, vegetables
162,000	1.8 chia self-owned improved slope land
50,000	improvements on 2.1 chia leased slope land
5,000	self-owned house and garden land
30,000	building, pig pen, share of kung t'ing
15,000	furniture and household contents
5,000	farm equipment
1,500	current worth of livestock
6,200	credits at farmers' association and cooperative
2,000	cash on hand
$ 422,700	Net Worth (Omits value of crops in field)

Yearly Income

$ 30,000	Oranges
5,000	Hogs
8,000	Tea
3,500	Bamboo Shoots
10,000	Wood
2,000	Vegetables
$ 58,500	Yearly Cash Income

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Yearly Expenses

$ 21,000	Food purchased to supplement own crops
6,400	Food and drinks for special celebrations
1,200	Educational Fees (six children in school)
2,500	Medical expenses (one son was quite ill)
6,000	Fertilizer
2,000	Insecticide
400	Farm tools
3,000	Weddings, funerals, sworn brothers, etc.
1,500	Taxes not in kind
500	Rent for water buffalo
800	Rent on land
1,200	Transportation of oranges to market
1,000	Electricity
1,200	Cigarettes, wine, tea
1,500	Contributions to temple, school, civic works
1,800	Clothing
$ 52,000	Net Expenses

Yearly Net Profit (Income less Expenses)

$ 6,500

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaoyiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-5; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later sisosiv marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the Law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[361] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because [491] there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased 431 from funds contributed by business men and wealthier 626 land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property 625 owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each 435

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 count the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Chiang go to the police station in Fouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
191 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Chiang on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
524
435 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
[585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

436 Monetary amounts ordinarily express the local currency system which is often identified in the literature as N.T. (New Taiwanese). Thus, $1.00 signifies one New Taiwanese dollar. When it is necessary to list an American equivalent, "U.S." is suffixed to the figure. At the time of the study, $ 40.00 was equal to $ 1.00 (U.S.) at the official rate of exchange and the unofficial rate on the black market was nearly identical.

804 There are two units of measure commonly employed in rural Taiwan and which appear frequently in this account. The measure of the land area is the chia, equal to about 2.39 acres and the measure of weight is the chin, equal to about one and one-third pounds.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of [illegible]sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite so-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 654 439 655 tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

241 654 437 [474] Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

241 474 437 654 As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[3] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
a 437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 - Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the protein shortages previously described. However, consumption of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

The many other different kinds of salesmen that came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers. They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than [433] earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 574 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served be- 577 comes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 439 655 tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

241 654 437 [474] Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

241 474 437 654 As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks.

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
433 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163
165 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years 245 433 439 but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 433 439 242 according to the government, many of the tea plantations are old and degenerate with only a few containing the newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
• 439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the protein shortages previously described. However, consumption of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

The many other different kinds of salesmen that came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers. They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any [443] number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at 577 the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

443 484 regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into [628] contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move 177 464 484 regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are 177 628 many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring [871] young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. [575] Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the [312] Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation [602] system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese [582] kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

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After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly 775
not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems 361
unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is 311
very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by [434]
making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half [251]
is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must [235]
keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or 443
three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make- [278]
shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

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understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

"When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

"When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
• 443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

• 443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

241 463 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes considerable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does 241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief 463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full 562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but [231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass [438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin 443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [263] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei
• 443 for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

245 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product
313 that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.
314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way
313 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which
443 regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

313 [443] [311] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to [435] wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of man's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which features songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

545 443

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

512 vacation period for the school alone marks significant
[871] changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
[354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at
[515] 5:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512
[315] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the
[782] temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.
[314] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 Before breakfast, a representative for each household
782 worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
• 443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
(625) rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

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512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

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Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled radishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

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444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had 426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes 521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and 426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally 602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman 571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you 369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

• 444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

464 There have been migrants from the village to the
369 city, usually Taipei, over an extended periof of time.
166 Although the village population is about 50% larger than
[161] it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of potentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place in the regular bedroom.

An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, religious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hospital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

There is a whole host of other taboos for the pregnant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the baby's fingers; using scissors, the ears; needles, the eyes, etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

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/For information on the role of the Farmer's Association, especially in regard to agricultural extension work, applied animal science, money lending, as an agent for the provincial government's food bureau, etc., see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

342 summer and warmest in winter. Starting in the late forties, houses have been constructed of fired brick, always with tile roofs. A brick factory is located on the main road just over half-way to Hsin Tien. Fired-brick house types now constitute a majority in the village.

The original floors in all the house types described above are pounded earth but cement floors are now being added. The first room to be floored is either the kung t'ing (main room) or kitchen. Bedrooms still are seldom other than pounded earth.

Under the stimulation of the government, a new style house is being built entirely of reinforced concrete: floor, walls, and roof. The government requires use of one of three stock plans. The houses are designed to eventually become row houses with a common wall, i.e., reinforcing rods protrude in appropriate places. Additionally, each house is designed to eventually reach three stories, each preceding roof becoming a floor. If someone builds a house as specified by the government, he can obtain a low-interest house loan. This stimulation has resulted in the construction of three recent houses in Sanlei. The advantages of the house style which include the natural cleanliness of all cement floors, long economic life, and relative resistance to typhoons must be balanced against the disadvantages of a pervasive dampness and chill

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

231 [454] she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed [343] with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick [474] floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the [474] Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not [232] necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective [172] in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it [178] takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for [241] the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

[232] When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be [651] paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is [432] slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

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After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

T 423 556

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

T Tn 423 454 552 556 171

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [184] [182] [121] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [262] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [485] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [209] [216] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [926] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

592 to have a male manager. This is probably related to the
[596] uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no
591 relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 There is one regular exception: married women
593 make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the
[824] money they earn for these activities does not go into
[412] the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to
291 question what the woman does with this personal money.
[262] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved
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454
838

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted [454] 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household in- 511 463 465 cludes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–175). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

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T Tn 423 454 472 556 [171]

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561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each gueat contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561
573 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
456 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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561
573
[562]

2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

561
782
573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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561
629
[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic 594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form 434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An 578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [702] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, [167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years 245 but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The vil- 433 lagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share 439 of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as profesional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

243 461 A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four [177] [407] [426] [427] others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The [824] straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

243 433 The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may [262] be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which [231] is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first [442] crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 [256] *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant [407] being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used [442] for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes [435] to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Al- [433] though the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. *The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects.* Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] [585] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

554 596 606

461 462 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

[574] [262]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

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husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

159* 596* 578 603 [177] [176] [241] 159* 596* 461 159* 596* 584 [178] [548] 159* 596* 461 159* 596* 124

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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

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461 It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178
621 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
461 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
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596 961 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily 596 identify which family within it. Also, although women [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 538 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

653 on the bridge and each achieved credit for a day's corvee
461 work. They often got in each other's way, i.e., I watched
651 four men struggling to carry a single bamboo pole which one man could have carried in one hand without much effort.

There is a latent effect which may be evident to village leaders and political officials. Men are able to do "good" for the community without strain and since the work is always confined to their own area, they can see the completed job regularly. Although no one person's contribution to each job amounts to very much, the completed project is useful and worthwhile. For example, the bridge described above saved up to half a mile walk to the next closest foot bridge. Men work together cooperatively in a large group, the only large work groups ever seen in the village. Finally, because of the great excess of men over what is reasonably needed for a job, there is much time for joking and friendly conversation. Although only men do corvee labor, women always gather to watch and pass remarks so that in essence, every corvee job we observed in the village was a gay occasion.

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

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Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

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It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

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The Function of Religious Holidays

121 • 461 There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
466
464 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
• 461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

the extra hours were not compensated on an hourly basis. Rather, work went on until dark (with a dinner break) and the day's labor was counted as a long day. It had to be repaid with either another long day or a regular day plus something extra such as an afternoon of a second day. Even when working on his own fields, a man would not average ten hours a working day over an extended period of time as assumed in the above described research project.

The work year of 330 days, allowing 35 holidays, also appears to be rather high. As described above, there are regularly scheduled religious holidays which yield about 15 days per year when there is no work. There are periodic but unscheduled holidays which add another two days per year to the vacation schedule. Life crises events such as funerals and weddings also detract from the regular work schedule for funerals take at least one full day and weddings another. Weddings are usually scheduled such that they fall in a relatively slack agricultural period. In Sanlei, the weddings and funerals of both relatives and neighbors are usually a customary obligation. Also, there are some regular reductions in work activities related to the bi-monthly worship days and on Sundays. In all, it appears that the number of regular work days in a single year, given a high demand for labor would still be less than 330.

There was a second method employed in examining the normal number of work days. Some li men are full-time

461 miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the
466 year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

461 The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small
182 untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assess-
464 ment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overesti-
mated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is likely to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather. Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

245 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
46 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

F 175 648 lats brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing vill[illegible] been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161]

After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

Tn 197

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

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Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

241 464

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 882 [868] 743 [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

596 men to pool their efforts, one of them farming their joint land holdings while the other provides the cash income, and this is, of course, the usual arrangement in the joint family. One of the men in the family, usually the father who is more experienced as a farmer, tills the family's fields, while his sons take jobs as miners or laborers. The family thus has not only all of its food provided but also a cash income to meet its other needs.

596 462 Not without its advantage to the joint family is the presence of several able-bodied adult woman. The amount of work required of women in the average village family is enormous. Aside from cooking for a large family and caring for their children, women must chop and cook the food for the family's pigs; feed and take for their ducks and chickens; salt and store seasonal vegetables; wash the family's clothes by hand in the river; clean and maintain the house and furniture; help with the winnowing of rice at harvest time; and so forth, almost endlessly. The advantage of the joint family is that these tasks can be shared and rotated. One woman assumes the responsibility for marketing and cooking for five or seven days, and is then free for an equal length of time during which she can sew, tend to the special needs of her children, and perhaps even pay a visit to her relatives. To have time to visit relatives is of particular importance to young married women who often have no friends in their husband's village and find a visit home their only recreation.

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While the arrangements in the joint family have real advantages they also work to create equally real difficulties. The concept and

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

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The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

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kitchen duties as well as comparatively long periods of time they can devote to sewing, the care of their children, or even visits to their natal families.

A visitor to the home might conclude that these arrangements function quite smoothly. The family's meals are always well cooked and served at regular times; the children are usually as neat or neater than the neighbors' children; the house is kept reasonably clean and in good repair; the family's land is always cultivated and the general appearance of the fields is neat and orderly; the factory seems busy most of the time. In short, the various members of the family perform their particular duties efficiently and effectively. To see the less fortunate effects, one has to look beneath the surface of the family's daily routines. As Lim Chui-ieng once told me, "If you look at the face of our family, it looks good, but if you look at its bones, it's not like that." In the "bones" of the family there is ceaseless friction between the two major units: Lim Chieng-cua's family and Lim A-pou's family. For the most part their conflict is wordless, expressed only by the emotional distance between them, but on occasion the tempers flare, revealing the true intensity of the tensions below. To understand the conflicts that existed within these people as well as those that existed between them, it is necessary to look at some of the events of their childhood. To understand why they have resisted for so long the pressures that divided every other family in Peihotien, it is necessary to look at the domestic climate in which they grew up.

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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a women is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, woman will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

291 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
292 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades: a single set of tea leaves
293 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 462 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primarily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] [465] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[851] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] [474] participate in rice-field activities outside their own family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

243 is needed, about 50 chin per chia.

The period commencing with the harvest of the first crop and ending with completion of transplanting the second is the busiest of the year. It takes a considerable number of people to harvest. By design, not all land is ready for harvesting at once, because the first crop transplanting is somewhat staggered; sub-varieties mature at different rates; and finally, the land closest to the river and road gets more heat and matures quicker than that closest to the mountains. Contributing to the shortage of labor during this period is the need to prepare the field for the second crop and transplanting. It is desired to complete transplanting in a field within ten days after it is harvested but this is difficult to accomplish. The modal time is 15 days with anything beyond 20 days considered a small disaster.

243 462 It is during the above one month period that women are most often to be observed working in the rice fields. In spite of strong sentiment to restrict work on rice to men only, the shortage of labor requires letting women share activities but only as a last resort. Some men who have commuting jobs in the city are able to obtain time off at this period to help with the harvest and part-time coal miners remain home from the mines and help. As far as I could tell, most of the women would just as soon avoid work in the rice field as they claim it is very hard

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

[433]

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 women gather and save some of the rice straw to make

245 433 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several [242] years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

245 462 In contrast with rice production which is primarily a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to woman. Women do most of the weeding

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[294] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old women. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takekoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-5). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

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433 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[1M] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [363] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

23 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
241 viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
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4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential
464 ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241
462 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
464 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

462 Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
[426] ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
[454] women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[888]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

596 861 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily 596 identify which family within it. Also, although women [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [761] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the 462 break up of compounds and the division of extended fami- 578 lies is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 476 296 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a constant nucleus although a number of other women attach themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 476 245 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also [465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per [897] hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

462 476 one of their members in Sanlei, the smallest with two members (3 cases) and the largest with six (2 cases). Work groups of two men merely traded days, but in any group larger than two members, the accounting was managed like a bank savings account, i.e., a man deposited so many day's labor and withdrew the same amount. It was not necessary to see that each member balanced with every other individually, merely that each individual's total deposits and withdrawals matched. A man with but little land under cultivation was permitted to withdraw his deposit by hiring the team out and collecting their wages. Periodically, the books could be balanced by $50.00 increments for each day's overdraft.

462 476 464 However, more labor is acquired on a hired basis than on an exchange basis. A typical large work force for transplanting, weeding, or harvesting will usually include a combination of paid and exchange laborers. An individual will tend to hire the same men and be hired in turn by them. Often, a man may hire a man for wages with whom he sometimes exchanges labor. Many people say it is easier just to pay a man when a job is done, a one to ten day period, then to try and keep track of the records required for labor exchanges. Some work is seemingly exchanged only because it does promote a structure of mutual indebtedness between friends. For several village men, the amount they pay out in wages about equals the amount they collect. The larger land holders are the

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[205] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 . ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
Sanlei Ts'un

178 245 464 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not crucial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 562 464 This ecological and technological adjustment has been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea picking and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 787 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese development companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island; the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

178 in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart
463 puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as
621 pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

121 We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a
178 period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional
433 Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended
121 family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses
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family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

198 511 463 [427] less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

[464] [346] 198 511 342 333

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a bíng-liẽng-kìa:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

*599 511 435

ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [403] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

*583 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to
591 matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will
581 never make a good husband."

*584 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage,
591 the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of
581 marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage,
less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter
*562 comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist paren-
*584 tal pressure because of their potential economic independence, but
[464] daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is there-
[463] fore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
000

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their funerals. The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet [463] than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 514 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 [884] ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] [887] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old women. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takakoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-3). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
483 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[IM] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could
242 share in the truck garden market, but no village in the
474 immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

241 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions pro-
a 463 vided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tian. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

• 463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
483 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next
626 village was very good at that kind of work, if he was em-
123 ployed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

463 Other similar examples were witnessed. The village
626 barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Everyone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

463 626 [305] business. He also explained that every villager had his haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pei had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 191 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[405] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter
earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker
wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[435] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and relatives. 463 Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei. 333

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien. 759

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei factory. 493 Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and 494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
• 463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and sisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The [454] family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 463 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in
465 the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511 The family is renting a house and houseland up the [244] hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. [466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance [745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [583] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is 511 463 465 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[2] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1953–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[12] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[423] [242] [167] [621] [628] [602] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

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Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

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Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

000 The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

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way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tau* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

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Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

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The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

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There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

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423 464 167 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 592 888 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 434 464 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 511 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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464 167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

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[462] [357] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

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464 167 883 783 593 If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

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464 167 Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

[578] [595] [837]

[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

462 178 167 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 587 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] [178] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sioaosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in
872 Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of
85 the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at
• [464] least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who re-
871 fuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom
[554] are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently
only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these
being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services
were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
484 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make
his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the
community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the
area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for
a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the
Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the
village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual
effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated
the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biêng-liêng-kiâ:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the kʰ had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

But whatever the consequences for the son of the family they are seldom as severe as for the sīm-pû who resists marrying her foster brother. The girl's position in the family is a weaker one, and as a result she must pay a higher price for her intransigence. Most parents cannot afford to alienate one of their sons permanently, but there is no point in retaining the loyalty of an adopted daughter if she refuses to play the role for which she was adopted. Parents are therefore ready to apply whatever pressures are necessary in order to make the girl acquiesce to their plans. As a result, when it is the girl who takes the lead in opposing the marriage she must often go to extreme lengths to overcome her parents' determination. One village girl ran away to her natal home rather than marry her foster brother, and we know of at least three cases in which sīm-pû left their foster homes to become prostitutes. They were either unwilling or unable to return to their natal families, and this was the only way in which they could manage to support themselves independently.

A girl's refusing to marry her foster brother also makes it difficult for her to marry out of the family. Her foster parents may refuse to arrange another marriage as a means of punishing her, and even if they do call in a go-between it may be difficult to find a family willing to take a former sīm-pû as a daughter-in-law. Prospective in-laws suspect that the foster parents may have decided to allow her to marry out of the family because of "an unmanageable temper" or other hidden faults. Although most sīm-pû do eventually marry despite these difficulties, we know of at least one girl in

600 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
562
593 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
591 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
[464] likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

*583 591 581 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will never make a good husband."

*584 591 581 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage, the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage, less a matter of personal revulsion. However, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist parental pressure because of their potential economic independence, but daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is therefore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

*562 *584 [464] [463]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

596* 591 576 [464] 596* 574 602

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
433 and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
464 economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
571 cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
871 creased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[49?] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653 route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks. 655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation 829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of [191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the [186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of 648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More- 829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for 511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

162 (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys. An identical pattern of high sex ratios in the rural area is found in the United States in spite of the country's overall sex ratio of less than one hundred. This difference in the two areas of Taiwan might be a key to assessing the levels of modernization. It appears that Sanlei is more like rural America than for example, Gallin's Hsin Hsing, for it has the same high sex ratio and the identical practice of a higher percentage of girls than boys migrating to the city to work.

The average age of the Taiwanese population is seventeen years and four months (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:718). The average age of the Sanlei villager was just under 15. This difference too is partly due to the missing group in the 20 to 29 bracket explained above. It is also due to the fact that rural farmers are more fertile than urban dwellers and therefore, more young children are included in overall figures, lowering the average age.

An examination of the population within prime working ages, those between 15 and 64 as conventionally defined (Barclay, 1954:98), exposes a major village problem. 162 Only 44.2% of the Sanlei villagers are in this primary • 464 work-force category and 55.8% are dependent. For Taiwan as a whole, 52.9% are in the prime work force (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3) while in the

162 464 United States, as in other highly industrialized countries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

163 165 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population explosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

245 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, 245 a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not 465 462 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a be[illegible]no 245 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is 462 neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative is strictly for men. [464] Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 There are currently no other important commercial 245 food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,054,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Taiwan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
464 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
• 464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

316 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven
464 Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman,
463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese
121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for
463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At
171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

• 464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

874 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
502 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
369 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

444 share of the business but is growing most rapidly because of progressive policies, i.e., it has the only freezer and recently added a television set for customer enjoyment (it faces the street).

• 464 369 166 [161] There have been migrants from the village to the city, usually Taipei, over an extended period of time. Although the village population is about 50% larger than it was 25 years previously, the growth has not encompassed the high rate of natural increase. All three village residents who went beyond elementary school are working in offices and living in the city. The daughter and son of the man with the large tea farm graduated from junior high and senior high respectively and both now work in a bank. The remaining boy graduated from junior high and a business school and works as a bookkeeper and biller in a Hsin Tien store. Two village men started a Taipei meat canning business in the early nineteen-thirties and enjoyed considerable financial success and although living in Taipei, they continue to participate in village affairs and help support the village temple and moreover, they have hired many people with Talei Li origins in their meat factory.

City residents return often to the village both for the special occasions and on their off days merely to walk around, visit, and chat. Their homes and contacts in the city help to make the transition to the city easier for a

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

It is not profitable to discuss land values without
621
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178
At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621
461 lai was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182
The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
462
464

182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462
• 464 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

182 for work and some men became coal miners. There has been
241
462 some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities re-
464 sulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they
were not replaced by the young women who, as previously
[562] stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect
of the clog business on the village was to increase the
importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's
status.

462 Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but
[465] the other competes. For performing the same task, women
[562] usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that woman have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
• [464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621 everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[735] development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[514] offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
[464] that wants to work can earn a living.

462 476 one of their members in Sanlei, the smallest with two members (3 cases) and the largest with six (2 cases). Work groups of two men merely traded days, but in any group larger than two members, the accounting was managed like a bank savings account, i.e., a man deposited so many day's labor and withdrew the same amount. It was not necessary to see that each member balanced with every other individually, merely that each individual's total deposits and withdrawals matched. A man with but little land under cultivation was permitted to withdraw his deposit by hiring the team out and collecting their wages. Periodically, the books could be balanced by $50.00 increments for each day's overdraft.

462 476 464 However, more labor is acquired on a hired basis than on an exchange basis. A typical large work force for transplanting, weeding, or harvesting will usually include a combination of paid and exchange laborers. An individual will tend to hire the same men and be hired in turn by them. Often, a man may hire a man for wages with whom he sometimes exchanges labor. Many people say it is easier just to pay a man when a job is done, a one to ten day period, than to try and keep track of the records required for labor exchanges. Some work is seemingly exchanged only because it does promote a structure of mutual indebtedness between friends. For several village men, the amount they pay out in wages about equals the amount they collect. The larger land holders are the

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

The major
883 exception involves girls who are hired by factories,
464 particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning
[434] and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of
[517] her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

625 The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty
[674] days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old
[421] Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by
[794] New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads
[183] to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823
787 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

[354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally
[764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit
[464] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason
[434] and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls [562] [178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al- [2%] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
Sanlei Ts'un

The Function of Religious Holidays

121 46d There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 466 •464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
466
a 464 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I [redacted]wed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

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245
221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244
245
221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are
244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each
313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that
464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

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243 When the village was first established, the main crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro-
464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups the

178
362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
•464 which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature
[288] which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[831] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[821] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *Hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- • 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 882 [868] 743 [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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581 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by
584 marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry
583 have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [554] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both
584 families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family
465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita-
[203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [795] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of 556 the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with [531] designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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793 two, or even three full days at a time when a funeral or some other ceremony must be performed. It would, of course, be impossible for a farmer to engage in activities which might call him away from the harvest or other such imperative activity. Furthermore, most farmers lack the modicum of literacy necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies.

The *tao shih* in Lukang received their training from older members of the priesthood. These men do not belong to an organized church, for there is none in Lukang. In fact, the priesthood itself is loosely organized and informal, although all its members in the area do wear a special signet ring. A man who wishes to become a *tao shih* declares his intention to an established priest and, with the latter's permission, joins his group as a novice. He is given instruction in the various ceremonies and learns how to use the special ritual instruments. As his training progresses, he accompanies other members of the group on their trips into the countryside and assists as they perform ceremonies. Eventually, he either becomes a member of the group in which he received his training or conducts ceremonies as a independent priest.

756 There are three *fa shih* and three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing village serving it and neighboring villages. Actually, these men seldom perform outside the village, and shamans from other villages are occasionally called into Hsin Hsing by people who were not helped by their village shaman or who, for personal reasons, prefer a shaman from another place. This is especially true in the case of a nonresident *fa shih*, an older man, who is considered more powerful than the ones in Hsin Hsing. However, such cases are infrequent, and most people find their own village shaman sufficiently able to meet their needs.

756 Too, most villagers find it economically advantageous to engage the services of a local shaman rather than an outsider. When the *fa shih* or *t'iao t'ung* is a fellow villager, one is not expected to pay him any fee 465 for his services, but need only feed him after he performs. The food is usually a simple noodle dish or rice and meat soup. Although it is prepared in large quantities in order to feed all the villagers who were present during the shaman's ritual, the cost to the host is small. But when a shaman is called from outside, he must be paid a fee in addition to being fed with the other participants. The money is normally wrapped in a packet of red paper and handed to the shaman. The villagers usually know how much they are expected to pay, and both parties assume that the amount will be adequate. If the family does not give the shaman enough money, the villagers note that "the shaman probably will say nothing, but will not return should he be called."

Most families make every effort to compensate the shaman amply

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
• 465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[281] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

• 465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

245 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, 245 a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not • 465 462 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who 245 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is 462 neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative [464] is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 There are currently no other important commercial 245 food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,034,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai-
[464] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
191 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[335] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2.000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 562 There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
• 465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees [454] although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 465 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is
465 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 However, the family is deeply in debt because the
736 two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[889] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
466 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alter-
nate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the
fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they
can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men,
usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her
same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an
addition of a five meal bonus when the work is trans-
planting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in
terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers
obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor,
almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers.
It is easy to keep track of records because one day's
labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the
activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered
more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five
meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities
equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
401 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [561] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
198 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
529 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[708] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
706 a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
653 impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[823] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

648 177 [466] Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory [825] [761] and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

175 When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 175 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In 648 spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
• 466 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
• 466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

The Function of Religious Holidays

121 461 There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 • 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
• 466 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others
464 which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

the extra hours were not compensated on an hourly basis. Rather, work went on until dark (with a dinner break) and the day's labor was counted as a long day. It had to be repaid with either another long day or a regular day plus something extra such as an afternoon of a second day. Even when working on his own fields, a man would not average ten hours a working day over an extended period of time as assumed in the above described research project.

The work year of 330 days, allowing 35 holidays, also appears to be rather high. As described above, there are regularly scheduled religious holidays which yield about 15 days per year when there is no work. There are periodic but unscheduled holidays which add another two days per year to the vacation schedule. Life crises events such as funerals and weddings also detract from the regular work schedule for funerals take at least one full day and weddings another. Weddings are usually scheduled such that they fall in a relatively slack agricultural period. In Sanlei, the weddings and funerals of both relatives and neighbors are usually a customary obligation. Also, there are some regular reductions in work activities related to the bi-monthly worship days and on Sundays. In all, it appears that the number of regular work days in a single year, given a high demand for labor would still be less than 330.

There was a second method employed in examining the normal number of work days. Some li men are full-time

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
231 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178 neighbors into the business as partners. The business
291 seemingly filled a necessary niche and one man taught
472 another and before long, over 30 of the 40 families in Sanlei were engaged full-time or part-time in the clog business for a man often could earn more making clogs than he could as a farm laborer.

[458] Business dropped off slightly during the war be-
[177] cause of a shortage of labor although two villagers branched into the production of the thick Japanese clogs and installed a special machine in the village. After the war, there was another spurt in production but the plastic industry (replacing saisal bands) and mass production techniques came to Taiwan and as a result, the village clog business was totally wiped out within six months.

Both the inauguration of the clog business and its eventual demise were factors affecting village life. The inauguration was especially important for women's roles as will be illustrated.

178
423 The literature which deals with underdeveloped countries often calls attention to the shortage of land. In Sanlei village there is a felt need for more land, particularly paddy fields which is openly expressed and reflected in the artificially high price of the land. That is, the rate of return from a rented piece of paddy land is currently not as much as can be earned by selling

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[577] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

245 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in
472 recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu
602 has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers
472 with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 426 404 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	561
Ducks	372
Geese	151
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

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the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

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474 654 241 804 Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

241 575 474 804 [797] Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program [554] in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

474 654 In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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to be only one, or possibly two, farmers with enough extra cash to take advantage of it. A cement drying area built with the help of this public money quickly becomes a semipublic area. The actual owner has first claim on its use, but if he is not using it, any other villager may do so without asking his permission. On the other hand, a drying area which is not cemented is definitely considered private property, and before a villager may use it he must gain the permission of the owner.

Moneylending (Rural Credit)

A major problem which still confronts the Taiwanese farmer, just as it did the mainland farmers under the Nationalists, is the difficulty in obtaining low-interest loans. The little progress made thus far in easing this problem in the Hsin Hsing area has been through the efforts of the local Farmers' Association. The association in Pu Yen has used its own available funds, together with the financial and organizational help of JCRR, to offer low-interest loans to small farmers. Other loans which have been made available by the provincial Food Bureau and the Land Bank have been of little help in easing the credit situation of the small farmer, since such loans require too much security or else are mainly for business purposes. The result is that most farmers still resort to high-interest private moneylenders or to moneylending clubs.

The Farmers' Association, under the Shih Fan Tai K'uan, "Model Money Lending" system, makes cash loans which are to be repaid in cash, to small farmers. The rules for the granting of these loans are made by each district Farmers' Association, but they must be approved by JCRR. The loans can be made only to regular members of the Farmers' Association, to help them purchase farm implements necessary to increase their production. The maximum loan made by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association in 1958 was NT $5,000. This was lent for a maximum period of two years, and payments on the loan were due every six months. The actual time permitted for repayment of the loan depends upon the amount of money borrowed. The interest rate charged by the Farmers' Association is 1.5 percent per month.

The only security demanded of the borrower is the guarantee of two other members of the Farmers' Association. A committee of the association decides if the borrower is a good risk by examining the amount of land he operates (owned and rented). According to the Extension Head of the Farmers' Association, the most important consideration is that the man can be trusted and also that he have good guarantors. Thus, if his reasons for wanting the loan are accepted, even a man who owns only a small piece of land may be able to borrow the maximum amount of money for the full two-year term. At the Pu Yen association

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probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tzu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

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Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

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As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

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servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 578 179 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[2] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
243 earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
414 Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

787 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] [465] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[851] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared. The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases and insects have only become problems since the increased amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
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474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
[797] munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

474 241 and the government. Sanlei villagers feel the Farmers' Association is their own organization, not a mere branch of governmental bureaucracy. In this regard, it is perceived as a successor to the "Farmers' Associations" of the 1920's (locally developed organizations) which were suppressed by the Japanese rather than the "Associations of Agriculture" which were created as official organs of the Japanese Government (Bessac, 1965:21).

Farmers' Associations fulfill a number of different functions. They are a farm credit service with deposit and loan facilities and capital accumulation in the Hsin Tien association is quite large. They provide economic services such as the sale of bean cake, insecticides, farm implements, and fertilizer, and act as a collection agency for taxes in kind and for the sale of rice. They also provide extension services including study groups, home improvement clubs, and 4-H clubs and sponsor model communities and model farms such as that described for the nearby vegetable gardening village. They instruct in new agricultural and sanitation techniques. The one in Hsin Tien helps provide market information for tea growers and recently, developed a form of livestock insurance. Some services are profitable and some lose money such as the necessary activities connected with the responsibility for communicating government directives to farmers. In general, all the activities may be subsumed under general

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
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474 241 goals of increasing agricultural production and improving rural life.

474 Talei Li has its own small unit, a local branch of the Farmers' Association. This unit has an elected "Small Unit Head" from T'oulei and "Vice Small Unit Head" from Sanlei. These two leaders are a nexus between the community and the association. Since they receive no compensation other than recognition, an occasional free dinner, and a magazine subscription, they feel the office is nearly worthless, without money or power. For example, they are required to carry out policy with which they may personally disagree, i.e., currently they are supposed to be encouraging hog production although both they and the average farmer believe that raising hogs is unprofitable.

There are 97 regular members of the Farmers' Association in Talei Li plus 10 associate members. Forty of the members live in Sanlei, indicative of that village's great emphasis on agriculture. Talei Li belongs to the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which has a total membership of over 1,000. Although each local Farmers' Association is subject to government regulations and directives, there is great latitude for local independence and democratic control. The Association is run by a Board (one elected representative from each li), an Assembly (representatives elected from each li dependent on size of membership), a Watch-Dog Committee (auditing supervisors

474 elected by the Assembly), and a General Manager hired by the elected officials. The general manner of operation is not unlike that of American communities with a council and a "City Manager" system.

Farmers' Association Factions

474 665 Competition for the Farmers' Association General Manager's job is very keen. There are two major factions in the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which are regionally based in one sense but do carry different policy emphases.

The faction to which Sanlei belongs is called the "Inside the Mountain" group. Its members live in the more remote areas around Hsin Tien and appear to be less urban and more traditional in outlook. They generally feel the Farmers' Association should devote itself solely to direct agricultural activities and to maximizing high dividends.

The other faction is called the "Outside the Mountain" group and contains members who are generally more urbanized and progressive and who favor the recent trend to more extension work by the Farmers' Association and the like.

Individual members belong to units which elect officials to the overall Hsin Tien Association. Although the correspondence between the region and the factional affiliation are not absolute, there is a strong correlation. As the description of the two Farmers' Association factions suggests, they are related ideologically to the

factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

The election of the board member to a term of four years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

• 474 666 per month. The present board member is from Sanlei and is serving his second term. He has been influential in various kinds of agricultural committees since he was a young man who was once chosen as a farm youth representative to visit Japan and honor the emperor. Six years ago, he defeated the incumbent, the important Erhlei man who was the son of the former bandit chief in a very close election. Two years ago, he badly beat the "progressive" faction member who had been the previous mayor, also from Erhlei. The incumbent's residence in Sanlei and identification with Sanlei's faction helped his campaign. Also, the Farmers' Association members tend to be engaged in agriculture and are more traditional in orientation. The "progressives" are much more influential among li residents in general than among those who are primarily farmers.

There are two additional elected representatives: one is from Sanlei and the other from Erhlei; the latter is the badly-defeated candidate described above. Within the li, Sanlei's faction has an overwhelming majority in the Farmers' Association and could easily control the entire election process. The fact that an outsider holds office once more illustrates the previously introduced principle that there should be balance and harmony. Only the mayor said this explicitly but operations of the system, as demonstrated, strongly suggest it. Several men

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
496 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

• 474 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

• 474 Currently, the 66 members, 31 from Sanlei, constitute an
245 all-time high reflecting the previously described change to citrus cultivation. Four representatives serving three-year terms represent Talei Li, one from T'oulei, one from Erhlei, and two from Sanlei, another equal balance of factions. These representatives meet with others in Ch'i Chang to elect 20 of their members to represent them at the Taipei (main) level. At the Taipei level, 111 representatives elect a 25 man board which selects the general manager.

The fruit cooperatives are much larger than farmers' associations, the election process is more indirect, and the organization is less responsive to its membership. However, its management has generally been excellent, distributed profits are good, and marketing is efficient. No Talei citrus farmer has failed to join the cooperative and each markets most of his crop through the association.

Education

872 Talei Li has its own six-year primary school located in Erhlei. Under Japanese rule, students walked to the Pouti school. In 1955, a branch of the Pouti school was established in the li, and in 1964, it was granted independence. Currently the school has a principal, twelve teachers, and a janitor. There is no clerk but one will be added when the school gets bigger. Two hundred Talei

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

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241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tau* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu*, as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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621 406 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 406 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity. [829]

628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community presures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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621 628 609 178 since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

621 571 575 474 618 Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But [178] he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

178 476 621 628 612 571 Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

474 666 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule. 558 621 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but 476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
• 476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

474 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also [465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per [887] hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
• 476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children, [546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take [562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon [561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as [465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay [243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

462 one of their members in Sanlei, the smallest with two
476 members (3 cases) and the largest with six (2 cases). Work groups of two men merely traded days, but in any group larger than two members, the accounting was managed like a bank savings account, i.e., a man deposited so many day's labor and withdrew the same amount. It was not necessary to see that each member balanced with every other individually, merely that each individual's total deposits and withdrawals matched. A man with but little land under cultivation was permitted to withdraw his deposit by hiring the team out and collecting their wages. Periodically, the books could be balanced by $50.00 increments for each day's overdraft.

462 However, more labor is acquired on a hired basis
476 than on an exchange basis. A typical large work force for
464 transplanting, weeding, or harvesting will usually include a combination of paid and exchange laborers. An individual will tend to hire the same men and be hired in turn by them. Often, a man may hire a man for wages with whom he sometimes exchanges labor. Many people say it is easier just to pay a man when a job is done, a one to ten day period, then to try and keep track of the records required for labor exchanges. Some work is seemingly exchanged only because it does promote a structure of mutual indebtedness between friends. For several village men, the amount they pay out in wages about equals the amount they collect. The larger land holders are the

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[577] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old women. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

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464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and [602] mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [481] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 791 756 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

[P. 148-F]

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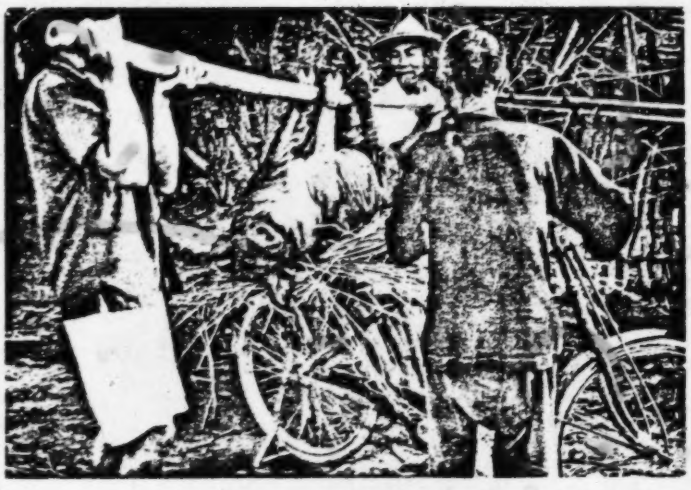

ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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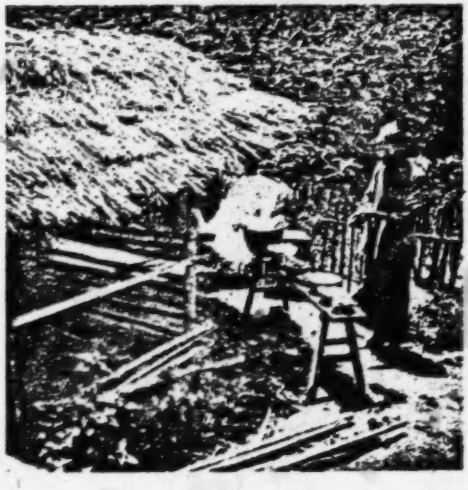

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of man's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

3/6 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women 857 and children carry children around strapped to their backs

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

484 The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
493 several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
• 484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of
[525] the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[776] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
768 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[776] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

133 and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
134 teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable.
135 The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

131 The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and
494 a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1).
632 The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located
369 in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages.
369 Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between
[484] town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented.
491 Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway
496 in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and scissors.

Middle-aged married people, without their children, go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei 101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the 133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou 178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui 487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the 178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place 487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan 496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half [829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place 823 775 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6
5

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type; the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

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T [491] [487] [493] [231]

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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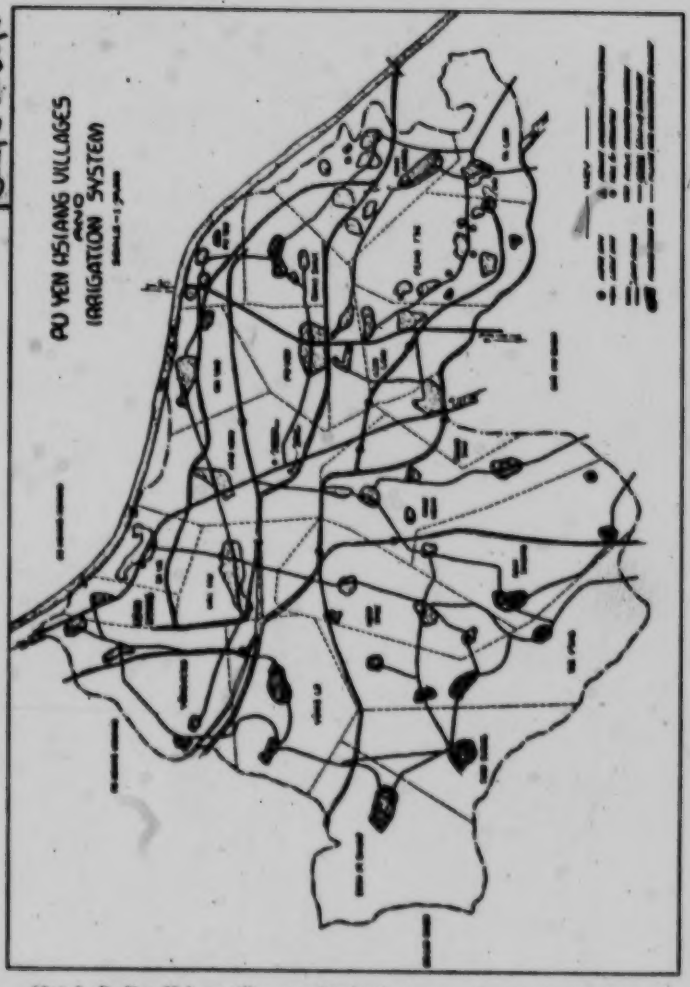

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over 13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipitous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull, humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air, distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The
soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached,
acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and
fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain,
scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable.
The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly
coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh,
1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of
Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital
and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and
a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one
first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over
10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1).
The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located
in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the
major market and political center for the nearby villages.
Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the
area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius
of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei,
its influence extends less than half the distance between
town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca,
located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented.
Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway
in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
494 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

According to the April 1957 official records, 86 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land
423 as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were
427 still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular [493] about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [492] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if [407] it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

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427 Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing
628 villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several
428 factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

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585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride. [782]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
[494] separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
• 493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
362 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers. 204

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei. 494 484 489 178

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life. 493 177 178

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units. 177

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle. [489] [20] 443 [435] [517] [498] [203]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and man who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

133 and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
134 teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The
soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached,
acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and
fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain,
scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable.
135 The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly
coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh,
1964:109).

131 The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of
Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital
and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and
494a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one
first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over
10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1).
632 The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located
369 in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the
major market and political center for the nearby villages.
369 Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the
area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius
of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei,
its influence extends less than half the distance between
[484] town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca,
located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented.
491 Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway
496 in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
491 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

621 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
[464] economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance
reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei,
the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the
Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they
are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents
had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part
of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate
in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do
not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily
to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic
reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei
towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level
of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese
and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[499] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
[653] route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each
day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, pos-
sessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks. 655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation 829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of [191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the [186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of 648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More- 829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for 511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 562 There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
801 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

• [494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located
near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei
101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the
133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou
178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui
487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's loca-
tion on the river was then one of its most important characteristics,
a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the
178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place
487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan
496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half
[829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make
use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal
dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient trans-
portation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of
hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possi-
ble to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in
relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as
being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down
823 track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place
975 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the k2 had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fifteen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

62 [433] [464] [571] fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. [871] The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 648 As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 648 [499] [653] To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 [132] Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [384] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 888 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

423 464 169 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 592 888 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 434 464 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 • 511 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.32 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

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Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

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Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

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The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.5 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

• 511 426 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 602 888 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biēng-liēng-kiá:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

In the first place, as we have already suggested earlier, most families living in Hsiachichou at this time were so poor that they could not afford to be unconcerned about the costs of raising a female child, for this expense might make it difficult for them to realize other and more important goals. A family had to think first of providing for their heirs and descendants, their sons and grandsons, and this often meant adopting girls to raise as their wives, a role which a family's own daughters could not fulfill. Except in the case in which a family did not have male children, it was a luxury for them to raise a daughter "for someone else," and most families could not afford luxuries. Secondly, there was the fact that those persons who would naturally feel most strongly about the welfare of the children, their parents, were not in a position of authority with regard to decisions concerning adoption. In the years before 1930 the authority for making such decisions rested with the head of the family, and in the course of the typical family cycle the head of a child's family was usually her grandparents rather than her own parents. While they were undoubtedly not entirely unconcerned about the welfare of their female grandchildren, most grandparents were probably not as concerned as the child's own parents. More importantly perhaps, their age and experience, as well as their position of responsibility, gave the grandparents a different perspective. The parents of a child were likely to look at the decision concerning her adoption in terms of the child's welfare and their personal concern; the grandparents were likely to look at the decision from the point of view of the family's

ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

in 1960 only 8 had one or more mud walls, and none of the 49 were roofed with thatch. The average family is still not so well-to-do that they can afford to raise many daughters, and a daughter is still generally regarded as "something to lose money on." The difference is that now many families can afford the luxury of losing money on one or two of their daughters without sacrificing other values.

An equally important change has also taken place in the authority structure of the kē. Although the senior generations of the family still usually occupy the position of kā-tíu:, they have lost much of their authority over decisions concerning adoption. These decisions are now most often made by the child's own parents. As in the case of marriage, the senior members of the family still exert a considerable influence, and in a few cases the younger members of the family may leave a decision up to their parents. But while the grandparents are thus often able to negotiate the decisions they prefer, they are no longer able to dictate the disposition of their grandchildren. A woman who is now in her forties told us that when she was married her mother-in-law told her that she could only keep one of her daughters, and that she would have to give the rest in adoption. This could not happen today. A persuasive mother-in-law with firm control of her son might succeed in getting a daughter-in-law to give away several of her female children, but a strong willed daughter-in-law could probably manage to keep all of them if she so desired. As one of the older men complained to us, "Young people now won't listen to their parents. They do what they want to do. You can't tell them to do this or that.

bad points of the sim-pûa form of marriage, and then makes his decision in terms of his own reckoning. His culture sets for him some of his goals and limits his means of achieving these goals, but he decides between the available means as a free agent, depending for his guidance upon his own judgment and his own grasp of the facts. Our problem here has not been to discover why certain cultural solutions have been formulated and why most people accept these solutions; our task has rather been one of why individual village families select one line of action as more advantageous than another.

An important consideration which enters into any decision about marriage and adoption is the relative cost of the alternatives. We have seen that one of the reasons a poor family is more likely to adopt a sim-pûa for a son is because it is the cheaper way of obtaining a daughter-in-law, and we have also seen that the costs of raising a child is one of the most common reasons for giving away female children in adoption. Why should this be so? Why should the economic consequences of any choice play such an important role in these decisions? The obvious answer is that Hsiachichou is a poor community in a market economy, but we wonder if this is the whole answer. A universal medium of exchange provides a people with a sensitive scale for comparing the economic consequences of various actions. One can say that buying a male child from a dealer is ten times as expensive as adopting a son from an agnate, and one can compare in a precise way the relative cost of alternative forms of marriage. We wonder if economics would be as important a variable if the people of a community were able to weigh

*121 *583 *597 182 • 511

some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relationship within the kē is one of the considerations which enters into the choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage. Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 *583 621 182 554 626

Another consideration which often enters into these decisions derives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou, the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

-494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks. 655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

• 511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation 829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of [191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the [186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of 648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More- 829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for 511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

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592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

• 511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
• 511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

• 511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 524 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

• 511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

• 511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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Table 5. Financial Statement, Liao Mou-tu Chia

Net Worth

$ 110,000	.8 chia self-owned paddy field
36,000	.3 chia self-owned dry field, vegetables
162,000	1.8 chia self-owned improved slope land
50,000	improvements on 2.1 chia leased slope land
5,000	self-owned house and garden land
30,000	building, pig pen, share of kung t'ing
15,000	furniture and household contents
5,000	farm equipment
1,500	current worth of livestock
6,200	credits at farmers' association and cooperative
2,000	cash on hand
$ 422,700	Net Worth (Omits value of crops in field)

Yearly Income

$ 30,000	Oranges
5,000	Hogs
8,000	Tea
3,500	Bamboo Shoots
10,000	Wood
2,000	Vegetables
$ 58,500	Yearly Cash Income

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Yearly Expenses

$ 21,000	Food purchased to supplement own crops
6,400	Food and drinks for special celebrations
1,200	Educational Fees (six children in school)
2,500	Medical expenses (one son was quite ill)
6,000	Fertilizer
2,000	Insecticide
400	Farm tools
3,000	Weddings, funerals, sworn brothers, etc.
1,500	Taxes not in kind
500	Rent for water buffalo
800	Rent on land
1,200	Transportation of oranges to market
1,000	Electricity
1,200	Cigarettes, wine, tea
1,500	Contributions to temple, school, civic works
1,800	Clothing
$ 52,000	Net Expenses

Yearly Net Profit (Income less Expenses)

$ 6,500

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

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The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

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• 511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
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465 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a
[434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511 The family is renting a house and houseland up the
[244] hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables
[262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with
[235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income.
[466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance
[745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [572] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 465 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

• 511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 621 565 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually considered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

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735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
556 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

• 511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[529] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
[574] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

• 511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
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[735] everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[814] development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[464] offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.

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[288] operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[921] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[143] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

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[515] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the
[782] temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.
[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512
782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 782 people say that the entire family should gather to observe the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and 512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the 264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m. 466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m., [494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on [493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls, [316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be [241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and 891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception. Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thîⁿ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thîⁿ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thîⁿ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thîⁿ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thîⁿ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thîⁿ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thîⁿ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thîⁿ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood association. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before.

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Uusally they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

291 177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts, [292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey [513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
177 not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 35 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
• 513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

000

861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

855
857 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big
482 as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely
603 indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

613 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
352 the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[illegible] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant
[568] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thiâ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thiâ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thiâ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thiâ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thiâ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thiâ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thiâ: and its

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 561 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [855] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there 514 is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a [177] Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512 [518] [262] [443] [782] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [514] [515] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] [264] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

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Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

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Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

T
[515]

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

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164 177 744

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

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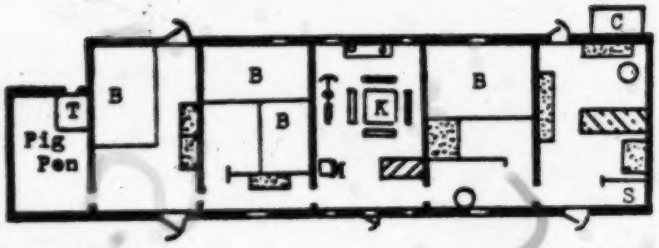

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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• 515 A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of [177] dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[355] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave [235] droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied [234] by small pigs.

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262]
[515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung
769 Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside
795 for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

512 vacation period for the school alone marks significant
[871] changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
[354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at
[515] 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512
[515] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443]
[782] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.

[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512
782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
• 515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[555] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-B]

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ABOVE: Itinerant beautician. BELOW: Itinerant artisan making steamers.

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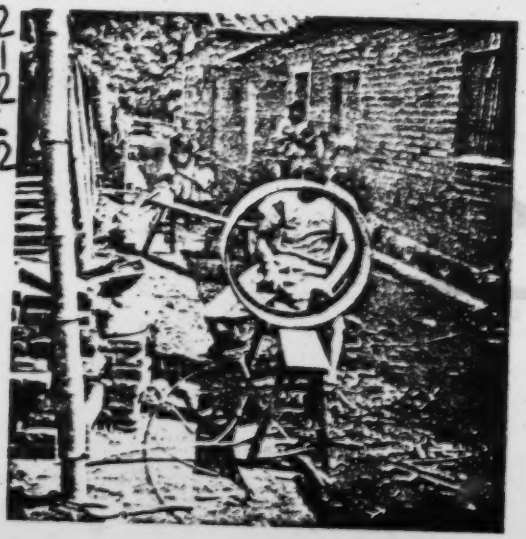

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-C]

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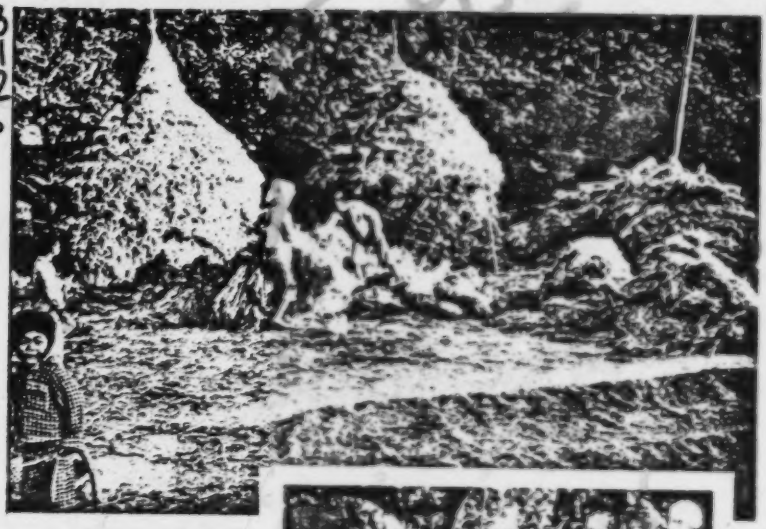

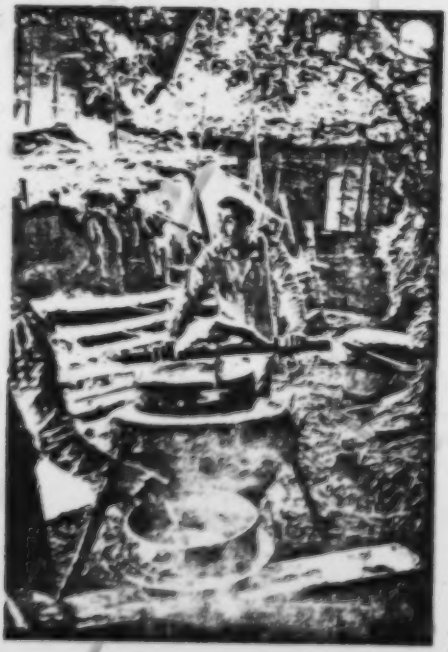

ABOVE: Stacking rice straw after harvest. RIGHT: Grinding glutinous rice for holiday cakes.

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[P. 148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

585
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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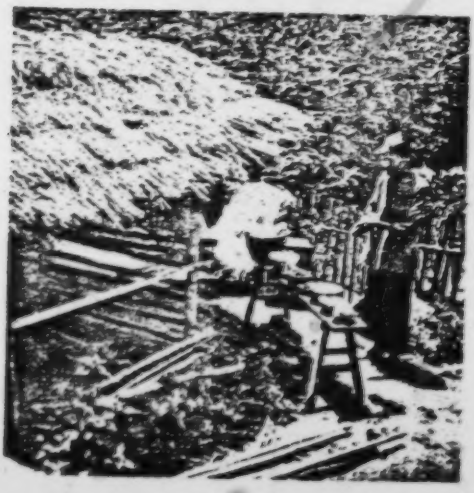

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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1:Gallin E:-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 ▲ 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage 000 and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

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178 come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit
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369 relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing
[871] to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

517 Village young people often go off to town on Sunday,
527 to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk
571 around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the
882 secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time.

[574] As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

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571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
• 517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 .(1957-1958) 1966
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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is 585 293 521 [604] the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

585 toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates [293] the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger • [52] guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

*593 The formal marriage procedure is brought to completion three days 585 after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother or her sisters serve her tea in the kòng-thia̍: as they might serve a respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact, referred to as cu̍e-khe̍q, "being a guest." After this first visit the the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

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517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, • 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

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444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
• 521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
402 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

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*596 *159 159 152 837 595 Lim A-pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

• [521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

*159 *596 595 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, borrowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money. Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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159 426 521 made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.' "

159 525 [857] [855] Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

159 581 [142] I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

s 521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hai (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which fea-
545 tures songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show
443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 793 • 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593
522 alike in Sanlei village:

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593
591 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [792] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

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The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chio ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of
[525] the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[076] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
769 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[776] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be consumed without simultaneously eating. The village stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

346 burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside,
353 directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are
[532] three large niches in the wall, each of which contains
[776] from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 The temple is open from early in the morning until
857 late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by
794 children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast,
778 they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three
[517] men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the
778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess
a 524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers.
794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole
794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in
778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening,
[517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on
[134] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[621] The temple belongs to the entire village; each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

• 524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which features songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show 545 443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

593 548 578 home of Lim Li-kui's foster family. Violent quarrels between the two women were the rule rather than the exception, and while Lim Li-kui was often at fault her daughter's responses would not have been 593 548 578 525 tolerated in another family. Once when the daughter found that her mother had lost more than seven dollars in two days' gambling she insisted that her mother give her the remainder of the family's money for safe keeping. Always a sharp tempered woman, Lim Li-kui answered,

"This is my money! Why should I give it to you? I know I gamble, but what about you? Don't you gamble too?"

Lim A-sui: "All right! I'm not going to argue with you. I just have to say something so that people won't think it's all my fault."

Lim Li-kui: "Don't be so shameless! You are always telling people that I lost a lot of money gambling and then sold your clothes to pay my debts. You know how much money I got from you. You don't give me all of the money you make. Aren't you ashamed to say these things?"

Lim A-sui: "There is nothing I can do. You like to gamble so much that I don't dare give you all of the money."

Lim Li-kui: "You are right! I gamble too much! What can you do about it? And what about you? When you were working in Tainan you lost all of the money you made, and so I had to come to the place where you were working and tell you not to gamble anymore. You said you didn't care. You said you could just go with one of the guests there anytime. You didn't have to worry about money. Remember? You said you didn't have to worry about saving money, and you told me that there were lots of women working there older than me! I'm old now, and so I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you say all of these things I can tell you who people are going to laugh at."

Lim A-sui: "The way you talk you make it sound as though I liked to work in that place. But why was it that you wouldn't let me come home when I wanted to quit?"

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 (Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

159* 593* 426 434 525* [452]

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

159* 434 525 [435]

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

159* 597 548 434 464

A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

159* 598 434 [464]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and you don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well financially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

The final contrast is with members of the lowest class group in the community in terms of economics although the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 575 [71] Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to those which have been described for a Japanese village (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

525 $300.00. The second night the club meets, everyone writes
575 a bid somewhat less than $300.00 (in even dollar amounts only) on a piece of paper and places it in a hat. After the bids are mixed up, each is lifted out with chopsticks and placed on a table in order of removal from right to left with the low bid declared the winner. In case of a tie, the bid on the right is the winner. The winner collects the amount of his bid from each member except that any previous winner (including the originator, winners are now called debtors to the club) pays the full original amount of $300.00. This process continues until everyone has collected once, so of course, only those who have not yet collected place bids.

Since early collectors bid less than the required amount, it is possible to wait until the end, each time paying less than the full amount, and yet collect the full amount from every other person. That is, with 21 members a participant would pay 20 times and collect once from the other 20 members. If every bid was $300.00, everyone would break even, but a typical early bid is $250.00 to $260.00 dollars, but the person who collects at this $250.00 rate will eventually, as a debtor, pay the full $300.00. Even if the cash is not needed, one should put in an early bid under $300.00 because the money could be placed in a bank or post office, earn interest, and eventually be paid back without interest. The amount of the potential interest income determines early bids for

525 those who do not need the money. In essence, a man is in
575 a legal gambling situation in a country which has declared any gambling other than the official government lottery illegal. Although the period between bids in the traditional accounts are of varying lengths up to once a year, meetings in Sanlei are always monthly. The largest club in the area during our residence contained 30 members and therefore, took 30 months to complete.

There are advantages for every participant in the club. The originator obtains a large sum of money which is paid back monthly without interest. He has the responsibility to collect the money from each person within three days of the bid and turn it over to the winning bidder, and he sometimes provides small refreshments such as soda pop and cookies. Each member also benefits as he has a ready source where he can get a sizeable sum of money merely by placing a low bid. Furthermore, by joining the club, he directly performs a service for the originator since the latter always furnishes a reason for his need for money. Frivolous needs would be rejected. The monthly meeting is also a social situation, consuming an hour or more of one evening each month. It is also a major topic of discussion before the meeting with speculation about the size of the winning bid and after the meeting, there is more comment about why someone may have needed the money so badly, indicated by a below average bid. Finally, even if no profit is realized, the club is an enforced

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered
[563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but
[829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join
525 clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it
562 appears that women usually constitute about half the
575 membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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595 rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households: some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health."

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

782 592 [869] [764] [993] one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

[621] On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. 527 592 574 There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 592 574 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 632 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

• 527 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 886 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 562 831 661 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 • 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
291 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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[288] operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

NOTES

Chapter I: Problem and Approach

1 The role of women as portrayed in the traditional literature is abstracted more fully later in this Chapter and in Chapter X.

2 The concept of the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition" are explicated in Redfield (1956).

3 Although the emphasis on the word typical was not in the original presentation, the term was used in the title and the introductory remarks.

4 The concept of "social distance" was developed by Bogardus to measure the degree of closeness or acceptance members of one group feel towards members of other groups (1958; 1959).

5 See Chapter V for a fuller discussion of the nature and function of sworn brothers associations which are perceived as pseudo-kinship groups.

Chapter II: The Setting

1 Although the population figures for Sanlei reflect the actual residence in the village, those for Talei Li are based on registration records in the township office and therefore are inaccurate as will be discussed.

2 "Restoration" is the official term employed to refer to the passing of control from the Japanese to the Chinese and the anniversary date is currently a national holiday celebrated with appropriate rituals.

3 For more complete accounts of the history of Taiwan, any of the following could be consulted: Davidson (1903), Grajdanzev (1942), Riggs (1952), Barclay (1954), Hsieh (1964), Kerr (1965), or Koo (1968).

4 Because of the Communication Bureau and a secret military base in the area, most government information was restricted for security reasons. Although we were not permitted to examine the local histories, an official briefly summarized them for us orally. Similar procedures were in effect for all other data except that we were permitted one day to examine household registration records for our two villages only in the township office and one day, the same for the land registration in the land office. Family histories are not very accurate but because of the shallow depth of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [795] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [792] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

776 policemen. The originations of gods are diverse, some were pure spirits and some were real historical figures who have been deified. As stated by Gamble for North China and true for all China, "Buddhism, Taoism, Official, and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other" (1963:400). Certain gods are associated with certain purposes, i.e., they have functional specificity. However, across China as a whole there is a great deal of regional variability. "Even for certain national cults, the names and at times the functions of the same god vary from place to place" (C. K. Yang, 1961:10-11).

[532] There are 30 god's statues in the Sanlei temple. The names of all but two[3] are known by some villagers but only a few villagers could name the 28. On the average, men know more names than women and old people know more than the young. For some of the popular gods, everyone in the village knew the name, even small children. Associated with each known god is a story. The oldest temple god was brought to the village from Fukien with the original group of migrants while others have been installed periodically; some have been acquired out of surplus funds collected for a general festival; some have been donated by sworn brothers associations; and some have been donated by individuals.

776 787 During our study, a part-time miner was visited by a god in a dream who informed him not to go to work in the mine

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

Earth God Temple

77% According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) [184] is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods 778 (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui [346] coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four [532] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

77% It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. [124] Although there is great regional variation in details

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

[532] On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and [542] each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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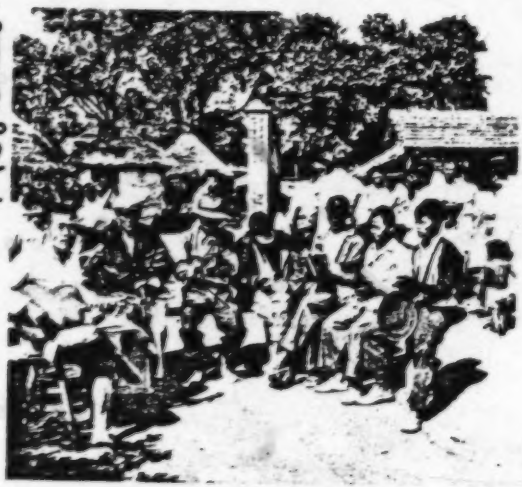

ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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783 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and
796 veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the
[834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would
[534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in
783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the
787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three
796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount [522] of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

764 793 804 775 764 536 793 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 The second area difficult to classify revolves
• 538 around another kind of question as to whether or not des-
551 cent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
557 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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lifetime, but it would help support his children, his grandchildren, and his descendants for generations to come. With this beginning the family's land would increase—their harvests would buy more land, the family would prosper and grow. In this Lim Han-ci could take great satisfaction. As a well-known proverb puts it, "Succeeding is like a turtle climbing up a mountain." Lim Han-ci had taken the first few steps up that mountain, and with the vision of the long climb ahead he disciplined himself and his family. He was well aware of the other half of the proverb: "Failing is like water running down a hill."

Lim Han-ci was respected and grudgingly admired, but his Puritan temperament did not endear him to his contemporaries. He knew all there was to know about farming and when he decided on an innovation in the customary way of doing things, his neighbors usually followed him. He was not an active member of the groups of men who sat around on summer evenings, talking and smoking, but when an important decision had to be made, he was always consulted. He was not a man to ignore or to take advantage of. An old farmer of his own generation told me, "He would help anyone who asked for help, but he treated very unceremoniously and very severely anyone who tried to put something over on him. He often gave water from his rice paddies to those who asked him for it, but he would starve a man before he gave him the water if he tried to steal it in the night. He was a man who would 'eat the soft, but not the hard.'" And, if the adults walked quietly around Lim Han-ci, children literally fled at the sight of him. Aside from his known disapproval of any form of play or frivolity, he was also renowned for his fiery temper. Even his own children admit to being terrified of him.

In the shadow of such a glowering personage it is not surprising that little is remembered about Lim Han-ci's wife. Her adopted daughters and her grandchildren describe her as a quiet woman of gentle kindness who worked hard but always had time for a frightened or hurt child. No one in the village mentions her, and the family rarely talks about her except on the anniversary of her death when they argue over what might have been her favorite food so that they can send it to her in offerings. She must have died before the marriage of her second son because Lim Chui-ieng, who complains about everything else, does not complain about her mother-in-law. Her children speak of her with warmth and fondness, but she is now only a memory. Perhaps they remember her gentleness and think of her in quiet

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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smiles, and when you ask for money his mouth is very stern. I gave Ong A-giok her wages for weeding the cucumbers only two days ago. She did the work many weeks ago. I told my uncle that we owed her money, but he hadn't done anything about it. I thought he had paid her long ago, and I was very embarrassed. Whenever money has to be given out, it is always like this. Even if I don't ask for any money for three months, he will never say, 'Well, you must need money. Here is some so you will have it when you need to buy something.' "

I asked if his uncle might not think he kept money out for his own use when he sold vegetables. "You can't sell vegetables every day," he said, "and besides he knows enough to guess how much we can get for the vegetables we sell.

" 'Even a shrewd man of great ability cannot get past a pretty girl guarding a gate' [a common proverb]. You can't blame him for all these problems. You have seen how that woman [Lim Chui-ieng] can nag. If she is eating and he comes in from the factory, she puts down her bowl immediately and follows him into the bedroom to talk. If she finds him sitting alone, she will hurry over to ask him about this and that and the long and the short."

By my own observation I knew this to be the case, but it did not fit in very well with some gossip I had been hearing in the village. Hoping A-bok's talkative mood would last, I asked him, "If she treats him so well, why did he go out to find a mistress that time?"

"It was her own fault," he answered. "I really wish they would fight again like they used to." A-bok grinned naughtily. "If it hadn't been for my mother and I, Lim Chui-ieng would have been beaten to death a long time ago. One time in particular it was really bad. Lau Kim-chiok was living in that house where her mother lives now. One night Lim Chui-ieng went over and looked in the window and saw my uncle's shoes in there. She was afraid to do anything by herself, so she got one of our friends to go with her--he was living in our house just then. He went with her, but she didn't tell him where they were going, and when they got there she broke the window. My uncle came out and chased her back to our house, trying to hit her. She tried to go into my grandfather's room to hide, but he wouldn't let her and said, 'I'm not going to get involved in this anymore. You solve your own problems.' She had no place to hide so she came into my mother's room. I pulled uncle away and my mother stood between them. Lim Chui-ieng shouldn't have gotten our friend involved because my uncle

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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and gaudy magazines. There is often an itinerant peddler or two during the afternoons, keeping up a steady stream of jokes and praise for his merchandise that would win approval from any sideshow barker. And evenings, particularly the warm, humid evenings of summer when houses are empty and life moves to the doorsteps and walkways, there are elaborate traveling medicine shows with magicians, or acrobats, or strongmen, or even modest operas. On those nights it is difficult to pass through the crowds, and the foreigner's white face isn't half as interesting as the antics going on under the bare electric light bulb that serves as the peddler's spotlight.

The remainder of the trip to Peihotien is on foot. There are always a few pedi-cabs by the station, but one ride in an aged pedi-cab down a rutted country path is sufficient to discourage a second. The walk across Tapu down its main street shouldn't take more than two or three minutes but it usually took me much longer. One side of the street is a roofed colonnade, protecting the shopper from the heat of the sun and the drenching of the rains. Here are the more substantial merchants of Tapu, the men who don't rent rickety stalls or push-carts but own or lease stores with sleeping rooms above or in the back for their families. Although there is a Western-style pharmacy in Tapu, as gaudy and cluttered as any American drug store, the old-fashioned Chinese medicine shop still does a better business. My husband often stopped there to talk with the druggist, an intelligent man who enjoys conversation, while I admired the rows of dignified crockery containers unsullied by advertising. Even on the hottest days the dim interior is cool and exotically fragrant. Next door is something that might be called a housewares store. From the open front to the dark, dusty back, the ceiling is festooned with the merchant's wares—bunches of brass tea kettles looking like giant clusters of pale grapes, chains of shallow, disc-shaped frying pans, strings of short-handled rice-stalk brooms, and ropes of household brushes. Stacked from floor to ceiling are baskets for straining, baskets for carrying, baskets for drying, baskets for fishing, baskets for storing. A shaky tower of pointed bamboo hats that serve the farmer as both umbrella and sunshade perch on an old wooden counter. Hanging from rusty nails are a collection of razor-sharp cleavers that function in the Chinese kitchen both as paring knife and butcher knife; there are dishes, cheap and easily broken; there are small tin cooking stoves that on careful examination prove to be ingeniously constructed of flattened beer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 794 621 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each [782] village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable [574] dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

794 796 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity [435] in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment [545] costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

• 545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which fea-
545 tures songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show
443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

345
443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

546 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house
571 in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are
[882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the
[718] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young
[593] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
275 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

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usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinsiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sim-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sim-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cī-bó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sīm-pûà to lông-lù" (sīm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

*564 *597 *593 *562 624 But whatever the consequences for the son of the family they are seldom as severe as for the sīm-pû who resists marrying her foster brother. The girl's position in the family is a weaker one, and as a result she must pay a higher price for her intransigence. Most parents cannot afford to alienate one of their sons permanently, but there is no point in retaining the loyalty of an adopted daughter if she refuses to play the role for which she was adopted. Parents are therefore ready to apply whatever pressures are necessary in order to make the g acquiesce to their plans. As a result, when it is the girl who takes the lead in opposing the marriage she must often go to extreme lengths to overcome her parents' determination. One [548] [464] village girl ran away to her natal home rather than marry her foster brother, and we know of at least three cases in which sīm-pû left their foster homes to become prostitutes. They were either unwilling or unable to return to their natal families, and this was the only way in which they could manage to support themselves independently.

A girl's refusing to marry her foster brother also makes it difficult for her to marry out of the family. Her foster parents may refuse to arrange another marriage as a means of punishing her, and even if they do call in a go-between it may be difficult to find a family willing to take a former sīm-pû as a daughter-in-law. Prospective in-laws suspect that the foster parents may have decided to allow her to marry out of the family because of "an unmanageable temper" or other hidden faults. Although most sīm-pû do eventually marry despite these difficulties, we know of at least one girl in

marriages.[1]

Aside from the reports of many villagers that such marriages are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have made a sīm-pûa marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to marry a sīm-pûa arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors, "He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a night at home."

As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou. Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these opportunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record

[1] [i.e., sīm-pûa marriages -- Analyst]

produce a definite sexual aversion is that such separations are much more common among men who have married sīm-pûà than among men who married in other ways. Of those 119 men whose life histories we know in some detail at least 13 spent two or more years of their married lives living away from their parental home with a woman other than their wife. These 13 men included 3 (4 percent) of 70 men who had married in the preferred way, 2 (8 percent) of the 26 men who had married matrilocally and 8 (35 percent) of 23 men who married a sīm-pûà. There thus appears to be a striking difference between the sexual behavior of those men whose association with their wives began in childhood and those who did not come into contact with their wives until adulthood.

While it is expected that men who can afford to will upon occasion visit prostitutes or professional wine house girls, it is strictly forbidden for a married woman to engage in any kind of extra-marital relations. A young unmarried woman whose family is poor and does not have sons to depend upon may work as a prostitute without arousing unfavorable public opinion, but for a married woman to form any kind of liaison is generally regarded as a serious breach of morality. The not very surprising result is that extra-marital relations are much more common among men than among women. What is somewhat more interesting is thatthe majority of those women who do commit adultery are women who have been forced to marry a foster brother. We do not know of a single case of adultery among women who married in the preferred way, and the only cases among women who married matrilocally

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iak was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iak denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iak's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 183 58 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however, it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that [546] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes. Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption. To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children, and what are some of the considerations which enter into their decisions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

585 589 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs, and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I' [737] just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age."

• 548 589 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents' desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

584 #597 589 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a

584 number of male children, she was given away in adoption as a child, but
597 later returned to her natal family. Some of the villagers say that she
589 returned because the boy she was adopted to marry died, and others think that it was because her prospective mother-in-law didn't like her. Whatever the reason, her natal family accepted her return with reluctance, and apparently did not feel any responsibility for arranging her marriage. With three sons to provide wives for, they probably had little money to spare for a dowry, this being the reason they gave
548 the girl away in the first place. Ong Ti-sai went to work as a prostitute when she was quite young, and has been following this profession all of her life. Although fifty-three years old in 1960, she was still entertaining soldiers in her house. It is interesting to note that while Ong Ti-sai was only one of a number of prostitutes living in the village at this time she was the only one of whom most of the village was critical. The main reason seemed to be that she practiced her profession in the village. Most women who are prostitutes do not make any particular effort to conceal the fact, but they almost always avoid professional activities while in the village, particularly with local men. We once overheard a mother warning her daughter not to become involved with a village man who seemed attracted by her.

> "We are just living here temporarily, so we cannot go around as we please. We have to be good friends with all of the people here. This man has a home and children, and so he cannot afford to run around. Don't pay any attention to whether he has money or not. We can only be his friends. We cannot break up his home. You have to remember that we cannot damage people's relations with other people in the place where we live."

548 Aside from those cases of unmarried women who have worked as prostitutes, our genealogies also include 10 cases of women who have married and who have also been prostitutes at one time or another. In 8 of these 10 cases the women were prostitutes before they married, and in 2 cases married women turned to prostitution when their marriages 591 failed. Those who married after their work in brothels included three women who married into their husband's family, 4 who married matrilocally, and one case in which the status of the marriage is somewhat ambiguous. This last case is interesting because it reveals the villagers' assumptions about the conditions which result in a matri- 583 591 local marriage. After having worked for a number of years in Taipei hotels, a woman by the name of Pe A-hong met and married a wealthy Cantonese businessman. By the time of her marriage Pe A-hong had already borne one female child and adopted another. She later bore her husband two sons and a daughter. Since she was the only child of her parents and an adopted daughter at that, Pe A-hong's mother apparently insisted that she could marry only if her husband was willing to accept financial responsibility for his wife's family. As a result, the family which settled in Hsiachichou consisted of Pe A-hong and her husband, her mother, the two daughters who bore her maiden name, and the three younger children who had all taken their father's name. Pe A-hong's mother now tells her neighbors that her daughter's husband married into her family, and with any other family the facts are such that this would be accepted without question. The man lives with his wife's parents; he has agreed to take financial responsibility

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sim-pua for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

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548 more to her liking than the one she avoided by marrying out, however,
[586] and after only a year or two "she decided that she didn't like her husband and left." It was at this point that Lim Li-hui became a prostitute, evidently unable to find any other way to support herself. We heard from several people that she made a second transient marriage, although this may have been nothing more than a particularly faithful customer. All we know for a fact is that she bore a number of children, and that she adopted at least one daughter. It is curious that even though Lim Li-hui has been a member of at least four families during her life, it is always to her first foster family that she returns when she is in need of help. One of the women of the Ong family told us that she returned to Hsiachichou "whenever she had a fight with a man she was living with," and we know from various reports that the eldest of her two surviving daughters was largely raised by the Ong family.

548 Beyond those cases we have already mentioned, there were also 6 younger women in Hsiachichou who had worked or were still working as prostitutes. The total number of prostitutes in our genealogies is thus surprisingly large. Of 131 women of twenty years of age or more who spent the majority of their childhood as members of families living in Hsiachichou at least 25 (19 percent) have worked for some period of time as prostitutes. Moreover, in 1960 there were at least three girls of less than twenty years who were then employed as "dark room girls," to use the village euphemism. The conditions which predict a woman's
*593
[562] becoming a prostitute become apparent when we look at their family

status. Nowhere in our genealogies do we find a prostitute who had an older brother and who grew up in her natal home. Twenty (71 percent) of the 28 prostitutes were adopted daughters, and 23 (82 percent) did not have older brothers. Every one of the 28 prostitutes in Hsiachichou was either an adopted daughter or a daughter who had no older brother. The reasons for this are simple, although somewhat difficult to state concisely. A woman may become a prostitute for one of two reasons: either her family must depend on her for a substantial part of their income, or she must support herself independent of a family. Since it is ordinarily only when a family does not have adult sons that they need to depend upon a daughter, girls who become prostiutes for the first reason seldom have older brothers. Although we shall note some exceptions later, these are usually girls for whom their parents have attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage and failed. Aside from their not having older brothers, girls in this situation are also usually adopted daughters. The family which does not have adult sons is likely to be a family in which the wife is barren or one in which she has only borne male children later in life, and in either case the family is more likely to have adopted daughters than natural born daughters. Girls who become prostitutes for the second reason are less common, and are almost all sim-pûa who have left their foster families in order to avoid marrying a foster brother. While they do therefore always have brothers, they are also always adopted daughters.

*593 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different.
*562 Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would
*597 seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she
589 fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind
769 of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply
that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as
[604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in
which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or
a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child
was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The
woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world
and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually
adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their
future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent)
adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more
children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who
bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter.
The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both
young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their
future they must do one or the other.

548 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally
*597 true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes.
Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore
very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able
to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

#597 = 548 husbands. Our genealogies include 24 women who by 1960 had worked as prostitutes for at least three years and about whom we have adequate information. Of these 24 women 12 (50 percent) had adopted their first child, and 14 (58 percent) of the 24 adopted at least one girl before bearing a male child. The importance of female children to women who become prostitutes can best be demonstrated by comparing the number of girls they adopt with the number they give away in adoption. Married women give away as many female children as they adopt, but prostitutes tend to hoard female children. Although between them they had borne a total of 23 female children, these 24 women gave only three of their girls in adoption, and at the same time adopted a total of 18 more female children. They adopted five times as many girls as they gave away, collecting a total of 38 female children. Their motive for adopting these girls is suggested by the fact that 6 of the village women who became prostitutes were the adopted daughters of women who were themselves prostitutes.

#597 582 548 The circumstances which lead these women to adopt a daughter can be illustrated by the case of Lim A-sui, daughter of Lim Li-kui. After working as a prostitute for a number of years in Tainan, Lim Li-kui sent her eldest daughter to work in one of the city's best known brothels. Lim A-sui was then sixteen years old. A slim attractive girl, she caught the attention of the son of a wealthy Tainan family who wanted to marry her. The boy feared that his father would discover his prospective fiancee's occupation, and moved her and her family back to Hsiachichou where they lived for a time with Lim Li-kui's first foster

family. During the first nine months Lim A-sui's friend made several visits to the village and each month sent a substantial allowance, but after a while the boy admitted that it was going to be difficult for them to marry. He said that his father would not allow him to marry until his older brother married, which may very well have been true since such an order of marriage is desirable among respectable families. Lim A-sui was under considerable pressure from her mother at the time to return to work, the boy friend's allowance not stretching far enough to cover her gambling debts. Discouraged about her prospects for a normal future, and after a particularly violent quarrel with her mother, Lim A-sui disappeared, telling some of the neighbors she was going to commit suicide. Fortunately, she phoned her boy friend who was able to dissuade her by renewing his promise of marriage. When after several months his visits became sporadic and her mother's demands more adamant, Lim A-sui finally decided that she would never be able to marry and adopted a daughter. For her, it was an act of resignation, an admission that she would have to provide her own support when she was too old to work. As one of the village women explained in discussing the adoption, "What else could she do? That kind of woman has to have someone who will take care of her later."

Occasionally, a young woman whose parents do not have any adult sons "to lean on" will voluntarily become a prostitute. At least one such case developed while we were in Hsiachichou when a young woman who had five younger siblings took a job in an army brothel after her father, a coolie, broke his leg. Although at first we were skeptical

*593 about just how voluntary her actions were, even the most malicious of
• 548 the village gossips agreed that it had been the girl's own idea, some of them even praising her for being so filial. More commonly, however, a girl is both reluctant and frightened at such a prospect, and the
+593 parents have to use no small amount of coercion. We know of one case
548 in which the parents resorted to magical techniques to get a parti-
789 cularly intransigent daughter to agree to their plans. Unfortunately, from their point of view, the girl discovered that the parents were "doing something," and so the magic did not work, the discovery itself being enough to counteract its effects. As the girl explained a few days later, "The day after I ate those things I began to menstruate
+593 and then I knew that something was wrong." More often, however, the
548 means employed are nothing more exotic than extreme social pressure.
626 The girl is reminded of her obligations to her parents for raising her; she is made to feel responsible for the family's low standard of living; and, if necessary, she may be threatened with expulsion from the kê. The following account by a neighbor of the family reveals something of the pressures brought to bear on two sisters whose parents were determined that they "do something to help the family."

> "When that girl was fourteen years old her father made her go to work as a prostitute. He didn't like to work himself, and his wife worked very hard to make a living by raising a few vegetables and gathering rocks for a construction company. He made the oldest girl go to work as a prostitute because the family was large and very poor, and because the sons were all too young to work. For a while she cried every time she returned home. Later she gained a reputation as the most beautiful (the 'reddest') girl in the Peitou hotel. During this time the family lived very well, with new clothes and lots of good food to eat. Because one

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girl made so much money the mother decided to send the family's adopted daughter to do the same work. She did not want to, go, but when she refused the family was very angry and wouldn't talk to her. Finally the older sister said, 'I'm a real daughter of this family, and I went to work. You are only an adopted daughter, so why can't you come to work?' The mother later told everyone that the girl wanted to go to work when she saw how much money her sister could make, but we all knew that this wasn't true. That second girl now has an illegitimate child, but she never has been able to make very much money. After a while the older girl found a man who wanted to marry her, but her mother was a very stupid selfish woman and wouldn't let her do it. Now she is poor and unhappy, and it is all her own fault. After the older girl bore her first child she began to lose her looks and earned less and less money every year. She had a child every year after that until now she has four children. She moved away from the Peitou hotels after her first child was born because she was embarrassed about how she had changed. That old lady is very poor now because of her selfishness."

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Because their parents have forced them to abandon any hope of a normal life, most girls who are prostitutes have a very different relationship with their parents than do other daughters. While it would be rare for most daughters to criticize their parents let alone quarrel with them, open quarrels are not uncommon in families in which a daughter has become a prostitute at her parents' insistence. When the mother of the history quoted above finally relented and told her oldest daughter that she could marry, the girl is reported to have replied, "No, I'll just go on working. Then when I'm too ugly, you can work and support me." We also heard from several people that these two girls treated their mother "more like a servant than their mother," and on at least two occasions the mother threatened to commit suicide because of her daughters' treatment. The case we knew best, however, is that of Lim Li-kui and her daughter, Lim A-sui, as we lived in the

593 548 578 home of Lin Li-hui's foster family. Violent quarrels between the two women were the rule rather than the exception, and while Lin Li-hui was often at fault her daughter's responses would not have been tolerated in another family. Once when the daughter found that her 593 548 578 525 mother had lost more than seven dollars in two days' gambling she insisted that her mother give her the remainder of the family's money for safe keeping. Always a sharp tempered woman, Lin Li-hui answered,

"This is my money! Why should I give it to you? I know I gamble, but what about you? Don't you gamble too?"

Lin A-sui: "All right! I'm not going to argue with you. I just have to say something so that people won't think it's all my fault."

Lin Li-hui: "Don't be so shameless! You are always telling people that I lost a lot of money gambling and then sold your clothes to pay my debts. You know how much money I got from you. You don't give me all of the money you make. Aren't you ashamed to say these things?"

Lin A-sui: "There is nothing I can do. You like to gamble so much that I don't dare give you all of the money."

Lin Li-hui: "You are right! I gamble too much! What can you do about it? And what about you? When you were working in Tainan you lost all of the money you made, and so I had to come to the place where you were working and tell you not to gamble anymore. You said you didn't care. You said you could just go with one of the guests there anytime. You didn't have to worry about money. Remember? You said you didn't have to worry about saving money, and you told me that there were lots of women working there older than me! I'm old now, and so I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you say all of these things I can tell you who people are going to laugh at."

Lin A-sui: "The way you talk you make it sound as though I liked to work in that place. But why was it that you wouldn't let me come home when I wanted to quit?"

593 Another argument on the same subject a few days later ended with Lim
578 Li-hui threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Lim A-sui simply
578 stood her ground and encouraged her mother, "Kill me! I don't care!
Kill me!"

593 In most cases in which a daughter dares to quarrel openly with one
548 of her parents, public opinion will be quick to condemn her, but if the
208 girl is a prostitute the tendency is to side with the daughter against
her parents. Most village gossips discussing current quarrels between prostitutes and their parents label the parents "selfish" and deserving of whatever ill fortune their fate might bring them. The attitude of the villagers seems to be that while a parent has the right to command a daughter to work as a prostitute they cannot expect the daughter to pay them the respect ordinarily due a parent. It is as though the debt a child owes to her parents is entirely repaid when she submits to such a demand.

593 Prostitution is one way in which a family can use their daughters
562 to obtain heirs and support for their old age, and it is the only way
548 in which a woman who does not marry can provide for herself and her future. Prostitution might therefore be characterized as an alternative to marriage, but it is always an undesirable alternative. For
[558] the prostitute it means anything but a normal life, and for her family there is always some loss of face. Worse yet, for the parents there is always the danger that they are sacrificing as much as they are gaining. In sending a daughter to work they may be able to manage without a marriage in the next generation, but this is accomplished only

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at the price of their daughter's loyalty and respect. As a result, most families exhaust all other possibilities before finally committing a daughter to prostitution. Unfortunately, many families find themselves in a position in which there is no alternative. If they do not have a son of marriageable age, and if they cannot find a man who is willing to marry into the family, they have little choice but to avail themselves of this last possibility for security. As those women who are themselves prostitutes recognise when they adopt daughters to inherit their profession, there is no other way in which a single woman can make any substantial contribution to the welfare of her family.

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and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

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sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

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During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua*, he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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he pointed out one of our neighbors who had been an active *lo mua* in his youth, or some of the young men who participate with the *lo mua* on an amateur basis, but he never discussed his own family's connection with *lo mua* activities, past or present. At first I accepted this as a device to protect his family, but as the months went by and our staff became more accepted in the gossip sessions of our neighbors, I found that he did not allude to his brother's connections in conversations with others either. I do not believe Lim Chieng-cua is particularly ashamed of his brother's career or that he harbors any deep hatred of him, but rather that as head of the Lim family he intends to maintain for the family the aura of normal respectability his father struggled to create. His brother, even after his career outside the village was ended, never took the responsibility in the family expected of an eldest son. He submitted to a marriage with the girl of his father's choice, but he never really returned to the family. If his career was responsible for the family's sudden rise to prosperity, fate could just as easily have sent some other form of luck. Lim Chieng-cua prefers to have it believed that Lim Hue-lieng was a deviant and not representative of the family established by Lim Han-ci. He wants the Lims of Peihotien to be known not as an obscure family made wealthy overnight by the doubtfully obtained fortune of one of its sons, but rather as an old, well-respected family that came upon better days due to the perseverance of the father.

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

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#159 [291] [294] spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

#159 • 548 Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The [124] village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, [141] unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is [142] long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor [302] allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

#159 548 #593 577 [171] Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

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esting" than other women of their age and income, but judgments about their morality or respectability are not based on their profession. Too many village girls have had to "go out to work" to support aging parents or young siblings. In recent years, there has only been one girl in the area who entered a brothel by choice, lured by the fine clothes and exciting life. More commonly, women become prostitutes because they were raised for that purpose, or because their family is desperately in need of the income. The villagers are not inclined to think of these girls as martyrs since Chinese children are expected to make great sacrifices for their parents, but they are not likely to criticize them either. On the contrary, most villagers assume a girl has amply repaid the debt she owes her parents for raising her when she obeys their command to become a prostitute—repaid it more fully than the daughter who remains at home can ever hope to. Parents can nearly always count on the support of village opinion in deciding the future of their daughter unless that daughter has supported the family for several years by prostitution. By giving up her youth, the young prostitute has gained a certain amount of control over her future. In the village her respectability depends upon how careful she is to walk within the paths of traditional morality when she is home for a few days each month, how compliant she is in turning over the majority of her earnings to her parents, and how cautious she is with village males. A prostitute who carries on professional activities within the village is in deep trouble. If her relatives are not aware of her indiscretion, they will be told, and that is usually enough. It is a small community.

No one in the Lim family tried to conceal from us Tan A-hong's former occupation or the source of Chun-ieng's present earnings. They are not callous about Chun-ieng's fate, but they also see her soft fingers resting next to their scarred, calloused hands, her delicate silk dresses hanging beside their coarse, shapeless working clothes, her closed bedroom door when they come in after three hours of early morning weeding in the fields. About her future they feel pity, but the life of a woman in a farm family is not easy either. In Chun-ieng's difficulties with her mother, however, she has the family's complete sympathy. They may chide her occasionally, or remind her of her mother's seniority, but their words lack conviction. Tan A-hong's outrageous behavior toward her daughter would challenge the beliefs of the most adamant proponent of filial piety. In all fairness, I must

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admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

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Although A-hong expects her daughter to provide for her as for a child, she resents being treated as a child. Chun-ieng's words angered her. "How can you be so shameless. I know what you are telling people—you are telling them I lost lots of money in Tainan and then sold your clothes and your gold to get more. You are shameless. You know how little money you gave me. You didn't give me all the money you earned so I had to take it. Aren't you ashamed to tell all those lies?"

This touched a sore spot in Chun-ieng. She wants very much to be considered a proper filial daughter and her mother accused her of withholding her earnings, a most unfilial act. Chun-ieng answered defensively, "There was nothing I could do. You are too fond of gambling. I can't turn all of the money over to you."

A-hong knows her adversary well. She decided to take advantage of the wound she had inflicted by putting a few more things before the public. (Most quarrels in China take place by preference before an audience and the attention of the combatants is directed as much to the effect of their words on the observers as upon each other.) With lip-curling malice, A-hong continued, "Ah, you are right. I like to gamble. And what is my dutiful daughter going to do about it? You, of course, never gamble, do you? You don't remember the time in Tainan when you lost all of the money you had earned for two days, and I had to come and tell you not to gamble any more? Do you remember what you said to your mother that day? You said you didn't care. You told me you could just go with any of the guests when you had no more money. You told your mother that you had no reason to save money and that there were women as old as me working there."

Chun-ieng looked tired and depressed. When she didn't answer, her mother tried to goad her into a response. "Well, I'm old now. I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you keep saying all those things, you know who people will be laughing at. At a shameless daughter!"

Chun-ieng got up to leave the room, but at the door she paused long enough to say, "You speak as though I enjoyed working in that place. Is that why you wouldn't let me come home, even when I begged?"

A few days later another argument on the same subject ended with A-hong threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Chun-ieng with

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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

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"Hah! How good is that. I always hear her scolding her mother. She tries to restrain her at every turn."

A-ki bristled in defense of her friend. "That is because the mother doesn't have any sense. If her mother took care of the home and didn't gamble all the time, I'm sure Chun-ieng would give her all of the money to take care of."

The continuous quarrel between A-hong and her daughter over money reached a climax several months later. It was only then that I learned of the future Chun-ieng longed for and of the secret she and the Lim family had kept from her mother. While working in Tainan, Chun-ieng met the second son of a wealthy industrialist. Their mutual attraction deepened into a more serious interest, and the young man wanted to marry her. Many young prostitutes who have not yet compromised their future by a series of abortions, illegitimate children, or the adoption of young girls as support for their old age, marry into quite respectable families. There seems to be some notion among peasant families that a young woman who has had this kind of experience is less likely to succumb to temptation after marriage. Chun-ieng's young man, however, came from the upper classes and her welcome into his family might not be as warm. Moreover, they also had to wait until his older brother, then serving his term in the army, was married, it being bad form for a younger brother to marry before an elder. When Chun-ieng's lover was sent by his father to supervise a logging operation in central Taiwan, they decided upon a compromise. Chun-ieng would come and live with him there until such time as they could be married properly. Tan A-hong knew nothing of these plans, although she knew her daughter was fond of the young man. She herself was attracted by his reputed wealth, but the possibility of her daughter marrying anyone was something she refused to think about. Chun-ieng married would not only make a considerable dent in A-hong's income, but would also deprive her of her authority over the girl. No matter what agreements are reached at the time of marriage, a young woman's loyalty necessarily shifts to her husband. Besides, Chun-ieng was still approaching the peak of her earning power as a prostitute. Her youth and high spirits had brought her a good income until now, and A-hong's practiced eyes recognized that her daughter's appeal was based on a handsomeness that would not fade as had her own but might with training turn Chun-ieng into the cool, sophisticated companion of the very wealthy. Whether or not Chun-ieng's

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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosperous shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency to speak her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster mother's account of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan A-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

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get to Taipei to talk with her. She then spent an entertaining hour trying to locate some relatives who would come and pay her hotel bill.

The source of Chun-ieng's unexpected happiness was revealed more slowly. Tan A-hong's complaints about her daughter were not completely groundless. Chun-ieng often answered her angry words with scorn and disrespect. She did not trust her mother and sometimes treated her honest need for money with disdain—understandable perhaps, but not behavior expected of a dutiful daughter. Unfortunately, Chun-ieng *was* a dutiful daughter. The anguish which prompted her toward suicide was as much the result of her own self-blame as of her mother's imprecations. Lim A-pou told me many months later that this was not the first time Chun-ieng had contemplated leaving her mother (always with adequate financial provision), but each time she had felt sorry for the older woman and returned. The interview that took place with her lover when he arrived from Tainan seemed to provide another solution. He generously proposed that she give up her plan of joining him, but also give up her work in the winehouse. He would send her a weekly allowance (the sum of which caused many round eyes) and visit her as often as possible until the day when they could be married. After their marriage, they would decide what to do about her mother. This was indeed a fairy-tale ending if it had been in fact the ending.

We had the pleasure of Chun-ieng's presence around the village for several months. Her boyfriend visited fairly regularly and she occasionally went to see him. Needless to say, each of her trips was preceded by anxious ill-temper on the part of Tan A-hong, but Chun-ieng always returned at the appointed time. Their quarrels were either less frequent or less violent because they came to my attention only rarely during those months. After awhile though, I began to see more of Chun-ieng in the Lim house, often in tears, and I heard more of Tan A-hong's gambling debts. It wasn't long before Chun-ieng started disappearing from the village for two or three days at a time. I asked the family about her absences and received noncommittal answers until finally Lim A-pou admitted that she had returned to work. When I asked what would happen if her boyfriend unexpectedly turned up, Lim A-pou told me sadly, "We are supposed to tell him she has gone to work as a hostess in a coffee shop and we don't know where it is." Whether her lover discovered her deception or whether Chun-ieng

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herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier at her gambling.

During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her. I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair. Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her back on dreams of a normal life.

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#159 586 Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take
[596] [581] responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other rela-
#159 tions with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port
• 581 city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

[164] Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

#159 Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was
#596 born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

#159 Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of
581 the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

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Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

295 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
• 548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

599 paid to the natal family but it is said that the older
[485] the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers
[548] did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed
[178] for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

599 The traditional literature suggests that the treat-
562 ment of adopted daughters in a household was often extreme-
593 ly harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later *sisosiv* marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[842] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.) 000

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities. 618 614

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization. 614 [601] [576]

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*. 612 601

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close 61 551 • [361]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lack of depth in generations and therefore a lack of breadth in collateral relatives. Then, economic pressures and the resulting rather high degree of out-migration, often of whole family units, has restricted the expansion of local *tsu;* in fact, the size of village *tsu* may have almost reached a point of relative stability.

Part of the lack of an elaborate *tsu* organization in Hsin Hsing can be seen in the absence of significant formal *tsu* segmentation, i.e., into *fang*—a sub-*tsu*—or *chih*—a *tsu* branch. The lack of formal segmentary organization is most likely a function of small size—even the largest *tsu* organization has a population of only over one hundred, and several others are considerably smaller. All village *tsu* embrace groups of families in several lines of descent (Freedman might call them "sub-lineages" since each traces its origins to a son of the *tsu* founder) within which are families of more closely related kinsmen, such as the families of brothers. However, these sub-lineages neither have nor attempt to exert sociopolitical influence in the village; they depend upon their *tsu* organization to do this in their behalf. Again, this is a result of their relatively small size; it has prevented the evolution within the *tsu* of broad social differentiation and thus of sub-lineages wealthy enough to form new or separate formal segments by setting aside or donating property as corporate lineage property or for an ancestral hall. The fact is, formal segmentation of *tsu* as small as those of Hsin Hsing would "reduce the groups below the minimal functional size" (Geddes, 1963:30).

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Before examining something of the activities of the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organizations, let us first turn to their composition. As noted earlier, there are twelve surnames among the ninety-nine family units in the village.[3] Four of these—Huang, Shih, K'ang, and Shen (in order of number of people)—make up 82 percent of the village population and 81 percent of the village households. Nearly every fourth villager is named Huang. Most of the Huangs belong to one *tsu*, tracing their common ancestry to one of the village founders. Aside from two small member households which live elsewhere in the village, the whole *tsu* membership lives in one large compound made up of two buildings, where each household has its own apartment. Three small Huang households do not belong to this *tsu* and live elsewhere in the village. (See Map 2.)

Each of the three other most common village surnames is found in at least two different kinship groups, some of large size and others of moderate size. But regardless of the number of member families, the members of such groups maintain themselves in some form of kinship organization and live in a compound together or in a small cluster of separate houses. Thus, the two kinship groupings with the surname Shih can be said to form two *tsu* organizations of an incipient form;

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Although they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 582
percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. 583
Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still 178
relatively important. These forms are especially important to rela- [184]
tively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin 583
Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the 597
mainland, refers to as the 171

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to 583
as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. How- 597
ever, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal 583
(or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to 591
live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families [612]
assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike [171]
similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband [551]
always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others' is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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+596 her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few
574 nights or a few months.
602 When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I
had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother
* 159 to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname,
+596 but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I
599 dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise
+159 in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this,
+596 Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have
597 arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who
584 wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some
+159 doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong
+596 soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a
597 prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to
[548] include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the
• [551] professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[551] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

706 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
708 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
59

Family Surnames

• 551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

551
621
592

Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Tu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognised in official records and in formal village social organisation although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.
769

583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
• 551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
851 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

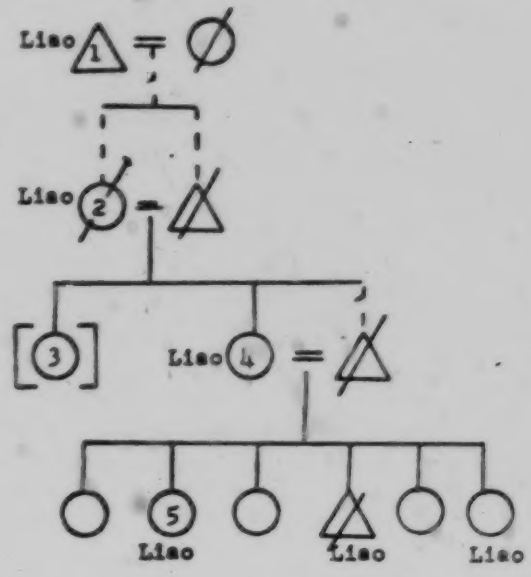

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 The second area difficult to classify revolves
538 around another kind of question as to whether or not des-
• 551 cent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

• 551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 783 After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the 846 baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 824 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this 831 resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

• [551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 562 831 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and 861 teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in • 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

• 553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work. 853 854 596 621 [618] [853]

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often. 862

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance. 863

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 757 177 178 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming [553] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes [852] human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and [761] then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

584 less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists
593 have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one
597 of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one
602 the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

583 In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal
591 marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form [64] of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname [553]

*583 591 611 *[553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

*583 591 611

a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

liēng-kià: and one who is khe-páng-kià:. Tsuruo Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a khe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the khe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in HsiaoChichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Tsuruo Okada, Kiso Shaki, op. cit., p. 7.

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster family's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lâng-lâ, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sim-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cî-tô-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

• 553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

/For general information on the "landlord" class as a whole and its function in the society, see category 556./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

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Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

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The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

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As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members. 312 653

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?" 312 653 554 [565]

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of this money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however, 312

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

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Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

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However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

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This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

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While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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T [554] different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

T 622 829 The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

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T 184 622 554 In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:65). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[3] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

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to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who refuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. [431] When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. [764] Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [554] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

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585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in [203] the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

462 [574] [262]

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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621 578 776 778 554 422 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

[795] [753] [761] [777] [756]

Fate and Divination

777 787 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

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and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

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makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hain Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of ***han-ch'ing*** (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiâ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
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342 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a new house the kōng-thiâ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiâ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiâ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
233 kōng-thiâ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiâ:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiâ: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
● 654 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiâ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

583 his face at stake in these negotiations. On the one hand, he is interested in giving little and receiving much, while, on the other, he is concerned to preserve if not enhance his standing in the eyes of his friends and neighbors. It is a generally accepted principle in these negotiations that your face is at stake when you are "coming" and that my face is at stake when I am "going", which is to say that we can both gain face by giving generously. But, on the other hand, there is a counter principle which says that an inappropriately small gift is an insult, and since the object of any insult loses face, we must both be as concerned about what we receive as about what we give. If I give a bride price which is less than a person of your social standing might expect from a person of my social standing, this is an insult and causes you to lose face; while if you send your daughter with a dowry which is less than I have a right to expect given our relative status, this is an insult to me and may cause me to lose face. The dowry and bride price must therefore be of approximately the same size; the values of the two must be something we can both afford and are both willing to pay; and yet we must both be able to satisfy whatever desire we may have of enhancing our social standing with a display of generosity. Considering that the value of a bride price and dowry are not easily equated, and also that any two families will almost never agree as to the relative importance of prestige and economy, one can easily understand why these negotiations often last for months and try the patience of the most hardened go-between.

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want [591] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

583 183 582 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are other means which are just as important in practice.

584 599 583 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is what we will hereafter refer to as the sǐm-pû̍, or "little daughter-in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sǐm-pû̍ enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sǐm-pû̍ adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sǐm-pû̍ marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 554 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, on the other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families is Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

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there is no need to worry about the social status of her natal family, this being relevant only as an indication of the girl's personal habits.

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By contrast with the preferred form of marriage, the procedure for arranging a sim-pûa marriage is extraordinarily simple. Having once decided upon this form of marriage for a son, a family simply advertises this fact among their friends and relatives until they find a second family willing to give one of their female children in adoption. If they happen to have difficulty finding a family with a girl of the right age, and if they are also particularly anxious to arrange this form of marriage for their son, a family may ask the help of a professional go-between, but a go-between is not required as a matter of form. Indeed, very little is required by way of form in arranging the sim-pûa marriage. Once they have located an eligible child the women of the adopting family will usually go see the girl to make sure that she is a healthy normal child, and if they are satisfied that this is the case the arrangements for the marriage (or adoption, as you please) can be completed almost immediately and with a minimum of formality. According to village informants, the only concern of the girl's parents will be to see that the family does indeed have a son of the right age "and that the mother-in-law has milk to nurse the child." As a matter of courtesy, the adopting family will usually send the girl's parents a "bride price," but this is never more than a token amount of three or four hundred dollars. There is therefore no occasion for the angry and prolonged bargaining which characterizes the negotiations of the bride price in the case of the preferred marriage.

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual.

[554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [555] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

583 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal
581 is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status
554 with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not
593 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the
582 case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sim-pûa married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

*597 *584 • 554 But while the sīm-pûà and the lôông-lù forms of adoption are not distinguished in terminology or in ritual, there is an important difference in Hsiachichou regarding the villagers' attitude toward the two forms of adoption. To adopt a lôông-lù is neither more nor less prestigious than to adopt a sīm-pûà. The two forms of adoption are simply not comparable from the point of view of the adopting family because they are not thought of as alternatives. But when there is a choice between the two forms of adoption, as there is in the case of the family giving the child in adoption, the sīm-pûà form is more socially acceptable. Giving a child in adoption as a sīm-pûà is always regarded as being more prestigious than giving her in adoption as a lôông-lù. When asked whether they had given a daughter away as a lôông-lù or as a sīm-pûà, many village informants were reluctant to admit that they had given a daughter to a family who did not intend to marry her to a son. One woman who had herself been given in adoption as a lôông-lù told us that this had only happened because her foster parents had tricked her father. According to her own account, her natal family was a family of some social standing, and would never have willingly given a daughter away as a lôông-lù.

> "My father's older brother was a very well known man and my family only gave daughters to a family who had a son for the girl to marry. My foster mother couldn't get along with her husband, and so she didn't have any children. His mother thought that it was best to get a child for them, hoping that they wouldn't fight anymore once they had a child, and so she gave away one of her own daughters and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted a child so badly that she told my parents that there was a son in the family, and then she borrowed someone else's son to show the go-between when she came. When my parents found out what had happened they were

*597 *584 • 354 so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

*597 *584 *583 [595] This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sǐm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sǐm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

*597 357 648 This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cǐ-bô-kàn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cā-bó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "Sīm-pûà to lông-lù" (Sīm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

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are expected to bring small gifts of fruit or perhaps tea. The major expense, however, is the dowry. At the very minimum a respectable dowry must include a complete wardrobe for the bride; a suit, hat, shoes, and shirt and tie for the groom; a bed, chairs, a wardrobe and other furnishings for the couple's bedroom; quilts and other bedding for the bridal couch; several yards of three or four woolen and cotton materials; a pair of candleholders and perhaps other decorations for the groom's family altar; such kitchen utensils as the bride will need for her personal use; a respectable supply of canned goods, tea, and other luxury foodstuffs; several rings, a necklace, and other jewelry for the bride's personal adornment; and at least a thousand dollars in cash. As the bride's relatives are often heard to comment on the occasion of a wedding, "A daughter's getting married is like a thief's getting into the house."

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On occasion, a very poor family will demand a large bride price and send only a small dowry in return, thereby managing to recoup some of the costs of raising the girl. This does not occur often, however, and for very good reasons. For one thing, the family which sends a daughter in marriage without a respectable dowry places her in a difficult position in her husband's home. The husband's family expects a dowry of approximately the same worth as the bride price, and if they are disappointed in this expectation the bride will find her parents-in-law "waiting with angry faces." For another, the family which sends a daughter without an adequate dowry risks the loss of their own face. Custom demands that a dowry be delivered to the groom's home on open

583 hand-drawn carts, the contents laid out on sheets of red paper for all
584 to see. The children of the bride's family often spend an entire morning pinning ten dollar bills onto the sheets of red paper to make the usual gift of a thousand dollars cash as impressive as possible. Such a colorful procession naturally collects crowds of curious housewives all along its route, and their shrewd estimates often serve to fix the family's social standing for years to come. As a result, few families attempt to economize on a dowry, if not for their daughter's sake, then at least for their own sake.

593 We might therefore say that while male children are valued as heirs
562 and descendants, female children are regarded as something on which one
842 stands to lose either money or face. Parents and grandparents may be as personally fond of their female children as they are of their male children, but it is simply not sensible for them to raise a number of
593 their own daughters. If a family is going to raise any female children
597 at all, it is better for them to adopt sīm-pûa than to raise their own
562 daughters. A sīm-pûa can marry a son of the family and bear children
[584] who will belong to the family, while a daughter is forbidden by the incest taboo from ever playing such a role. She can only remain a member of her natal family by making a matrilocal marriage, and such
[198] marriages are pointless if a family has sons of their own. A wealthy
[656] family can, of course, choose to raise both their sons and daughters, but in the years before 1930 people in Hsiachichou were too poor for such luxuries. The cost of raising a daughter might make it difficult for a family to provide for their male children, and it would be

more than one of their female children. We know that in three of these nine cases several children in the family had died shortly before the second daughter was born. Since families in which children have recently died often see the birth of their next child as a sign of a change in their fortunes, it is possible that these three girls were kept because of their significance in terms of the family's previous losees. At least this was suggested to us by the mother of one of these girls who told us that her family had decided not to give away the second girl "because we had been having such bad luck with our children. Three of them died before she was born, and we were so glad that she didn't die that we couldn't give her away."

As we have already mentioned in describing the various forms of marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou, the sīm-pûa form of adoption is generally viewed as more prestigeful than the lông-lù form of adoption. Several village women said that they didn't like the idea of giving a child away as a lông-lù "because people would talk about it." The compensating advantage of a lông-lù adoption is that the bride price is usually somewhat larger than in the case of a sīm-pûa adoption. The bride price for a sīm-pûa is a nominal seventy or eighty dollars, but a family can often ask as much as five or six hundred dollars for a lông-lù. We might therefore expect to find some relationship between a family's income and the likelihood of their giving out their daughters as lông-lù or sīm-pûa. Having money and the status which money creates, wealthy families should be less concerned about the size of the bride price and more concerned about face. As a result, they should be more likely to

593 to punish him for being so unfilial. As one of our informants in 766 Hsiachichou explained,

> "When you have a child you want him to take care of you when you are old and bury you when you die, but it is just the opposite if you have to bury him. It is because you are mad at him for failing you that you beat him."

583 What, then, are the considerations which make a family more or 182 less likely to adopt a sīm-pûa rather than marrying their son in the 554 preferred way? Certainly one of the most important is that the preferred form of marriage is by definition the proper way for a man to marry. The sīm-pûa form of marriage is not disgraceful but neither is it as right, as natural, as the preferred form. The difference between the two is analogous to the difference between speaking a language with an accent and speaking without an accent. Both will do, but one is right. The very fact that it is the right form of marriage also makes the preferred marriage the more prestigious. It is favored for the same reason that a church wedding is preferred over a civil wedding in the United States. It is the socially correct way of marrying. Moreover, like a church wedding in the United States, it gives a family an opportunity for social display and conspicious consumption. Being able to pay a large bride price, receiving an ostentatious dowry, entertaining hundreds of friends and relatives, displaying to your neighbors and fellow villagers the extent of your social ties -- all of these give a family face. One might say that the preferred marriage is better than the sīm-pûa form of marriage for the same reason that a terazzo floor is better than a simple concrete floor.

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûa, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sim-pua than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sim-pua marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social position. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day, but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common. In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned the sīn-puâ marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should therefore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīn-puâ form of marriage. Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou. We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930 period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

*583 only a very few sīm-pûa adoptions took place. These do all happen to
*584 be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so
• 559 small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relation-
558 ship. Until such time as data is collected in other communities which
128 are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago,
we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the
relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which
they took into account in making their decisions.

*583 One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that eco-
*584 nomic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two
556 forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which
entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pûa
marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless
many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family
which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou
adopted a sīm-pûa for one of their sons, and the three families with
the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted
sīm-pûa for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no ques-
tion that these families could have afforded the more prestigious pre-
ferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less
prestigious sīm-pûa marriage. We also know of several cases of truly
wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pûa for one
or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest land-
owner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the
preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

The choice between the sīm-pûa marriage and the preferred marriage would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations. Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûa form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûa marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûa form of marriage as a way to avoid the

583 near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, how-
597 ever, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's
554 wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently
556 chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and
183 many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of
182 marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

*121 *583 *597 182 511 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relationship within the kê is one of the considerations which enters into the choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage. Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 *583 621 182 • 554 626 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions derives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou, the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

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PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

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During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua,* he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

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sides with either Lim Chieng-cua's part of the family or Lim A-pou's. I could never lead her or her mother into a discussion of the schism in the main family, and in answer to direct questions I received only cluckings of sympathy. In trying to decide where their sympathies might most reasonably rest, I found myself hard put to come up with a feasible hypothesis. Lim Chieng-cua's coolness to his brother and, until recently, complete disregard of his brother's second wife, should disincline them to favor his side, even though he is the head of the household. Lim A-pou's ill treatment of So-lan and the latter's uneasy compunction at having contributed to Lim Hue-lieng's estrangement from his legal family would not particularly make for close ties with that part of the family either, even though there are undeniable blood ties in the second generation. I was left with a frustrating if dignified lack of information which was not the case with any of the other family fragments related to the Lims.

To the casual observer, Lim So-lan's position in the world is quite good. The quarrels between her daughters and between Gioq-ki and her husband probably attract more attention than do other family quarrels because of the strong personalities involved, but not because they are outside the broad range of behavior considered normal in Taiwanese society. Lim So-lan is respected by all who know her as a woman who works hard, pays her debts, and is not inclined to ease her loneliness with malicious gossip. The family income is sufficient for them to eat well and to dress appropriately. They fulfill their social and financial obligations at the weddings and funerals of relatives and give an acceptable number of feasts during the religious festivals. There is nothing indecorous about the fact that So-lan allows gamblers to use her house since they are not professional gamblers and do not bring in outsiders. Her older daughter's difficult personality is accepted with the sigh that covers most idiosyncracies in the village population. Gioq-ki herself has been far too busy with her own problems to meddle in her neighbors' lives.

But in terms of the main tenets of Taiwanese life, Lim So-lan has been tossed into a side pool that must dry up and cease to be. Her marriage (a term which even the most rigid villager would use to describe a liaison that existed for so many years) was irregular in that the children born to her are not descendants of her husband's family. Lim So-lan has no ancestors and her husband's ancestors are the property of the main family. If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had mar-

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cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"—these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 554 514 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 538 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also associated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

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585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 775 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

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four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cē-bô-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sīm-pûà to lông-lù" (sīm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

583 554 hand-drawn carts, the contents laid out on sheets of red paper for all to see. The children of the bride's family often spend an entire morning pinning ten dollar bills onto the sheets of red paper to make the usual gift of a thousand dollars cash as impressive as possible. Such a colorful procession naturally collects crowds of curious housewives all along its route, and their shrewd estimates often serve to fix the family's social standing for years to come. As a result, few families attempt to economize on a dowry, if not for their daughter's sake, then at least for their own sake.

593 562 942 We might therefore say that while male children are valued as heirs and descendants, female children are regarded as something on which one stands to lose either money or face. Parents and grandparents may be as personally fond of their female children as they are of their male children, but it is simply not sensible for them to raise a number of their own daughters. If a family is going to raise any female children at all, it is better for them to adopt sīm-pûa than to raise their own daughters. A sīm-pûa can marry a son of the family and bear children who will belong to the family, while a daughter is forbidden by the incest taboo from ever playing such a role. She can only remain a member of her natal family by making a matrilocal marriage, and such marriages are pointless if a family has sons of their own. A wealthy family can, of course, choose to raise both their sons and daughters, but in the years before 1930 people in Hsiachichou were too poor for such luxuries. The cost of raising a daughter might make it difficult for a family to provide for their male children, and it would be

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impossible for the family which wanted to adopt girls as wives for their sons. Thus, we find in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 a rate of adoption for female children that is much higher than the rate of male adoption. Whereas only 8 (7 percent) of the 110 males born in the village before 1930 were given in adoption, more than half of the females born in this period were sent out in adoption. Of a total 103 girls born into the village before 1930 we find that 67 (65 percent) were given in adoption. As striking as this figure may seem, the rate of adoption was apparently even higher in Hsiachichou in the past. Of 45 girls who were born before 1910 a total of 32 (71 percent) were given out in adoption.[1]

According to our informants in Hsiachichou, landlord families living in the market towns almost never gave their female children away in adoption. They were wealthy enough that the expense of raising a girl was not a matter of concern, and so were able to spare their female children the often unhappy fate of the adopted daughter. Some parents who were particularly fond of a daughter even went so far as to arrange a matrilocal marriage as a means of keeping her in the family. By contrast with these exceptionally well to do families, there have always been some poor families living in the area who have had to sell all of their daughters. These were the really impoverished who could not afford to raise their sons let alone their daughters. The contrast is one to which a friend living in Hsulin often referred to illustrate

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1 These figures and those which follow exclude the female children of a number of women who were prostitutes. Since the circumstances are so different from the case of the normal family, we will analyze these decisions separately.

what he considered the inordinate importance of material wealth in Chinese society. "Whether or not a girl is going to become an adopted daughter," he would argue, "depends entirely upon whether she is born into a rich family or a poor family. If her father is a landlord who eats his rice out of the middle of the pan, then there is no chance of her being given away in adoption; but if her family is poor and eats nothing but sweet potatoes, then she will almost certainly end up as an adopted daughter. A persons fate here depends entirely on how much money he has. As people say, 'Even the ghosts move stones for the wealthy.'"

As applied to a female child's chances of being given out in adoption, this argument contains a good deal of truth. Very wealthy families seldom give their female children in adoption, and the very poor usually had no choice but to give away their female children. On the other hand, the illustration is also exaggerated, for the fate of most female children was not a simple function of the income of their natal families. This was true only for those girls born to the very wealthy or the very poor. In a community such as Hsiachichou the wealthiest family was poor as compared with the landlords living in the market town, and only a few families were so impoverished as to have to sell their male children. Here a family's decision about raising a female child depended more upon their needs for the girl than upon their financial ability. The wealthiest family in the village was not so affluent as to be able to raise several daughters if they did not have need for them, and few families were so poor as to have to give

the conditions of the decision were so clear as to make mistaken judgements unlikely.

One might assume that a mother would be particularly reluctant to give away her first born child and a grandparent his first born grandchild, and yet even first born daughters were given away if they did not have value in terms of the family's larger needs. For reasons which we will dicuss later, many women in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter during the early years of marriage, and when they did they were just as likely to give away the first child born to them as they were the second. We find six cases in which a first born child is a girl who was born into a family with an adopted daughter, and in only one case do we find that the family did not give the child out as an adopted daughter. The fact that a female child might have had a special emotional significance as a first born child did not save her from being given in adoption if she did not have value to the family as domestic labor or as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. The general goals of the kê apparently always took precedence over the personal concerns of any of its members.

We have seen above that the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was not primarily a function of her family's financial ability, suggesting that this was a result of the relatively little variation in the income of village families. The wealthiest families in the village could not be unconcerned about raising a child for whom they had no use, and all but the very poorest families could manage to raise a daughter if she was needed. Nonetheless, there was some

656 some variation in the financial capacities of village families, and much
597 variation as did exist accounts for the fact that a few families gave
562 away an only daughter while a few kept more than one daughter. Seven
182 of those 9 families who kept more than one female child seem to have been among the wealthiest families in the village at that time, and such information as we have seems to indicate that all but one of the eight families who gave away an only daughter were among the poorest families in the village. We know that in two cases the head of the family had been unemployed for some time when the girl was born, and in another case the family was so poor that they later had to sell one of their male children. It is also interesting to note that 8 of those 9 families who kept more than one daughter also gave away at least one of their later born female children. While they may have been somewhat better off than most of their neighbors, they were not so affluent as to be able to raise all their female children.

597 The decision of eight families to give away an only female child
562 was probably also influenced by the position of these children in their
593 generation of the family. We know the sibling order of the fathers of six of these eight children, and in five of these six cases the father was a later born son. It therefore seems likely that these children were given away because the grandparents did not see any point in keeping so many granddaughters. Their older son's daughters provided the family with all the female labor needed, and from the grandparent's point of view the older son's children assured the continuity of the family line. There is also one other kind of consideration which may have influenced the decisions of several families who opted to keep mi

more than one of their female children. We know that in three of these nine cases several children in the family had died shortly before the second daughter was born. Since families in which children have recently died often see the birth of their next child as a sign of a change in their fortunes, it is possible that these three girls were kept because of their significance in terms of the family's previous losses. At least this was suggested to us by the mother of one of these girls who told us that her family had decided not to give away the second girl "because we had been having such bad luck with our children. Three of them died before she was born, and we were so glad that she didn't die that we couldn't give her away."

As we have already mentioned in describing the various forms of marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou, the sǐm-pû form of adoption is generally viewed as more prestigeful than the lông-lù form of adoption. Several village women said that they didn't like the idea of giving a child away as a lông-lù "because people would talk about it." The compensating advantage of a lông-lù adoption is that the bride price is usually somewhat larger than in the case of a sǐm-pû adoption. The bride price for a sǐm-pû is a nominal seventy or eighty dollars, but a family can often ask as much as five or six hundred dollars for a lông-lù. We might therefore expect to find some relationship between a family's income and the likelihood of their giving out their daughters as lông-lù or sǐm-pû. Having money and the status which money creates, wealthy families should be less concerned about the size of the bride price and more concerned about face. As a result, they should be more likely to

#599 give their daughters out as sîm-pûa. The villagers themselves assume
• 556 that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sîm-pûa and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

#599 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions
#562 concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any par-
#121 ticular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adop-
[735] tion. But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they
[611] could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. The general
[582] preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created
[342] among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

*597 1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kiá:, but we do not find a single case of
*562 the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The
*592 only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years
858 have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was trans-
198 ferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other
182 changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious
that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

*597 In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular
*562 girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large
• 556 degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families
178 in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably
undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not
needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reason-
ably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female
child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a
girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her
natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition
of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the
village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their
female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely
to give away their daughters than another family. In the language
of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case
[833] in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed
during the course of the last three or four decades, some families
have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

less fortunate neighbors as residents of the decaying Hsiachou. This imbalance of wealth between the two areas is reflected in the adoption rates. Of the 93 girls born into Hsiachou 32 (34 percent) were given out in adoption as compared with only 9 (14 percent) of the 66 girls born into Shangchou. Were our information detailed enough to permit a comparison of individual families, we would undoubtedly find that relative wealth is an even more important variable, but gross as it is, even this comparison clearly makes the point that her family's ability to raise her has become an important determinant of a girl's chance of remaining in her natal home.

We must therefore take into account two sets of factors rather than one in order to calculate the likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption in the post-1930 period. We must consider the composition of the family into which she was born, and we must also take into account the relative economic status of her natal family. When both sets of factors are considered a clear pattern of adoption emerges, with girls born into some situations being much more likely to become adopted daughters than girls born under other circumstances. The daughters of wealthy families who are born before the family has either sons or daughters are almost never given in adoption, and those born into families with both male and female children are only occasionally given in adoption. Of 39 girls born in Shangchou to families of the first type only 2 (5 percent) were given in adoption, and of 24 girls born into Shangchou families of the second type only 5 (21 percent) were given in adoption. The composition of the family into which a girl

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

but there are also other factors which may make any given decision more or less likely. The generation which has the authority for making the decisions in the family determines the fate of many children, and the family's economic status determines the fate of a good many more. Children whose fates are decided by their parents are somewhat less likely to be given away than those whose fates are determined by their grandparents, and children born into poor families are somewhat more likely to be given in adoption than those born into wealthy families.

[553] [554] Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social position. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day, but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common. In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned the sīm-pûa marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the [556] compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should therefore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīm-pûa form of marriage. Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou. [128] We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930 period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

*583 only a very few sīm-pûà adoptions took place. These do all happen to
*584 be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so
559 small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relation-
558 ship. Until such time as data is collected in other communities which
128 are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago,
we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the
relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which
they took into account in making their decisions.

*583 One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that eco-
*584 nomic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two
• 556 forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which
entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pûà
marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless
many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family
which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou
adopted a sīm-pûà for one of their sons, and the three families with
the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted
sīm-pûà for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no ques-
tion that these families could have afforded the more prestigious pre-
ferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less
prestigious sīm-pûà marriage. We also know of several cases of truly
wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pûà for one
or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest land-
owner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the
preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

583 584 586 be concerned about social approval and propriety, these decisions clearly involved other considerations.

606 [583] One of these would seem to be the type of family created by the two different forms of marriage. Tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is characteristic of the preferred form of marriage from the very inception of the relationship. At the engagement when the mother-in-law attempts to push the engagement ring past her daughter-in-law's knuckle, the assumption of hostility between the two women is symbolically expressed, and this hostility tends to become more intense and more open as the relationship matures. During the early years of the marriage, when the mother-in-law is still an active woman, and before her daughter-in-law has secured her position in the family, the older woman will usually be the dominant member of the pair, a position which she seldom hesitates to exploit, taking advantage of every opportunity to harass and embarass her son's wife. A stranger in her husband's village as well as in his home, the untried and insecure bride has no choice but to swallow her resentment, but this early attitude of restraint does not last. The birth of her own children gives the young woman as much of a claim to a place in her husband's family as the mother-in-law herself, and in time the young woman also finds friends and confidantes among her husband's relatives and neighbors. Resentful of her mother-in-law's treatment of her, and often seeing the dissolution of the family as being to her advantage, the daughter-in-law then begins to respond to her mother-in-law's abuse in kind. The result is an active and

*583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
*593 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
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183 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
606 other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

*583 The choice between the sīm-pûa marriage and the preferred marriage
*597 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
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• 556 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
182 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
183 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûa form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûa marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûa form of marriage as a way to avoid the

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near ruinous expense of the preferred marriage. There was not, however, a perfect correlation between these decisions and the family's wealth. Many of the wealthiest families in the community apparently chose the sīm-pûa marriage because of its structural advantages, and many of the poorer families decided in favor of the preferred form of marriage as a means of enhancing their social standing. Given the structural advantages of the sīm-pûa form of marriage and the generally low economic status of most of Hsiachichou in the years before 1930, the fact that as many as half of the families living in the community did not adopt sīm-pûa for their sons testifies to the importance of prestige and tradition as determinants of behavior in the traditional society.

*577 records only 4 cases of male adoption in the years before 1930, and only *562 4 more in the years after 1930. For reasons which we have discussed earlier, it is always difficult for a family to arrange to adopt a kòe-páng-kiâ:. Most families value their male children so highly that they are not willing to part with one of them simply because of the plight of a relative. There is no great compensation, and the loss is considerable. In the years before 1930 no family living in Hsiachichou adopted a male child from an agnate of another kê, and we know of [432] only one case of such an adoption in the years since 1930. The family which wants to adopt a son must almost always buy the child from a stranger or a professional dealer, and this involves difficulties so serious as to discourage most families from undertaking an adoption.

*577 One of these difficulties is, of course, the very expense of buying • 556 a male child. Many families cannot manage to accumulate the necessary [435] six or seven thousand dollars, and those who can are usually unwilling to spend so much money on a gamble. If they could be certain that they were not going to bear male children of their own, a family would probably be willing to spend all they could possibly afford to obtain a son, but they cannot be certain and the price is very high. They therefore hesitate in the hope that they may eventually have children of their own. The importance of the consideration of the costs of buying a male child is apparent from the fact that it has only been the wealthiest families in the village which have adopted male children. Three of the 8 adoptions by families living in Hsiachichou were among those few families which own the majority of the village land and one other adoption was

597 556 made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pûa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

597 593 [602] Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

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Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matrilocally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sīn-pùà who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally deranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of • 556 the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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poor manager. Neither of these alternatives was agreeable to the Lims. They were too proud to divide, and the tension was too great for them to continue as they were. They chose instead to innovate, to compromise on an untraditional but still acceptable solution. Economically, the family now had two decision makers, but it remained one family, cooking joint meals on one stove.

For many months things were peaceful in the house of Lim. Lim A-pou no longer had reason to complain that Lim Chui-ieng was secretly buying special food for her own children. And, Lim A-pou was now free to reinstate the special sacrifices to the ancestors on their own death and birth days. Almost immediately after the compromise was reached, she also resumed the bi-monthly offerings of food and incense. For many village families these are the only days of the month when they taste meat, but the Lims can afford to eat meat without the excuse of a ceremony. Lim Chieng-cua had abolished the ceremony because he considered buying the required three kinds of meat on one day wasteful. To Lim A-pou, it was a necessity.

Even their neighbors noticed the new atmosphere amongst the Lims. Some of them noted it grudgingly, and some with real pleasure. But one woman, a woman who sincerely wished the best for the Lims because of her long friendship with the older generations of the family, told me, "A family is supposed to be like that, like they are now. The people in that family are all very good to outsiders, but they can't seem to get along with themselves. I'm glad that things have improved, but I fear that they are just getting along in the face and not in the heart."

Unfortunately, this woman's wisdom could not be denied. There soon was a quarrel between Lim A-pou and Lim Chui-ieng that revealed how thin the appearance of harmony really was. Again the relations between A-bok and his uncle seemed strained.

Why didn't the family simply separate and go their own ways? What possible good could outweigh the stress and dissatisfaction of their joint life? My husband and I have thought about this a great deal in the years since we left Taiwan and, as with any human predicament, have come up with no single answer. There is no formula for human behavior that takes the pride of the Lims into account. The very fact that most village families divide their household within a few years after their sons marry was a strong incentive for the Lim family not to do so. A-bok's concern about his fields, that he must keep other

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
• 536 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
666 unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

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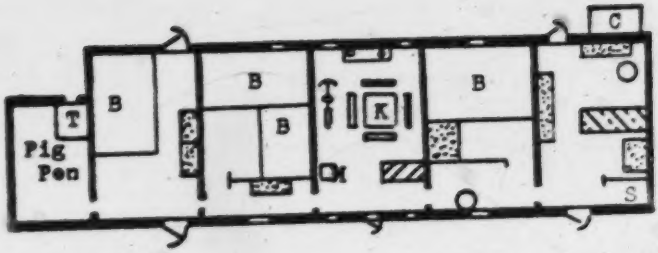

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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[399] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[356]
[235]
[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and
262 richest in village history, both daily and especially for
511 the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this
262 percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that
511 the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet
[463] than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception
262 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The
524 poorer householders do obtain better food than their finan-
a 556 cial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
665
571 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [931] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. [212] Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [19] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [554] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
• 556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
• 556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

593 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
595 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
& 556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

295 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

796 rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of
[556] items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

778 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its
674 opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Main-
782 lander soldiers. On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

DDO 3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.
4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."
5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).
6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.
2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.
3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.
[536] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?
5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).
[212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.
[787] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).
2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."
3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

583 his face at stake in these negotiations. On the one hand, he is inter-
584 ested in giving little and receiving much, while, on the other, he is concerned to preserve if not enhance his standing in the eyes of his
583 friends and neighbors. It is a generally accepted principle in these
584 negotiations that your face is at stake when you are "coming" and that
554 my face is at stake when I am "going", which is to say that we can both
558 gain face by giving generously. But, on the other hand, there is a counter principle which says that an inappropriately small gift is an insult, and since the object of any insult loses face, we must both be as concerned about what we receive as about what we give. If I give a bride price which is less than a person of your social standing might expect from a person of my social standing, this is an insult and causes you to lose face; while if you send your daughter with a dowry which is less than I have a right to expect given our relative status, this is an insult to me and may cause me to lose face. The dowry and bride price must therefore be of approximately the same size; the values of the two must be something we can both afford and are both willing to pay; and yet we must both be able to satisfy whatever desire we may have of enhancing our social standing with a display of generosity. Considering that the value of a bride price and dowry are not easily equated, and also that any two families will almost never agree as to the relative importance of prestige and economy, one can easily understand why these negotiations often last for months and try the patience of the most hardened go-between.

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$30, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sîm-pûa than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sîm-pûa marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

553 554 Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social position. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day, but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common. In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned the sīm-pūa marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the [556] compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should therefore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīm-pūa form of marriage. Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou. [125] We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930 period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

*583 only a very few sīm-pûa adoptions took place. These do all happen to
*584 be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so
559 small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relation-
• 558 ship. Until such time as data is collected in other communities which
128 are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago,
we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the
relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which
they took into account in making their decisions.

*583 One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that eco-
*584 nomic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two
556 forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which
entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pûa
marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless
many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family
which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou
adopted a sīm-pûa for one of their sons, and the three families with
the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted
sīm-pûa for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no ques-
tion that these families could have afforded the more prestigious pre-
ferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less
prestigious sīm-pûa marriage. We also know of several cases of truly
wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pûa for one
or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest land-
owner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the
preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

000 *583 591 family decision. The decisions which concern most families are how their children are to marry, not whether or not they should marry. Decisions about the sim-pua form of marriage must be made early in the family cycle, and so the alternatives at this point are the preferred form of marriage and some form of matrilocal marriage. A daughter may be married out of the family in the preferred way, or she may be used to bring a son-in-law into the family by means of a matrilocal marriage. A son may either be retained as a member of his natal family by means of the preferred marriage, or he may be allowed to marry out of the family to become a member of his wife's household. Since the decisions which many families make about the marriages of their daughters depend in large part upon the availability of men willing to make matrilocal marriages, we will begin our analysis with a discussion of some of the considerations which make men more or less willing to marry into a woman's family.

*583 591 • 558 As is the case in China generally, Hokkien men are usually reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage. According to an informant who had himself married matrilocally, one reason is that "no one ever respects a man who marries into his wife's family." Since a man's primary duty to his parents is to provide them with descendants and to support them in their old age, the man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often accused of being unfilial. Also, there is the widespread assumption that a man who makes such a marriage must be poor. A matrilocal marriage is one way in which a poor man can obtain a wife without paying a bride price, and so it is easily said of any man who makes such a marriage

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

583 591 588 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

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593 Another argument on the same subject a few days later ended with Lin
578 Li-kui threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Lin A-sui simply
578 stood her ground and encouraged her mother, "Kill me! I don't care!
Kill me!"

593 In most cases in which a daughter dares to quarrel openly with one
548 of her parents, public opinion will be quick to condemn her, but if the
208 girl is a prostitute the tendency is to side with the daughter against
her parents. Most village gossips discussing current quarrels between prostitutes and their parents label the parents "selfish" and deserving of whatever ill fortune their fate might bring them. The attitude of the villagers seems to be that while a parent has the right to command a daughter to work as a prostitute they cannot expect the daughter to pay them the respect ordinarily due a parent. It is as though the debt a child owes to her parents is entirely repaid when she submits to such a demand.

593 Prostitution is one way in which a family can use their daughters
562 to obtain heirs and support for their old age, and it is the only way
548 in which a woman who does not marry can provide for herself and her future. Prostitution might therefore be characterized as an alternative to marriage, but it is always an undesirable alternative. For [558] the prostitute it means anything but a normal life, and for her family there is always some loss of face. Worse yet, for the parents there is always the danger that they are sacrificing as much as they are gaining. In sending a daughter to work they may be able to manage without a marriage in the next generation, but this is accomplished only

735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
• 558 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
735 er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
504 guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

666 632 The use of the term election in this account carries implications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 558 632 There is a long history in China of local control and local decision-making processes, usually based on finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
• 558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

12. In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
591 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
[559] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

573 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in husbands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 183 123 The frequency of this form of marriage has important implications for the role of women. There are probably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 583 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

*584 children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà
*593 in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own
*597 daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like
[561] that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as
[513] brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

*584 Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into
*597 the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our
*593 suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily
*121 the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood asso-
153 ciation. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which
835 they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple, 166 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when their child was eighteen months old because the boy's [582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls. Because few married girls continue working in the factory after marriage or after the first child is born at the latest, the age when they return to the village helps explain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four residents were males only and also to the greater shortage of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found by Gallin for his village on the west central plain (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory 162 work in Sanfei and moreover, it is possible for men to 369 continue living in the village while working in the city. 367 Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 561 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [355] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

291 A few young men are quite "mod," slim tight
177 trousers, sport shirts in "psychedelic" colors, and leather
• 561 jackets. Two village boys who dress in this style regularly play a guitar and sing the modern songs in Japanese or Chinese. Modern Japanese songs are very popular and young people learn to sing them by copying records although speaking little Japanese. Village boys are thereby imitating the young sub-culture of urban dwellers in their early twenties.

291 Women usually wear cotton skirts and blouses. Underneath, they seldom wear slips or brassieres but do wear underpants made of the same previously described "flour-sack" material, in a shape and form not unlike tight peddle-pushers nearly reaching the knees. There is no immodesty attached to exposing underpants. To assume a favorite working position, a woman merely hikes her skirt up to her waist and squats. For work in the fields, women often wear trousers which tuck into split-toe boots, long-sleeved tight-necked blouses, cotton gloves, all topped off with a straw hat fastened by a cloth over the top tied under the chin. This outfit offers protection from thorns, insects, and the effects of the sun. The wide straw hat which provides protection from both the
291 sun and rain is worn often by men and women alike. A few
561 older women wear the traditional Chinese jacket with pantaloons but only very old women wear a <u>chi pao</u> (the

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[542] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[234] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[889] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
• [561] siaosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% siaosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

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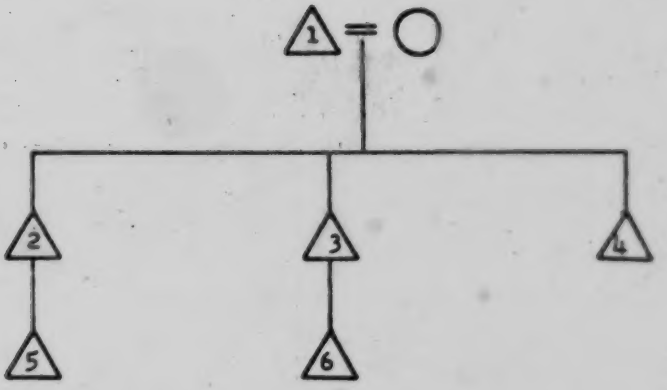

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

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182 (11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[361] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[389] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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575 Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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575 With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate
[593] competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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a 561 A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

[776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [796] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

561 573 claim they will come back to take over the family farm when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 573 574 The associations fulfill a number of functions in the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each guest contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 573 456 A second function is as a mutual insurance association. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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[562]

2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[171] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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626 The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors: association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups

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are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

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572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

• 561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [702] [561] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

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• 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

527 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis
561 for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called
527 hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX,
805 the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one
886 reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but
527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There
886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

888 562 831 661 552

If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

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527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[561] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if 596
there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according 592
to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the [562]
chia chang usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common 596
for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal 596
families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely 594
biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 618 769 353 778 [562] performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

[178] [423]

596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's 796 *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* fur- 574 nishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In [621] any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a 574 son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a 612 wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the 604 groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The [171] importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a 574 visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller 593 and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a [606] large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take [612] turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to 593 her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time 612 talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occa- 612 sions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they 574 happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. [431] When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. [764] Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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trict police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

2: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[For sex status, primarly that of females in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 76, 98, 99, 117, 123-162, and 193-268.

husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is unlikely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

The situation is very different when it is the man who marries into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Overview of the Theoretical Problem

121 In a field study, I found that the actual role of
• 562 women in contemporary rural Taiwanese society was significantly different from my expectations which were based on an analysis of the traditional literature.[1] In brief, the structural position of women was not inferior to the position of men to the degree expected. Although part of the differences between the observed and predicted patterns was due to socio-cultural change and regional variation, a significant portion is due to errors in abstraction by former reporters. The theoretical problem for this study is the delineation of the inconsistencies and an explanation of the reasons for the errors.

121 One of the foundations of the anthropological approach to research is involvement in a culture foreign to that of the investigator. This requirement is based on the belief that a minimum level of dissimilarity is necessary for both objectivity and awareness. That is, it is necessary that behavior be sufficiently different from that normally encountered by the investigator so that

121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature. The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

121 abusive or authoritarian in their relations with men. It
562 is nearly impossible to spend more than five minutes in a busy market without hearing a woman arguing with a man and even berating him loudly. My wife was taught certain curses, to be addressed only to males such as a salesman or taxi driver. If the curses would not make a taxi driver operate his vehicle at a slower rate, she was told to hit him. We observed women hitting men with their umbrellas on at least five occasions although in only two of these cases did we collect data other than the observation. In one, a woman hit her husband because he had spent too much money drinking in the afternoon, apparently a frequent occurrence. In the other, a woman hit a pedicab driver whom she had not seen prior to that day in a dispute over a fare. When asked if she feared physical retaliation, she said that men seldom returned women's blows.

As we established intimate friendships in the cities and became intensively involved in the villages we studied, we continued to find that the behavior of women was consistent with our initial observations rather than the literature. For example, women were the most outspoken--men seldom raised their voices or verbally abused women; women frequently screamed at men, relatives and strangers alike. In the homes, women often controlled the family budget. I never saw a woman locked out of her

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine stu-
183 dents agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and
• 562 the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
466 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

191 Several of the older men, especially the more in-
192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

[562]

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

561 [855] [514]

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
893 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more often wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[884] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
• 562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
• 562 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 882 869 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied may have remained at home because there were few reasonable alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 463 [434] There are other minor sources of income. One village woman has become a seamstress recently in competition with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[257] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest a [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

666 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front
• 562 of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 The underlying principle governing the above pat-
666 tern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict
183 situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are [562] women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for 632 land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the 621

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
• 562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for 888 the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official 562 records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

592 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the
562 arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be
[624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the
621 means by which they entered the village are indicative of
591 the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

improve her position in an extended household soon after marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

A second additional reason for the adoption of daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as siaosiv, and six who had been adopted and later
• 562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out. In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in siaosiv marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Fu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiy marriages explains some

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaosiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later *siaosiv* marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

Adopted Sons

597 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated
• 562 into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent
[162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family
597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted
562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's,
585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's
597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

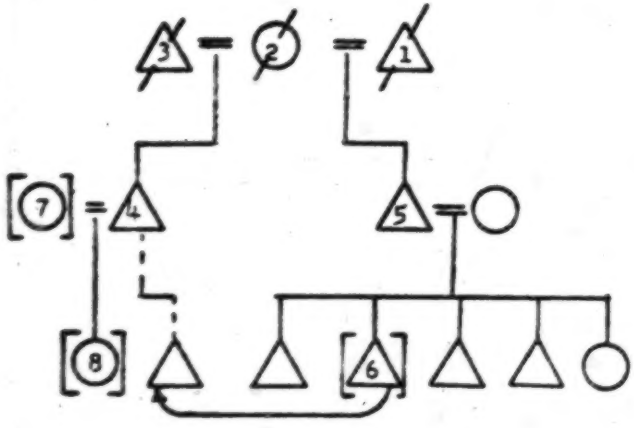

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
435 Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

428 divorcee who has returned home, she may receive a share
• 562 about equal to her brothers but since marriage and re-marriage is common, the occurrence of these conditions is infrequent. If family division occurs with yet unmarried daughters in the household, part of the process will be an assumption of the obligation to see that each has a good match. The implications of the equal inheritance law is such that if there were two boys and a girl in a family, each should receive one third of the estate (assuming both parents are dead). In Sanlei, each boy would get one half if the girl was married. If she was not married, one brother, most likely the eldest, would get a larger share, the extra amount sufficient to provide a dowry for his sister. Only if the girl were married with an adopted-in husband (chao fu) or if her eventual marriage prospects were nearly nil would she obtain a one-third share. Girls appear to sign papers when it is occasionally necessary to give up their rights without pressure, but often it is merely understood that the daughter has few, if any, rights. No female has yet contested a division in the courts.

The immediately preceding action of females does not appear consistent with what I have argued about the status of women. That is, women seem to be extremely inferior to men with respect to inheritance although I claim women approach equality with men but I believe the appearance is

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
562 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
587 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
589 There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
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husband will get a full share of her parent's estate although her husband may receive a portion of her share as specified in the original marriage contract.

In summary, the traditional system did provide for a woman by assigning some man responsibility for her economic welfare. The new system of inheritance which makes women equal to men in economic terms is also designed to provide for women but in a different manner. The old system works and no woman has yet decided to attempt to introduce the new system into the village because the immediate personal gain might not offset the potential long-term security for women currently provided by the community.

In general, division of a family involves the male patriline. Family division can best be viewed as anticipated inheritance. All a man's sons have rights to his property even while he is still in active control. For example, sale of a piece of property may be of questionable validity without the approval of a man's sons. In Sanlei, if there is only one son (producing a stem family) family division will probably never occur. If there are two or more sons, division is most likely when the youngest son marries and has a child, but if the father dies before the last son is married, division is likely to occur soon after the funeral. Most divisions occur before the death of the last parent.

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[597] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

• [562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[589] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

769 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I,
596 the founder of the compound, have certain rights of wor-
782 ship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events,
• 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [828] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join 525 clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 562 appears that women usually constitute about half the 575 membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

[593]

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

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561
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[562]

2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

561 782 573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

573 561 627 [626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same manner. [562] Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two man patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[36] [491] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

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778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

• 562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[778] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 624 [594] in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker 783 [358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

776 There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

121 I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as
• 562 claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chap-
7% ter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

79% Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[789] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212]

Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

The typical desired family size among women of child-bearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

843 For just about every other event in village requiring
• 562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
84b He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

876 of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
• [562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[274] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

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527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

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562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 Regular funerals are usually held only for married
593 people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does
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562 furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is
763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death.
764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and _li_ temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
• 567 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[464] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[34] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

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[288] operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[971] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

128 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute
• 562 a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

114 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and
562 fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

114 in Chinese society would be to provide a series of direct
• 562 quotations from the literature. Although these have been taken out of context, efforts have been exerted not to distort the impression created by the original author. Although many of the statements may appear to be over-simplified and absolutistic, i.e., without exception, the fault is that of the author and not mine. The eight examples are as follows:

> The domination of age over youth within the old-style family was matched by the domination of male over female. Chinese girls in the old days were more likely than baby boys to suffer infanticide. A girl's marriage was, of course, arranged and not for love. The trembling bride became at once a daughter-in-law under the tyranny of her husband's mother. In a well-to-do family she might see secondary wives or concubines brought into her household, particularly if she did not bear a male heir. She could be repudiated by her husband for various reasons. If he died she could not easily remarry. All this reflected the fact that a woman had no economic independence. Her labor was absorbed in household tasks and brought her no income. Peasant women were universally illiterate. They had few or no property rights. . . The inferiority of women imposed upon them by social custom was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of a society of status. . . While male and female were both necessary and complementary, one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of Chinese male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity which was to be expected of women. These patterns subordinated girls to boys from infancy and kept the wife subordinate to her husband and the mother to her son. Forceful women, whom China has never lacked, controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat (Fairbank, 1958:30-1).

> In China, the expression "an article on which money has been wasted" is a common paraphrase for designating a young girl; and the most ideally perfect daughter, viz. she who possesses the virtues of the

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• 562 eighteen Lohans according to a Chinese proverb, is not equal to a club-footed son. . . A Chinese woman may even be repudiated by her mother-in-law; a Chinese who admits to having beaten his wife to death escapes any penalty if his pretext for doing so is that she failed in her filial duty towards his parents. . . A Chinese husband would blush if he were surprised in the act of conversing with his wife. In a group composed of several couples, the women always keep to themselves and the men do the same without any communication between the two sides or any sign which would betray who is married to whom. . . If the Chinese woman has no son and gives birth to a series of daughters her existence in the home becomes a hell (Herbert, 1965:221-36).

Girls have been generally regarded as much less valuable than boys and sayings in common circulation appraise sons as infinitely preferable to daughters. One such proverb states in effect that the most beautiful and gifted girl is not so desireable as a deformed boy. . . Among the very poor, the killing of female infants has been by no means unknown. While statistics are lacking, it seems, indeed, to have been very common. . . In ordinary homes, especially of most of the farmers and the poor, girls and women have led a life of hard labor (Latourette, 1959:679-80).

The present position of woman in China is a heritage of the remote past, as is illustrated by the most ancient Chinese literature . . . The essence of Chinese classical teaching on this subject is, that woman is as inferior to man as the earth is inferior to heaven; and that she can never attain to full equality with man. According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the Yin, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the Yang, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. . . We must, therefore, regard the position of women in China, as the ultimate outcome and a most characteristic fruitage of Confucianism. In our view it has been a bitter fruit (Smith, 1899: 305-6).

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• 562 The low status of Chinese women whether in the family or in society is proverbial. In traditional Chinese fiction the female character was frequently introduced by the line "unfortunately she was born a woman." K'ang Yu-wei, the precursor of modern reformers at the end of the last century, listed being born a woman as one of the calamities of life. . . To hold women in general, and young and middle-aged wives in particular, to an inferior status where mistreatment abounded and even death lurked, the authority of the family was supported by all the repressive features of the traditional institution of arranged marriage. . . In addition to concubinage, which posed a constant threat against the wife, and the absence of freedom of divorce, which served to block the wife from a peaceful means of escape from an unpleasant situation, there were three other traditional limitations which applied not only in marriage but to the general status of women in Chinese society: loss of her name, seclusion, and lack of education (C. K. Yang, 1959:106-111).

The second element [in summarizing the culture of West Town] is what I call estrangement between the sexes. On the one hand this pattern prescribes sex inequality, and on the other it necessitates the elimination of all erotic expression. Both measures are means for subordinating the husband-wife relationship and enhancing the father-son relationship. In West Town we see an outright superiority of men over women. Not only are husbands above their wives, but brothers are also superior to their sisters. This inequality is implied in the life of the people and clearly stated and recognized by both sexes without reserve or hesitation (Hsu, 1949:241).

The low position of women in China is due to a combination of several economic and ideological factors. . . The traditional Chinese philosophy provided a theory of women's inferiority that was an ideological justification of her lower status in the society of imperial times, and helped to perpetuate it. . . Buddhism, in which woman is the personification of all evil, added new ideological propositions to the idea of woman's inferiority. For twenty-two centuries, hundreds of male and female Confucian writers wrote scores of books on the position of women and their role in family and society, and devised practical rules for their

• 562
114 education and conduct. With slight variations all these books presented the same teachings. Obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability were the main virtures of women. Three rules of obedience to man shape a woman's life, "An unmarried girl should obey her father and elder brother, a married woman--her husband, a widow--her son." . . . The legal status of a woman was inferior to that of her husband. . . Chinese women had practically no property rights. . . It is not surprising that girls were the main, if not exclusive, victims of infanticide, which was practiced in the poor families of China from time immemorial (Lang, 1946:42-6).

A woman's social position in ancient China was even more deplorable [than her legal position]. Politically, she was a mere nonentity but socially, she was an inferior species of mankind--a human chattel, slave of men's caprices. Being considered inferior to men, she was regarded with indifference, if not with studied contempt, not only by the men but also by her own kind. Her birth was an unimportant event and even the name that was given her by her father at the time of her birth was not supposed to be known beyond the family threshold, and the education she received, or was entitled to receive, was negligible; for it was deemed improper for women to possess too much knowledge. . . The so called "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," which have shackled the Chinese women for thousands of years, derive their origin from the belief in the superiority of men over women and from the attempt of the ancient moralists to hold women in lifelong subjection. By means of the three obediences a woman is constrained to obey the paterfamilias at home, to render obedience to her husband after marriage and to be obedient to her eldest son after the death of her husband. By means of the four virtues a woman is made to preserve her feminine qualities, to be gentle in disposition and pleasing in appearance, to be chary of speech, and to be assiduous in the performance of her domestic duties (Chiu, 1966:18-20).

An easily-provided larger listing of many more examples by other equally renowned authors with similar viewpoints and arguments would only provide quantitative rather than

114 qualitative changes for I feel the above sample is repre-
• 562 sentative of a wide body of literature. The above authors are drawn from such fields as anthropology, history, religion, sociology, law, and philosophy and are members of such nationality groups as French, English, Chinese, Russian, and American. In each case the cited item was written after extensive field work in Chinese society or by a sinologist who has extensive familiarity with Chinese sources.

In spite of the fact that lengthy segments were used in order to preserve the author's intent, in all fairness to the cited individuals, it should be made patent that several did list exceptions to the dominant patterns. For example, although stressing that such women were exceptions, Herbert does state that China has had many female priests (1956:223), empresses (1965:225), and poets (1965:227). In a chapter solely devoted to what he describes as the degraded situation of women, Smith (1899:258-311) scatters about contra-indications such as in his discussion of noisy women and their "hen-pecked" husbands (1899:304-5). The anthropological accounts in particular appear much more sophisticated in this regard with a greater recognition of actual variation and a lesser emphasis on the ideal patterns.

In summary, China is usually described as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. Females were always inferior to men and at birth, boys were desirable and appreciated

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and 114
the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually in- 562
volved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive.

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little 121
resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above 562
which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
• 562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[391] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
174 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

• 362 593 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were expected [861] to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child who threw a temper tantrum [584] was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain at home [434]. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male or female [882]. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control. but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to sup-
• 562 port in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury
593 his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

562 However, the most important relationship under con-
593 sideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

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593 also serves to maintain the pretense. A casual observer may easily be fooled for in many cases, it appears that the villagers are actually fooling themselves. There is no common kinship term that a man can use to address his wife. Until the children are born, permitting teknonymy through them, a man avoids using any term at all other than the equivalent of "hey you." However, the wife can both address and refer to her husband as "Lord and Master." While the idea of subordination-superordination is conveyed by the term, it may be used by a domineering wife as part of an order to her husband to perform some task. To illustrate, Liao Wei-yu (one of the men in the six-family compound described in Chapter V), his cousin Liao Wei-I, and I spent about four hours one afternoon sitting in his courtyard trying to repair a tea presser. During the first three hours, his wife sent Wei-yu on several errands such as fetching water, bringing wood to the kitchen, putting up a bamboo pole for drying clothes, etc., each time ordering the task in an imperious tone although the command was prefaced by the usual "Lord and Master." Wei-yu complained to us, softly so his wife would not hear, that to refuse her requests would only cause trouble. After about three hours, the li secretary stopped by to review some tax record changes with Wei-yu, a village lin chang (neighborhood leader). Because the secretary is an important official, the four of us went into the kung t'ing and sat around the table while Wei-yu ordered

562 593 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of ti[redacted] ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 542 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of 562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family 577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will 593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros- 581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 593 522 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women alike in Sanlei village:

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 593 591 The above discussion of many domineering wives and henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562 [591] [595] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many households have officially registered female heads. W. 562 592 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

562 well as illustrated by the fact that they have no "face" to protect and that only men were admitted to the traditional examination system. There are many notable exceptions however. Many women hold high political offices in Taiwan today and throughout history, there have been periodic Chinese empresses as rulers of the kingdom and more often, females existing as powers behind the throne, engaging in palace intrigues and influencing men.[7] To my knowledge, only one period in Chinese history prior to the present was witness to significant efforts to establish the equality of women to men. During the Taiping rebellion, the rebels claimed that:

> Women, like men, . . . could take the state examinations and could hold civil or military offices; there were special female contingents in the Taiping army. Foot binding, so common among the higher classes since the twelfth century, was strictly forbidden, as was prostitution; white slavery and rape was punished by death. Monogamy was obligatory; women and girls who did not have the protection of male family members were particularly taken care of (Franke, 1958:47-64).

Both the Nationalists in Taiwan and the Communists on the Mainland, following the lead advocated by Sun Yat-sen, are promoting the establishment of the equality of women.

562 M6 As we have seen, there are several females numbered among the most important dieties in the Chinese pantheon of gods. It appears that currently, two of the most important gods in Taiwan are females, Kuan Yin and Ma Tzu. The degree of emphasis on female gods in China is revealed by the fact that Kuan Yin is the Chinese name for the male Indian god

[7] [This should be footnote 6--Analyst]

562 Avalokitesvara who "hears the complaints of mankind" (Eich-
776 orn, 1964:192). Although originally male, in about the eleventh century in China, Avalokitesvara becomes a female divinity who is the embodiment of beneficence (Eichorn, 1964:192).

562 In the practice of religion, although the majority
771 of religious functionaries are men, there have always been a number of temples and monasteries staffed entirely by women. In Sanlei, as in most other Chinese villages, women actually perform much of the ritual activities in spite of the value which specifies that they should be performed by men, especially the required ritual. One merely has to observe celebrants in any Chinese temple a few hours to find that a majority of the worshippers tend to be women.

Some writers have claimed that Confucius and Confucian doctrines are responsible for the lack of esteem in which Chinese women are regarded and the comparatively low position they are said to have in society (Smith, 1899: 305-6; Lang, 1946:42-6; Straelen, 1936:43) but the evidence is not certain. O'Hara, for example, cites a great body of Confucian teachings supporting the opposite position (1955; 1963). For example, O'Hara cites the stories of Confucius and his relationships with women (1955:163-4) in which he acceded to their wisdom. Confucius also taught that wives and favorite concubines were responsible for ruling the inner apartments and encouraging men to behave properly (1963: 79-80).

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

121 considered axiomatic in anthropology that there will be cul-
• 562 tural elaboration around items and problems which are considered important in the society. These items are subject to fads and fashions, that is, they may change with time. For example, pollution is recognized as a major problem today in the United States and one finds an enormous amount of material discussing it although twenty years previously, there was little material in spite of the fact pollution levels were nearly identical. The very great quantity of literature in China, most of it written by men, encompassing extended periods of time, devoted to the lowly position of women, describing their proper relationships to men, setting forth a multitude of laws to insure proper behavior, etc., may well be because women simply refused to behave as men demanded. In other words, there is so much literature on the ideal level because the behavior of women on the actual level so rarely conformed.

In addition to the above, there appears to be a frequent failure to come to grips with conflicting statements in a single account with the goal of resolving them. This failure may be related to the segmental personality, the situation-centered phenomena described by Hsu (1953; 1963) which I considered in Chapter VII. Several examples have been presented in this section but to emphasize the point, one more will be considered in some detail.

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With regard to divorce, Ch'ing law states that a man can divorce a woman for seven reasons which are known as the Ch'i Ch'u or Seven Ousts: (1) Failure to serve the husband's parents and disobedience to them. (2) Failure to give birth to a son. (3) Dissoluteness of manners. (4) Jealousy. (5) Malignant disease. (6) Loquacity. (7) Larceny (Chui, 1966:61-8). Adultery is not listed here but was also a compelling reason for divorce. However, in the same law may be found the San Pu Ch'u or Three Non-Ousts, reasons why a wife cannot be divorced by her husband except on the grounds of adultery: (1) Mourned her husband's parents for three years. (2) Husband's poor family became rich after marriage. (3) She has no home to return to (Chiu, 1966:69-71). Chiu makes the point repeatedly that according to the law, men have "an exclusive right of divorce in ancient China" (1966:58). Even in divorce by mutual consent, traditionally permitted in China, the divorce is "effected in the name of the husband" (1966:60). Other scholars consistently agree, i.e., "divorce became exclusively the man's privilege and was practically equivalent to repudiation of the wife by the husband" (Lang, 1946:40).

However, a careful reading of Ch'ing law together with analysis of a sample of court decisions, does not support the above argument. All of the above facts are true but important omissions were made. The usual presentation implies the husband had the power to divorce his wife on the

562 586 671 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

114 562 586 671 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have considered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

121 school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated
•562 that although changes leading to increased status for women
[178] are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this
184 deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on
562 the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

121 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to sup-
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562 port any claim that the research results were not reasonably applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null
562 hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of
114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both
121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the
562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

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562 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

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562 Now that the particular problem of conflicting interpretations of the nature of female roles in Chinese society has been identified, future field research hopefully will settle the issue. As more scholars focus on the role of women,[91] both in current field research and reconsideration of previous data, I am sure that my delineation of the nature of women's roles will be confirmed.

121 There is a larger problem of which this whole case is merely an example, how did such errors of interpretation occur and what can be done to prevent similar errors in the future? The mechanism leading to misinterpretation was suggested in the introductory chapter and is briefly reviewed below:

1. Every civilization has a Great Tradition expressed in a literary record which sets forth the society's "ideal" value system.

2. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture delineated in the Great Tradition.

3. As explained by means of cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome a belief once it is internalized, i.e., evidence which is contrary to existing knowledge will be denied.

4. Therefore, it is likely that both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "experts" in the culture will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

In addition to the above, there is a kind of style in anthropological research which contributes to the problem: an emphasis on social organization and social structure. There has been an attempt to find and describe that which persists

[91] [This should be footnote 8--Analyst]

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join 525 clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 562 appears that women usually constitute about half the 575 membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-

513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant [363] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

/For general information on the "landlord" class as a whole and its function in the society, see category 556./

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/For general information on the "landlord" class as a whole and its function in the society, see category 556./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members. 312 653

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?" 312 653 554 [565]

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of this money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however, 312

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[838] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
• 565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[578] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[391] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
194 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

1: Gallin

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/For interpersonal relationships and cooperation between members of the ch'in tsu and ch'in ch'i respectively, see categories 618 and 612./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[3] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *han-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

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to land reform—his wife and sons were not concerned with continuing these good relations. Whenever the opportunity arose for securing higher rents from a new tenant, the wife and sons threw the former tenant off the land. Most of the villagers felt hostile towards this family for its greediness and betrayal of the formerly good *kan-ch'ing*.

Ironically, in the postwar period, it was the constant fear and uncertainty which prevented the active growth of any movement or demand among the tenant farmers in this area for some kind of land reform. Such activity would immediately endanger a tenant's relationship with the landlord, especially the local ones, and his tenure on the land would be jeopardized. Even to complain about the situation was dangerous. Other farmers, desperately in need of additional land, might inform the landlord that the tenant was criticizing his treatment or perhaps abusing or neglecting the land. Then, after planting the seed of distrust, the informer might offer to rent the land himself. The tenant's fear of such competitive tactics and his insecure relations with his landlord ensured his continued submission to the system.

LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In mainland China, land reform in the form of a rent reduction program had been attempted as early as 1929 by the Chekiang provincial government (Chang, 1954:16). The program and others, which were intended eventually to transfer landownership from landlord to tenant, were attempted by other provincial governments also, as well as by the Nationalist government in various provinces such as Fukien, Szechwan, and Kwangsi up to the time of the Communist take-over in 1949 (Chang, 1954:16–19; T'ang, 1954:89–95). However, while some of the programs were successful, they were all very limited and at best effective only in localized areas of the mainland.

After the Nationalist government took over in Taiwan, a large-scale Land Reform Program was successfully carried out on the island. This was a "Three Step Program" instituted officially by the National government in 1951 and completed in 1953. Chang (1954:20) wrote: "The first phase, also the mildest reform, seeks improvement of the tenant's living without overthrowing the tenancy system or changing the tenant's status. The second phase, the converting of a fraction of tenants into owner-farmers by selling public land to them, may be taken as a trial or transitional stage. The third phase, Land-to-the-Tiller, aims at turning all tenants into owner-farmers . . . the last and final goal of land reform."

The program was based on a law known as the "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province," promulgated by the provincial government of Taiwan on April 10, 1949.

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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem.

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them.

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal.

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige.

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
[835] village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition; however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can 621 476 usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller • 571 kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with 618 problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and [829] poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

628 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The 612 villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 178 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

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an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[9] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another village, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the disputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 3 [p. 23]

HOUSES AND FAMILIES

The interaction of the Taiwanese villager with his friends and neighbors is like the spice in his soup, savory but of little sustenance. It is with his family, his parents and grandparents, his children and grandchildren, that he takes the measure of his life. His relations with his parents may be strained, with his wife distant, and with his children formal, but without these people he would be an object of pity and of no small amount of suspicion. He would be pitied because he had no parents to "help" him and no children to support him in his old age, pitied because he had no place in a group, because he didn't belong anywhere. For these same reasons he would be the object of suspicion. A man not thoroughly imbedded in a network of kinship cannot be completely trusted because he cannot be dealt with in the normal way. If he behaves improperly, one cannot discuss his behavior with his brother or seek redress from his parents. If one wants to approach him about a delicate matter, one cannot use his uncle as a go-between to prepare the way. Wealth cannot make up for this deficiency any more than it can make up for the loss of arms and legs. Money has no past, no future, and no obligations. Relatives do. A young man orphaned as an adolescent or otherwise separated from his immediate kinsmen commonly marries into his wife's family. As this usually involves his agreeing to assign some of his children to his wife's father's line of descent, a man who marries in this fashion bears the stigma of having abandoned his parents and his ancestors—but this is preferable to an isolated existence. A man with a good job could find a wife among the entertainers of the city, but he wants more than a

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she hobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative. The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

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[Different associations may be found under variety of categories. For Money Lending Club category 525 has been used; for Sworn Brothers Association category 573, 561; for God's Association and Temple Association category 474.]

fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

66 agnatic and affinal, add another dimension to this complexity for most of the residents are members of families whose forefathers occupied the village over an extended period of time. The effects of alliances or feuds in the past often continue to be important long after the original principals have disappeared from the scene.

• 571 Other important governmental or quasi-governmental organizations which influence local affairs include the school and parent teacher's association, police organization, farmers' association, and fruit cooperative. Completely informal units which are important include two temple organizations, various sworn brothers and god's organizations, and several cooperative work groups.

The various kind of social groups discussed above mean that no individual is an isolated unit. He is necessarily involved intimately in a large number of social groups, some in conflict, forcing a choice between alternatives. Although the priorities are not always clear, the general agreement is that the family is usually the most important social group. Most new residents are [648] quickly incorporated into various units. Only a few outsiders such as Mainlanders remain relatively isolated but even Mainlanders can become relatively involved if they behave in accordance with village norms over an extended period of time.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
• 571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and fluency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth requirements for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

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The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 This section deals with the formal agencies of
• 591 social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-
626 formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation
• 571 where someone directly informs another he has done wrong
558 or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip
[262] so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal rela-
571 tions on another level in spite of its employment in
576 promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
658 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
• 571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 575 [71] Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to those which have been described for a Japanese village (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

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178 come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit
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369 relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing
[871] to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

517 Village young people often go off to town on Sunday,
527 to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk
•571 around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the
882 secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time.
[574] As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 423 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 578 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
[562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[276] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. 702 Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [bus] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since [the] pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth [132] year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [384] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case • 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
593 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he
589 died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

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589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me." [842] In order to prepare for this day Ng Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft-drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 554 574 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had a [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate

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competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

• 573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

[776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [744] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each gueat contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
573 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain
456 events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors: association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 561 627 [626] unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical violence. The threats have always been sufficient to insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports its members in conflict or adversity. Political support for a fellow member is near automatic and it is significant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 573 There are few village men who fail to join a sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate age. [562] There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
191 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
776 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
* 513 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

783
796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
796

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother associations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the
[66] associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial role. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
514 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

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581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
17 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[777] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
[494] separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u·Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

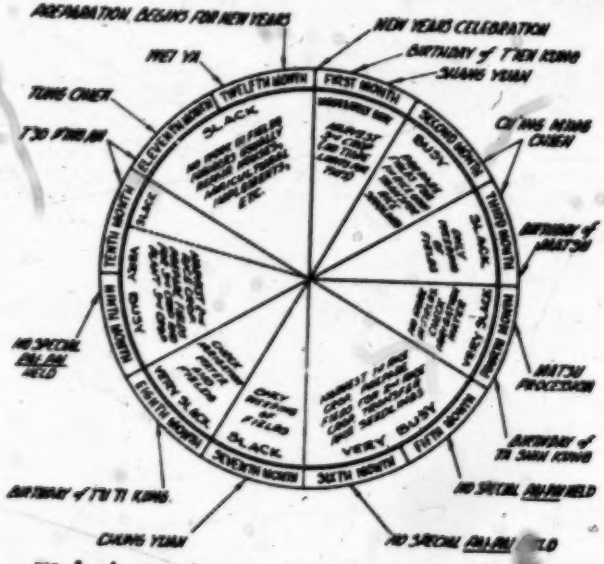

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 769 *t'ing* with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

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By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

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Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

796 62 755 702 182

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

796 776 787 [182]

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiā:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
778 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a
342 new house the kōng-thiā: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiā:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiā:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
333 kōng-thiā:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiā:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiā: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
659 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiā:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who [illegible] at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

• 574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

[352] [356] 000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

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of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

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574 273 course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

+596 +159 Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

+596 +159 +593 595 606 Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

596* 571 576 [464] 596* 574 602

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 584 • 584 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[3] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 504 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
262 574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

735 558 These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 621 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are [648 829] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are higher, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited [535 579] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621
everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[735]
[514]
development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[464]
offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 342 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [574] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each guest contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
573 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain
436 events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

621 665 water tower. Normally, there is little competition between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally 621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods • 574 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
• 574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

796
585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
• 524 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
435
[585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[78] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

345
443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

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571 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are [882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the [174] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young [593] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
295 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

275 games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and
265 scissors.

484 Middle-aged married people, without their children,
177 go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

• 574 Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social
273 position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties [431] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in- [574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair [787] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the [777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan: the only exceptions are households without children.

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

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/For information on membership in the Farmer's Association, see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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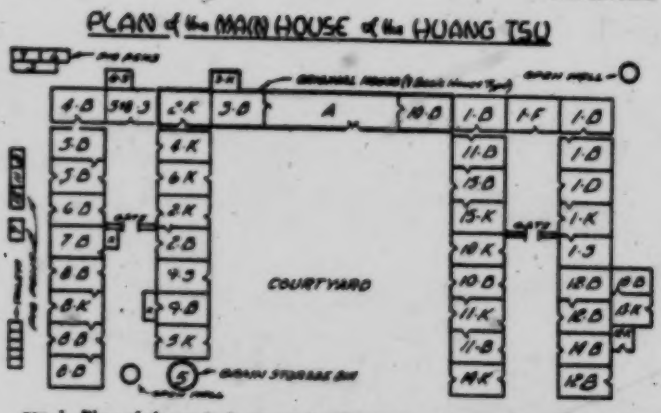

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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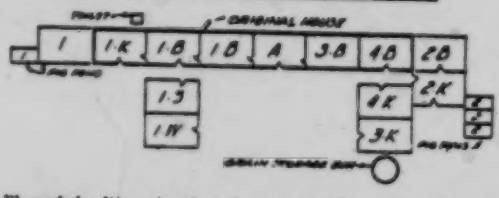

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; 2, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *IV*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

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THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[4] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

T 161 162 [127]

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With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

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This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 595 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 595 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

4: Barnett

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[Different associations may be found under variety of categories. For Money Lending Club category 525 has been used; for Sworn Brothers Association category 573, 561; for God's Association and Temple Association category 474.]

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to 575 those which have been described for a Japanese village [171] (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

525 $300.00. The second night the club meets, everyone writes
• 575 a bid somewhat less than $300.00 (in even dollar amounts only) on a piece of paper and places it in a hat. After the bids are mixed up, each is lifted out with chopsticks and placed on a table in order of removal from right to left with the low bid declared the winner. In case of a tie, the bid on the right is the winner. The winner collects the amount of his bid from each member except that any previous winner (including the originator, winners are now called debtors to the club) pays the full original amount of $300.00. This process continues until everyone has collected once, so of course, only those who have not yet collected place bids.

Since early collectors bid less than the required amount, it is possible to wait until the end, each time paying less than the full amount, and yet collect the full amount from every other person. That is, with 21 members a participant would pay 20 times and collect once from the other 20 members. If every bid was $300.00, everyone would break even, but a typical early bid is $250.00 to $260.00 dollars, but the person who collects at this $250.00 rate will eventually, as a debtor, pay the full $300.00. Even if the cash is not needed, one should put in an early bid under $300.00 because the money could be placed in a bank or post office, earn interest, and eventually be paid back without interest. The amount of the potential interest income determines early bids for

525 those who do not need the money. In essence, a man is in
• 575 a legal gambling situation in a country which has declared any gambling other than the official government lottery illegal. Although the period between bids in the traditional accounts are of varying lengths up to once a year, meetings in Sanlei are always monthly. The largest club in the area during our residence contained 30 members and therefore, took 30 months to complete.

There are advantages for every participant in the club. The originator obtains a large sum of money which is paid back monthly without interest. He has the responsibility to collect the money from each person within three days of the bid and turn it over to the winning bidder, and he sometimes provides small refreshments such as soda pop and cookies. Each member also benefits as he has a ready source where he can get a sizeable sum of money merely by placing a low bid. Furthermore, by joining the club, he directly performs a service for the originator since the latter always furnishes a reason for his need for money. Privolous needs would be rejected. The monthly meeting is also a social situation, consuming an hour or more of one evening each month. It is also a major topic of discussion before the meeting with speculation about the size of the winning bid and after the meeting, there is more comment about why someone may have needed the money so badly, indicated by a below average bid. Finally, even if no profit is realized, the club is an enforced

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 525 562 575 appears that women usually constitute about half the membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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595 rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households: some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

God's Associations

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794 A god's association is almost identical to the sworn brothers association and is seemingly formed in the same way with the same kind of membership but it always has an identification with a single god. The primary difference is that the sworn brothers association ends with the death of its members but a god's association membership is inherited by a man's oldest son or some other male relative if there is no son. Since there is a higher probability of adding additional members to god's associations, they tended to be much larger.

I was never able to determine exactly the differences distinguishing the establishment of each. It did seem that if a sworn brothers association prospered and its members lived a long time, there was a tendency to continue it by inviting sons as replacements and adding other members so that it eventually evolved into a god's association. In no case did a son and father both belong to the same association at the same time.

There were two god's associations centered in Sanlei and compared with the sworn brothers associations, both were larger, contained members dispersed over a greater territory, involved greater class distinctions, and of course, had members covering a greater age span. The two god's associations in Sanlei both had regional political leaders and wealthy men among its members although men of this type do not live in the village.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings are those connected with worship. The second most important center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe that a particular act works or has power for good or evil, almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or paternal aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 8

[p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

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Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense.
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chen Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
• 576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for vil- 167 lage people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 423 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most [434] village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [427] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, [443] pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on 574 special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 577 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at 571 the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of

769 placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors,

602 577 the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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esting" than other women of their age and income, but judgments about their morality or respectability are not based on their profession. Too many village girls have had to "go out to work" to support aging parents or young siblings. In recent years, there has only been one girl in the area who entered a brothel by choice, lured by the fine clothes and exciting life. More commonly, women become prostitutes because they were raised for that purpose, or because their family is desperately in need of the income. The villagers are not inclined to think of these girls as martyrs since Chinese children are expected to make great sacrifices for their parents, but they are not likely to criticize them either. On the contrary, most villagers assume a girl has amply repaid the debt she owes her parents for raising her when she obeys their command to become a prostitute—repaid it more fully than the daughter who remains at home can ever hope to. Parents can nearly always count on the support of village opinion in deciding the future of their daughter unless that daughter has supported the family for several years by prostitution. By giving up her youth, the young prostitute has gained a certain amount of control over her future. In the village her respectability depends upon how careful she is to walk within the paths of traditional morality when she is home for a few days each month, how compliant she is in turning over the majority of her earnings to her parents, and how cautious she is with village males. A prostitute who carries on professional activities within the village is in deep trouble. If her relatives are not aware of her indiscretion, they will be told, and that is usually enough. It is a small community.

No one in the Lim family tried to conceal from us Tan A-hong's former occupation or the source of Chun-ieng's present earnings. They are not callous about Chun-ieng's fate, but they also see her soft fingers resting next to their scarred, calloused hands, her delicate silk dresses hanging beside their coarse, shapeless working clothes, her closed bedroom door when they come in after three hours of early morning weeding in the fields. About her future they feel pity, but the life of a woman in a farm family is not easy either. In Chun-ieng's difficulties with her mother, however, she has the family's complete sympathy. They may chide her occasionally, or remind her of her mother's seniority, but their words lack conviction. Tan A-hong's outrageous behavior toward her daughter would challenge the beliefs of the most adamant proponent of filial piety. In all fairness, I must

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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not an adopted daughter, she wouldn't be that way. She doesn't know whether you really need money or not. You have lost every dollar you got from selling your house now. Sure, that was your own money to do with as you wished, but you think about that, too. She is getting older and she is going to take care of you after she's married, but she won't be able to give you so much money to gamble with. Married or not, she won't be able to make this much money in a few more years. If you had another NT$10,000 to gamble with, you wouldn't be in this mood today."

As he left the room, Lim Chieng-cua added: "It is a rule that a child *must* be good to his parents, but parents have to treat their children decently, too. That is also a rule. You can do many things to your children, but there is a point beyond which you cannot go. You have already gone too far. You must stop pushing her. If she is dead, your next daughter is too young to be of any use to you. What will you do?"

Tan A-hong, crying quietly, went home.

Late that evening, Lim Chieng-cua was summoned to Tapu to receive a telephone call. One of the children was sent to tell A-hong. She was a pitiful sight as she walked into the house. Her anger was gone and her terror reduced her to listing absurd reasons as to why Chun-ieng would not kill herself. When Lim Chieng-cua returned, he told the assembled group that Chun-ieng had been found and was in good health. He didn't even look at Tan A-hong and retired at once to his bedroom.

Chun-ieng returned to Peihotien late the next day, and I'm afraid the villagers were rather disappointed by her appearance. She should have looked wan and dejected, but instead she looked happier than I have ever seen her. She amiably satisfied the curiosity of her neighbors, saving the details of her adventure for the family. Her skill in story-telling did not suffer even when the story was at her own expense. After running out of the wine house, she bought some poison and went to a hotel. She gave us a humorous description of the delighted, if bewildered, pedi-cab driver to whom she gave the last of her money. Just as she was about to take the pills, she heard someone in the hotel being called to the telephone and decided she should phone her lover in Tainan so that he wouldn't think she had killed herself because of something he had done. The connection was, of course, bad, so the boyfriend made her promise to wait until he could

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[517] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[201] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[955] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[599] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[955] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [953] [955] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung tiing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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[577]
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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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[593]

7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

562 593 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 562 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of 562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family 577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will 593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros- 581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
• 577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-eh'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to nonshareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen 578 in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no [629] solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. [692] This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 312 474 433 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 501 628 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

618 While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully 175 active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing 178 times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

618 Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-
578 *tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Bar-
173 clay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along
628 the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the
175 Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police
648 were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japa-
618 nese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed."
628 The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the
[182] mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

618 There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For
[702] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or
[606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

[618] 571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 794 62 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal. [782] [574]

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the person who told him'spits blood to death'."

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3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

*583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. *583 591 606 Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her • 578 own words,

> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had [782] been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

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girl made so much money the mother decided to send the family's adopted daughter to do the same work. She did not want to, go, but when she refused the family was very angry and wouldn't talk to her. Finally the older sister said, "I'm a real daughter of this family, and I went to work. You are only an adopted daughter, so why can't you come to work?' The mother later told everyone that the girl wanted to go to work when she saw how much money her sister could make, but we all knew that this wasn't true. That second girl now has an illegitimate child, but she never has been able to make very much money. After a while the older girl found a man who wanted to marry her, but her mother was a very stupid selfish woman and wouldn't let her do it. Now she is poor and unhappy, and it is all her own fault. After the older girl bore her first child she began to lose her looks and earned less and less money every year. She had a child every year after that until now she has four children. She moved away from the Peitou hotels after her first child was born because she was embarrassed about how she had changed. That old lady is very poor now because of her selfishness."

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Because their parents have forced them to abandon any hope of a normal life, most girls who are prostitutes have a very different relationship with their parents than do other daughters. While it would be rare for most daughters to criticize their parents let alone quarrel with them, open quarrels are not uncommon in families in which a daughter has become a prostitute at her parents' insistence. When the mother of the history quoted above finally relented and told her oldest daughter that she could marry, the girl is reported to have replied, "No, I'll just go on working. Then when I'm too ugly, you can work and support me." We also heard from several people that these two girls treated their mother "more like a servant than their mother," and on at least two occasions the mother threatened to commit suicide because of her daughters' treatment. The case we knew best, however, is that of Lin Li-hui and her daughter, Lin A-sui, as we lived in the

593 548 578 home of Lim Li-kui's foster family. Violent quarrels between the two women were the rule rather than the exception, and while Lim Li-kui was often at fault her daughter's responses would not have been tolerated in another family. Once when the daughter found that her mother had lost more than seven dollars in two days' gambling she insisted that her mother give her the remainder of the family's money for safe keeping. Always a sharp tempered woman, Lim Li-kui answered,

"This is my money! Why should I give it to you? I know I gamble, but what about you? Don't you gamble too?"

Lim A-sui: "All right! I'm not going to argue with you. I just have to say something so that people won't think it's all my fault."

Lim Li-kui: "Don't be so shameless! You are always telling people that I lost a lot of money gambling and then sold your clothes to pay my debts. You know how much money I got from you. You don't give me all of the money you make. Aren't you ashamed to say these things?"

Lim A-sui: "There is nothing I can do. You like to gamble so much that I don't dare give you all of the money."

Lim Li-kui: "You are right! I gamble too much! What can you do about it? And what about you? When you were working in Tainan you lost all of the money you made, and so I had to come to the place where you were working and tell you not to gamble anymore. You said you didn't care. You said you could just go with one of the guests there anytime. You didn't have to worry about money. Remember? You said you didn't have to worry about saving money, and you told me that there were lots of women working there older than me! I'm old now, and so I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you say all of these things I can tell you who people are going to laugh at."

Lim A-sui: "The way you talk you make it sound as though I liked to work in that place. But why was it that you wouldn't let me come home when I wanted to quit?"

593 548 578 Another argument on the same subject a few days later ended with Lim Li-kui threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Lim A-sui simply stood her ground and encouraged her mother, "Kill me! I don't care! Kill me!"

593 548 208 In most cases in which a daughter dares to quarrel openly with one of her parents, public opinion will be quick to condemn her, but if the girl is a prostitute the tendency is to side with the daughter against her parents. Most village gossips discussing current quarrels between prostitutes and their parents label the parents "selfish" and deserving of whatever ill fortune their fate might bring them. The attitude of the villagers seems to be that while a parent has the right to command a daughter to work as a prostitute they cannot expect the daughter to pay them the respect ordinarily due a parent. It is as though the debt a child owes to her parents is entirely repaid when she submits to such a demand.

593 562 548 Prostitution is one way in which a family can use their daughters to obtain heirs and support for their old age, and it is the only way in which a woman who does not marry can provide for herself and her future. Prostitution might therefore be characterized as an alternative to marriage, but it is always an undesirable alternative. For [558] the prostitute it means anything but a normal life, and for her family there is always some loss of face. Worse yet, for the parents there is always the danger that they are sacrificing as much as they are gaining. In sending a daughter to work they may be able to manage without a marriage in the next generation, but this is accomplished only

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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kitchen duties as well as comparatively long periods of time they can devote to sewing, the care of their children, or even visits to their natal families.

A visitor to the home might conclude that these arrangements function quite smoothly. The family's meals are always well cooked and served at regular times; the children are usually as neat or neater than the neighbors' children; the house is kept reasonably clean and in good repair; the family's land is always cultivated and the general appearance of the fields is neat and orderly; the factory seems busy most of the time. In short, the various members of the family perform their particular duties efficiently and effectively. To see the less fortunate effects, one has to look beneath the surface of the family's daily routines. As Lim Chui-ieng once told me, "If you look at the face of our family, it looks good, but if you look at its bones, it's not like that." In the "bones" of the family there is ceaseless friction between the two major units: Lim Chieng-cua's family and Lim A-pou's family. For the most part their conflict is wordless, expressed only by the emotional distance between them, but on occasion the tempers flare, revealing the true intensity of the tensions below. To understand the conflicts that existed within these people as well as those that existed between them, it is necessary to look at some of the events of their childhood. To understand why they have resisted for so long the pressures that divided every other family in Peihotien, it is necessary to look at the domestic climate in which they grew up.

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

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brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief. The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

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A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and you don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

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and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki. "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age. When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are *really* love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this, she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

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When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the work is divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

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159 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could
596 solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming
183 separate independent family units. The large, extended family living
578 together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

159 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she
596 had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have
578 no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences.
604 Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his
607 dealings with his uncle.

431 How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already exist-
626 ing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him. "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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friends, and I can give things to mine. Didn't this man ever give things to us? He nearly always brings us a big bag of taste powder when he comes. I didn't ever hear him say it was only for me, did you? A person who wants to run a business outside can't be like this.

"Think about it this way for a minute. Suppose this person really had been very bad to you. And now here he is asking you for something, not you asking him. It is he who would be bringing shame on himself by asking, not on you. You can bring shame on yourself only by not giving it to him.

"You say he would not invite you to stay in his house for one night, but did you explain to him what the situation amounted to? No, you just said you had missed your bus. How was he to know it was the last bus or that there was no late train? He is my friend. If your friend came and asked for something and I wouldn't let you give it to him, how would you feel?"

A-bok had had all the lecturing on proper behavior that he could take for one evening, and he said rather loudly, "All right. All right. Don't just stand there and oppress me about it all night."

This bit of disrespect caused Lim Chieng-cua to drop the tight rein he had been holding on his infamous temper. He yelled at A-bok, "You accuse me of oppressing you! You are the one who is doing the oppressing. Haven't I explained anything to you?"

Evidently the expression on A-bok's face (which I couldn't see) angered Lim Chieng-cua even more, and he moved as if to strike him. A-bok jumped up and ran out of the room. A good friend of the family who had been sitting with us immediately pulled on Lim Chieng-cua's arm and began talking to him in a soothing manner. "All right. All right. This is just a little thing. There is no good in it for anyone in quarreling over it."

Lim Chieng-cua calmed down a little and the friend continued to talk to him softly and unemotionally—a trick this man has that makes him much called upon in the village to settle family disputes. "Don't argue with the boy anymore. He is young yet and still doesn't understand the 'affairs of the world.' You are of an older generation and must not lose dignity by arguing with him. If he cannot understand, just forget it for now."

After a bit, the friend in his role as peace-maker went in to talk to Lim A-bok and his mother. A-pou was scolding her son. "If he wants to hit you, just let him hit you. Why do you run? Let the others see how he treats us."

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The friend cut her off and began to speak to A-bok as if his mother were not in the room. "Oh, cucumbers. Cucumbers are nothing special. You grow them yourself. It won't cost you any money. Just give them to him. Why argue over these unimportant matters?"

Lim A-pou muttered angrily, "My son is afraid of Chieng-cua just like a shrimp. Even if he doesn't want to give them away, he will have to."

I asked Lim A-pou later if she thought Lim Chieng-cua would really have struck her son. She scowled and said, "Why not? Last August he hit him." When I probed for more details, she said, "Huh! That wife's slave!" and ended the conversation with her usual response of "I don't know anything about it."

A relative of the family did know something about it and was happy to discuss a topic of seemingly endless village interest. Lim Chieng-cua bought a fancy radio for the family. A-bok came in one afternoon to find it blaring loudly for the pleasure of Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's twelve-year-old daughter. Besides telling her it was far too loud, A-bok also pointed out that the broadcast was in Mandarin, a language with which none of them are too familiar, and that she should not listen to Mandarin broadcasts for fear that she pick up something from a mainland station and get them in serious political trouble. Le-cu felt saucy and told him it was none of his business because her father had bought the radio. This made A-bok angry and he said some things about Le-cu's mother and maternal ancestors (i.e., cursed in the familiar fashion). Lim Chui-ieng overheard this, as she does nearly everything, and reported it to her husband. Lim Chieng-cua did not bring the matter up with his nephew until the family confidante and arbiter was present. He explained the exchange to him, in A-bok's presence, asking for a statement as to whose behavior had been remiss. One thing led to another, and A-bok got a sharp clip on the head. The friend told me sadly, "From the time he was a child, Lim Chieng-cua has been very fond of A-bok. The only reason they don't get along anymore is the women between them. A woman's heart is always narrower."

Although the quarrel over the cucumbers seems ridiculous and seemed to flare with little provocation, when viewed in a fuller context, it shows some of the finer qualities of both men. Lim Chieng-cua, though he might have suffered from A-pou's ill humor, would have been well within his rights as head of the family to simply order the cucumbers sent to his friend and business associate. Instead, he chose

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159 596 604 578 to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his [685] friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

159 596 593 578 As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come. Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mud* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in 159 596 603 578 the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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smiles, and when you ask for money his mouth is very stern. I gave Ong A-giok her wages for weeding the cucumbers only two days ago. She did the work many weeks ago. I told my uncle that we owed her money, but he hadn't done anything about it. I thought he had paid her long ago, and I was very embarrassed. Whenever money has to be given out, it is always like this. Even if I don't ask for any money for three months, he will never say, 'Well, you must need money. Here is some so you will have it when you need to buy something.' "

I asked if his uncle might not think he kept money out for his own use when he sold vegetables. "You can't sell vegetables every day," he said, "and besides he knows enough to guess how much we can get for the vegetables we sell.

" 'Even a shrewd man of great ability cannot get past a pretty girl guarding a gate' [a common proverb]. You can't blame him for all these problems. You have seen how that woman [Lim Chui-ieng] can nag. If she is eating and he comes in from the factory, she puts down her bowl immediately and follows him into the bedroom to talk. If she finds him sitting alone, she will hurry over to ask him about this and that and the long and the short."

By my own observation I knew this to be the case, but it did not fit in very well with some gossip I had been hearing in the village. Hoping A-bok's talkative mood would last, I asked him, "If she treats him so well, why did he go out to find a mistress that time?"

"It was her own fault," he answered. "I really wish they would fight again like they used to." A-bok grinned naughtily. "If it hadn't been for my mother and I, Lim Chui-ieng would have been beaten to death a long time ago. One time in particular it was really bad. Lau Kim-chiok was living in that house where her mother lives now. One night Lim Chui-ieng went over and looked in the window and saw my uncle's shoes in there. She was afraid to do anything by herself, so she got one of our friends to go with her—he was living in our house just then. He went with her, but she didn't tell him where they were going, and when they got there she broke the window. My uncle came out and chased her back to our house, trying to hit her. She tried to go into my grandfather's room to hide, but he wouldn't let her and said, 'I'm not going to get involved in this anymore. You solve your own problems.' She had no place to hide so she came into my mother's room. I pulled uncle away and my mother stood between them. Lim Chui-ieng shouldn't have gotten our friend involved because my uncle

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

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admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

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Although A-hong expects her daughter to provide for her as for a child, she resents being treated as a child. Chun-ieng's words angered her. "How can you be so shameless. I know what you are telling people—you are telling them I lost lots of money in Tainan and then sold your clothes and your gold to get more. You are shameless. You know how little money you gave me. You didn't give me all the money you earned so I had to take it. Aren't you ashamed to tell all those lies?"

This touched a sore spot in Chun-ieng. She wants very much to be considered a proper filial daughter and her mother accused her of withholding her earnings, a most unfilial act. Chun-ieng answered defensively, "There was nothing I could do. You are too fond of gambling. I can't turn all of the money over to you."

A-hong knows her adversary well. She decided to take advantage of the wound she had inflicted by putting a few more things before the public. (Most quarrels in China take place by preference before an audience and the attention of the combatants is directed as much to the effect of their words on the observers as upon each other.) With lip-curling malice, A-hong continued, "Ah, you are right. I like to gamble. And what is my dutiful daughter going to do about it? You, of course, never gamble, do you? You don't remember the time in Tainan when you lost all of the money you had earned for two days, and I had to come and tell you not to gamble any more? Do you remember what you said to your mother that day? You said you didn't care. You told me you could just go with any of the guests when you had no more money. You told your mother that you had no reason to save money and that there were women as old as me working there."

Chun-ieng looked tired and depressed. When she didn't answer, her mother tried to goad her into a response. "Well, I'm old now. I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you keep saying all those things, you know who people will be laughing at. At a shameless daughter!"

Chun-ieng got up to leave the room, but at the door she paused long enough to say, "You speak as though I enjoyed working in that place. Is that why you wouldn't let me come home, even when I begged?"

A few days later another argument on the same subject ended with A-hong threatening her daughter with a cleaver. Chun-ieng with

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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

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"Hah! How good is that. I always hear her scolding her mother. She tries to restrain her at every turn."

A-ki bristled in defense of her friend. "That is because the mother doesn't have any sense. If her mother took care of the home and didn't gamble all the time, I'm sure Chun-ieng would give her all of the money to take care of."

The continuous quarrel between A-hong and her daughter over money reached a climax several months later. It was only then that I learned of the future Chun-ieng longed for and of the secret she and the Lim family had kept from her mother. While working in Tainan, Chun-ieng met the second son of a wealthy industrialist. Their mutual attraction deepened into a more serious interest, and the young man wanted to marry her. Many young prostitutes who have not yet compromised their future by a series of abortions, illegitimate children, or the adoption of young girls as support for their old age, marry into quite respectable families. There seems to be some notion among peasant families that a young woman who has had this kind of experience is less likely to succumb to temptation after marriage. Chun-ieng's young man, however, came from the upper classes and her welcome into his family might not be as warm. Moreover, they also had to wait until his older brother, then serving his term in the army, was married, it being bad form for a younger brother to marry before an elder. When Chun-ieng's lover was sent by his father to supervise a logging operation in central Taiwan, they decided upon a compromise. Chun-ieng would come and live with him there until such time as they could be married properly. Tan A-hong knew nothing of these plans, although she knew her daughter was fond of the young man. She herself was attracted by his reputed wealth, but the possibility of her daughter marrying anyone was something she refused to think about. Chun-ieng married would not only make a considerable dent in A-hong's income, but would also deprive her of her authority over the girl. No matter what agreements are reached at the time of marriage, a young woman's loyalty necessarily shifts to her husband. Besides, Chun-ieng was still approaching the peak of her earning power as a prostitute. Her youth and high spirits had brought her a good income until now, and A-hong's practiced eyes recognized that her daughter's appeal was based on a handsomeness that would not fade as had her own but might with training turn Chun-ieng into the cool, sophisticated companion of the very wealthy. Whether or not Chun-ieng's

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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosperous shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency to speak her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster mother's account of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan A-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

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fortunate. Don't be so black-hearted. She is twenty years old now. If she wants to get married, she can do it, and you can't do anything about it. You can't get any more money from her then, can you?"

A-hong: "That's good! Let her just try and run away from me. Get married? Let her try! If she is going to die, it is going to be in one of two ways—either she'll die on the road [i.e. homeless, friendless, impoverished] or she'll die by my hand!"

Guat-ngo was shocked. She stared at the older woman, speechless. Finally, she said, "You are not a mother at all. You never fed her. That must be why you can say these terrible things. Now she earns lots of money for you to gamble and eat and buy pretty clothes. Isn't that enough? You had better think that's enough."

A-hong: "That's right! I never fed her, indeed! It was war-time then and I had to search all over to find powdered milk for her, and when I found it, I had to pay to mail it all the way home here. I was going to hire someone to take care of her, but A-pou's mother wanted her so I sent her home. And how do you know she gives me so much money? Are you her go-between? What do you know about it? What do you know about anything?"

By this time, A-hong was shrieking. Her shrill voice could be heard all over the house. "I'm well over forty years old. I don't have her by my side, but I'm still alive. I'm not freezing or starving. I want her to die on the road! I want her to die by my hands! I want her to die." A-hong added as an afterthought—the afterthought that so often makes Taiwanese women's quarrels so ludicrous: "I can get a job as a cook for someone."

Guat-ngo was not to be silenced by histrionics. She returned to her scolding. "Yes, you sent a lot of powdered milk home for your daughter! Why was it then that poor grandmother was up late every night grinding rice to make gruel for her? You never fed her. She had no milk to drink. No wonder you don't care if she dies."

A-hong: "You were just a child. What do you know about it? You say I never took care of her. She is over twenty years old and in all of that time I never took care of her? You don't know anything about it. All the people in this family side with her. They always say she is right. That is why she treats me so badly now. They let her do whatever she wanted to do."

Lim A-pou had been keeping out of the argument and trying by hand signals to get her daughter to drop it. When Tan A-hong began

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to criticize the family, however, she looked very stern and said, "Be careful of your words. My mother and father treated her like a grandchild. They are dead now, but I am not. You never thanked them for taking care of her for you, and you had better not criticize them either."

Guat-ngo: "And what do you mean I don't know anything about it? I was nine years old when she came here, and I often carried her on my back. When she was little she often fainted, and she often had convulsions. Did *you* know that? Did *you* ever take care of her when she was sick?"

Lim A-pou recovered her calm face, but was still stern looking. "Your daughter is your daughter," she said. "No matter how bad, she is still your daughter, and no matter how bad you are, you are still her mother. You must not keep saying you want her to die. She buys nice things to feed you and nice clothes for you to wear, and she does this only for you. You are the only one she gives things to, except the children now and then. If you want to treat her badly, we cannot stop you, but because I took care of her when she was little, I have a right to say some things. If you want to be someone's servant, you won't find it such a bad job. Anybody can be a servant. You had better take a look at yourself first, though. Are you healthy enough for that?"

Tan A-hong suffers from asthma and is extremely thin, both conditions exacerbated by her all night gambling and chain smoking.

A-hong: "My bad health is her fault, too. When my youngest daughter was born, it was winter and Chun-ieng refused to wash or cook for me so I had to get up and do it myself. My bad health is all due to her. She refused to help me. I want her to die. If she won't treat me like a mother, I won't treat her like a daughter."

Guat-ngo: "You just think it over. There may be some daughters who treat their mothers better than Chun-ieng treats you, but if my daughter treats me as well, I will say that I have great good fortune."

A-pou: "Your lot in life compares better with rich people than with mine. I have two sons, but even sons can't buy clothes for me. You only have a daughter, but look what a pretty sweater she bought you."

A-hong threw the sweater on the floor and said, "Pretty sweater! I may be over forty, but I don't need that wretch to feed me. She never has fed me."

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Guat-ngo laughed at the absurdity of this statement. "If she has never fed you, where do you get all the money to eat? If she never gives you any money, where do you get all the money for this?" She made gambling motions with her hands. "Just where do you get your pretty clothes and fine white rice?"

Tan A-hong grew hysterical and began screaming curses at the younger woman, threatening to hit her. A-pou made her daughter leave the room. This calmed A-hong somewhat, but she continued her complaints and again began to accuse the Lims, in particular Lim Han-ci and his wife, of teaching her daughter to disobey her.

Lim Chieng-cua, who had returned from Tapu part way through the quarrel, was sitting in the next room, trying to ignore the angry voices. When A-hong spoke of his parents, he stalked into the bedroom and, very red in the face, demanded, "Has anyone asked you for money in all the time you have lived here and eaten here? Nobody wants to hear your noise. You are not right, but you think you are very smart. I have scolded your daughter several times for not being more polite to you, even though I knew she was in the right and you deserved whatever harsh words she gave you. There are several people here who are not relatives who can tell you that this is true. It is only a mother who can decide whether a girl is good or bad, but I want you to listen to this. She is not as bad as you are trying to make people believe."

Lim Chieng-cua's anger subsided when A-hong began to cry. He continued scolding her, however, sounding very much like a schoolmaster reading lessons. "I have heard mothers say that they wanted their daughters to die, but I have never heard a real mother say this. It was always a foster mother or a stepmother. Why is it that you talk this way? You think it over for awhile. You tell us she only left you a few dollars for the whole week. You never tell her the truth, so she never knows whether you really need money or not. If you really need money you can just tell her how much you need and she will give it to you. Why must you keep pushing the girl all the time? You are her mother. She knows she has to take care of you."

A-hong, sobbing, said, "You didn't see her yesterday. You don't know what her face looks like when I ask her for money."

"I do know," Lim Chieng-cua rejoined. "I have seen that expression, and it is one of the things I have scolded her about. But, if you never lied to her, if you always treated her like your own daughter and

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not an adopted daughter, she wouldn't be that way. She doesn't know whether you really need money or not. You have lost every dollar you got from selling your house now. Sure, that was your own money to do with as you wished, but you think about that, too. She is getting older and she is going to take care of you after she's married, but she won't be able to give you so much money to gamble with. Married or not, she won't be able to make this much money in a few more years. If you had another NT$10,000 to gamble with, you wouldn't be in this mood today."

As he left the room, Lim Chieng-cua added: "It is a rule that a child must be good to his parents, but parents have to treat their children decently, too. That is also a rule. You can do many things to your children, but there is a point beyond which you cannot go. You have already gone too far. You must stop pushing her. If she is dead, your next daughter is too young to be of any use to you. What will you do?"

Tan A-hong, crying quietly, went home.

Late that evening, Lim Chieng-cua was summoned to Tapu to receive a telephone call. One of the children was sent to tell A-hong. She was a pitiful sight as she walked into the house. Her anger was gone and her terror reduced her to listing absurd reasons as to why Chun-ieng would not kill herself. When Lim Chieng-cua returned, he told the assembled group that Chun-ieng had been found and was in good health. He didn't even look at Tan A-hong and retired at once to his bedroom.

Chun-ieng returned to Peihotien late the next day, and I'm afraid the villagers were rather disappointed by her appearance. She should have looked wan and dejected, but instead she looked happier than I have ever seen her. She amiably satisfied the curiosity of her neighbors, saving the details of her adventure for the family. Her skill in story-telling did not suffer even when the story was at her own expense. After running out of the wine house, she bought some poison and went to a hotel. She gave us a humorous description of the delighted, if bewildered, pedi-cab driver to whom she gave the last of her money. Just as she was about to take the pills, she heard someone in the hotel being called to the telephone and decided she should phone her lover in Tainan so that he wouldn't think she had killed herself because of something he had done. The connection was, of course, bad, so the boyfriend made her promise to wait until he could

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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

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holding whispered conferences with their mother and then disappearing again. And one evening when Lim Chieng-cua didn't return at his usual time for dinner, Kui-hok asked, with tears running down his face, "Where is father? Has he gone away?" Chui-ieng was using her children to spy on their father. She had told them that he might run away with another woman and if he did they would be abandoned to starve. Chui-ieng knew perfectly well that her husband would do nothing so absurd, but by convincing his children of the possibility she could both strengthen their ties to herself and keep a watchful eye on her husband.

Early in her career Lau Kim-chiok, like most prostitutes, adopted a daughter to support her when she was no longer pretty enough to work. During Kim-chiok's imprisonment, the daughter stayed with various relatives and finally came to live with her maternal grandmother in Peihotien. With the hope of at least delaying her entrance into her mother's profession, Lim Chieng-cua gave the girl a job in his factory. Lau Bit had been working there for quite some time when her mother returned to the village. Two or three weeks after Lau Kim-chiok's release from prison, Lau Bit was visited in the factory by Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter. By this time the anxiety Chui-ieng had aroused in her children was beginning to fade and their spying had become a game. Le-cu, finding her father absent from the factory, tried to pick a quarrel with Kim-chiok's daughter. Lau Bit was several years older than Le-cu and much more conscious of the seriousness of life. Le-cu taunted her about her mother's profession, cursed her on general principles, and ordered her out of the factory. Lau Bit left in tears, humiliated before the other factory girls who watched round-eyed and fearful. Le-cu then went home to brag to her mother of her clever deed. Chui-ieng was amused and cruelly pleased by the story, but at the same time she realized that this was going to cause no end of trouble. She immediately sent her daughter off to stay with relatives in Lungyen. Her precautions were justified. When Lim Chieng-cua returned to the factory and heard what had occurred in his absence, he was furious. He went to his wife to ask his daughter's whereabouts, telling her explicitly that he intended to beat the girl to death when he found her. Chui-ieng told him calmly enough that she had sent the girl to stay with relatives, but she could not refrain from defending her child's indefensible behavior. One thing led to another and Chui-ieng soon turned to her usual tirade against Lau Kim-chiok and her family, accusing Lim Chieng-cua of treating "a prostitute's

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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

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neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she bobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative. The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes. She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

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epilogue

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SEPARATE STOVES

596 592 578 A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

596 592 578 123 Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

596 178 769 [183] Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[578] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

596 961 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily 596 identify which family within it. Also, although women [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 578 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
• 578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chuanchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits. As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"[1]

Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

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1 George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
• 579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

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579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little affect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
w 579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[823] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 3

THE PREFERRED MARRIAGE

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The institutions of the village of Hsiachichou are similar to those of China in general in that they allow a variety of means of marriage and adoption. A family with a son may adopt a female child and raise her as his wife, or they may wait until he is an adult and then look for a wife. A family with a daughter may give her away in adoption as a child, or they may raise her as a member of the family and later choose between a patrilocal or matrilocal marriage. The institutions of the community give scope for the formation of a great variety of genealogical patterns. Our task here will be to trace the genealogical history of Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years in an attempt to determine what some of the factors were which went into the formation of this particular pattern. Given the existence of institutions which encourage certain social arrangements and discourage others, and recognizing that the range of choice is partially determined by vagaries of human genetics, we will attempt to discover why the people of Hsiachichou chose to arrange their social world in the way they did.

Our first step in this direction willbe to describe the institutions of marriage and adoption as they existed in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. The genealogical decisions made by individual families arose as choices between alternative forms of marriage and adoption, and we will need to understand the nature of these institutions

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is the form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

583 591 681 178 593 597 58 181 ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 13

THE EXCEPTIONS

128 183 • 58 [54] The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however, it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes. Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption. To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children, and what are some of the considerations which enter into their decisions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
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597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

• 58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent group worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [564] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families.

584 465 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita- [203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *eh'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and rela- [618] tives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
585 581 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as
612 *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
171 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
583 luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how
[177] each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tzu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

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Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

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Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

582 554 should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their 581 own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she *584 will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, on the *597 other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an 554 important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families is Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming [581] to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

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[58] there is no need to worry about the social status of her natal family, this being relevant only as an indication of the girl's personal habits.

*584 By contrast with the preferred form of marriage, the procedure for
*597 arranging a sim-pûa marriage is extraordinarily simple. Having once decided upon this form of marriage for a son, a family simply advertises this fact among their friends and relatives until they find a second family willing to give one of their female children in adoption. If they happen to have difficulty finding a family with a girl of the right age, and if they are also particularly anxious to arrange this form of marriage for their son, a family may ask the help of a professional go-between, but a go-between is not required as a matter of form. Indeed, very little is required by way of form in arranging the sim-pûa marriage. Once they have located an eligible child the women of the adopting family will usually go see the girl to make sure that she is a healthy normal child, and if they are satisfied that this is the case the arrangements for the marriage (or adoption, as you please) can be completed almost immediately and with a minimum of formality. According to village informants, the only concern of the girl's parents will be to see that the family does indeed have a son of the right age "and that the mother-in-law has milk to nurse the child." As a matter of courtesy, the adopting family will usually send the girl's parents a "bride price," but this is never more than a token amount of three or four hundred dollars. There is therefore no occasion for the angry and prolonged bargaining which characterizes the negotiations of the bride price in the case of the preferred marriage.

*523 611 591 such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

*583 • 581 591 611 At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

+584 +583 We have already noted above that in the case of the preferred form of marriage the arrangements are initiated either by the boy's family or a go-between acting on their behalf. The more general rule is apparently that marriage arrangements are initiated by the family which stands to gain a member, for in the case of the matrilocal marriage the arrangements are almost invariably initiated by the female's family [581] or their representative. As a result, the first questions to be asked in the case of the matrilocal marriages are questions concerning the potential husband's character. Is he a good worker? Does he drink or spend money on prostitutes? Is he filial in his relations with his parents and capable in dealing with outsiders? When they find a man who has the requisite qualities in a reasonable degree, the girl's family will then attempt to negotiate a marriage which will bring him into the family. For their part, the potential husband and his parents will want to know what his status will be in his wife's family. Whose name are the children to take? If some are to take the wife's name, which ones? How long is he obliged to remain a member of his wife's family, and under what conditions might he leave before the end of such time? What property might he inherit, if any? Each of these rather difficult questions must be negotiated and agreed to in detail. Primarily this is because there are various sets of terms under which a matrilocal marriage may be arranged, but partially the need for clarity in these matters derives from the deviant character of matrilocal marriages. Being deviant, the terms of such a marriage must be negotiated, since one cannot depend upon generally recognized rules as guides for behavior.

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554 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not

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582 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sim-púa married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kià:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bŭe or bàe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

* 593 • 581 858 181 Decisions about the sīm-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, [171] they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to * 543 768 insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 12

MATRILOCAL MARRIAGE

*587 *592 Most decisions about adoption are made during the extended phase of the normal family cycle. When sons marry they remain living with their parents and their married brothers, and it is during the next few years that most of their children are born and their fates decided. It is also during these years that the family is most likely to adopt a daughter to raise as a wife for one of their male children or as a means of bringing a son into the family. During the following stem phase of the family cycle, the membership of most households remains stable. Most of the family's children are too old to be given in adoption and too young yet to marry. The next period of crucial decisions is not usually reached until the death of the grandparents has reduced the household to a nuclear family. The children are then old enough to marry, and decisions must be made as to how they are going to marry. Marriages may be arranged which add to the family roster, or the young people may be married out of the family to become members of other households. Having already seen something of decisions which families make about adoption during the early phase of the cycle, our next task will be to consider decisions about the marriages of a family's young adult members.

• 581 A few men and women born in the village of Hsiachichou never marry, but this is usually the result of unforeseen circumstances rather than a family decision.

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591 Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 102 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lin Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

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• 581 When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

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4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die.' He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

*583 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brit-
591 tle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension
606 inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in
• 591 the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

*583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

*583 591 558 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

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tive merits of the various forms of marriage, we were told, "You can never tell what will happen when a man marries into your family. He may be a good man like Tan Han-cu's son, or he may be a man who is always gambling and running around. Maybe he will work hard for your family, but maybe he will run away with your daughter. You can't depend on it."

We therefore find that it is only when they have no other way of obtaining sons that parents will attempt to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. Of 26 village girls for whom matrilocal marriages were arranged 16 (62 percent) were daughters whose parents did not have any sons. Their sons had either died before reaching marriageable age, or they had the misfortune of never bearing any male children. In 8 of those 10 cases in which a family did have sons and still arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, the sons were much younger than the daughter. By the time a man's eldest children reach marriageable age, he himself will be approaching an age at which he will no longer be able to support his family. If these older children are girls, he may be forced to bring a son-in-law in to support the family until his own sons are old enough to assume this responsibility. We can therefore say that so long as a family has a son of marriageable age they will almost never arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. The only two exceptions in our genealogies were cases in which the daughter herself initiated the marriage. In one case the marriage was a "love match" in which the man was escaping a marriage with a sim-pua, and in the other case the daughter was a prostitute who married a man she met

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"at work." The husband himself claims that he did not marry his wife's family even though he is living with her parents in Hsiachichou, but this is probably not true as one of their three children carries his wife's surname.

The matrilocal marriage might therefore be characterized as a last resort. So long as a family has sons who are old enough to marry they allow their daughters to marry in the preferred way, but when they have no sons of marriageable age they have no choice but to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. While this is a step that is always taken with reluctance, it is important to note that it is also taken with determination. Simply because this is their last resort, parents will not brook any resistance on the part of their daughter. So far as they are concerned the family's future, and their own security in old age are at stake, and they are therefore willing to apply whatever pressure is necessary to make a daughter acquiesce. Occasionally it happens that no pressure is necessary. In one happy case a girl whose parents had no sons had the good fortune to be attracted to (and attractive to) a young man who did not have a family of his own. She was happy to marry this particular man under any circumstances, and her parents were delighted to find a man willing to marry into their family. When we asked her if her parents had approved of her choosing her own husband, she answered, smiling, "It isn't easy to find a man willing to marry into his wife's family." More commonly, however, this is not the case. As a result of the stereotype of "the kind of man who would

*583 591 581 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will never make a good husband."

*584 591 581 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage, the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage, less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist parental pressure because of their potential economic independence, but daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is therefore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

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#562 #584 herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

#583 591 581 The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sīm-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

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ter 1910 a total of 17 (17 percent) made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their [redacted]nity and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

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Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money. Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

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eldest is aptly nicknamed "Dumby" by the village children. When I left the village, he was becoming quite vicious as a result of the cruel teasing of his peers. His sister does her best to protect him, but Iu Mui-mue, except for an occasional shout at his persecutors, seems unconcerned. The father is not particularly well received in the village, probably because of his and his wife's capacity for accumulating hopeless debts. I never saw him at a feast in the Lim house, even when his wife was helping in the kitchen. Yet, between husband and wife there seems to be a steady, stable affection. Few marital disputes are missed by the village gossips, but I rarely heard of a disturbance in their household. The only long-standing disagreement they have, one which would have been major in other families, is about the terms of their marriage. Mui-mue's husband claims that his wife married into his line of descent, but his wife claims that he married into hers. As evidence for her case, Mui-mue points out that the eldest child carries her family surname. Her husband claims that this is simply an error in registration that he will have changed. The "error in registration" may very well have occurred before Mui-mue and her husband were married. During my stay in the village, the registration was never changed, the disagreement never resolved, and the debts never paid.

Before their marriage there is rarely anything in the behavior of betrothed foster siblings that distinguishes them from true brothers and sisters. The present relationship between Lim Chieng-cua and Mui-mue is probably somewhat more distant than is usual between a man and his married sister, but considering the two personalities involved, and their present, very different, statuses, this is not too surprising. Iu Mui-mue is certainly not secretive about her sympathy with Lim A-pou in the current family disagreement, but sisters are nearly always closer to each other than they are to their brothers. Mui-mue is not given to reflection, but any opinion or thought that does occur to her is usually expressed loudly to anyone who will listen. If she ever stopped to consider how close she came to occupying Lim Chui-ieng's comfortable position rather than her own precarious one, she has long since forgotten about it. Mui-mue is clearly a victim of the Lim family's change of fortune, but in fact I think she is quite content with her life.

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had prospered and had been assisted toward their prosperity by the Lims. They still consult with Lim Chieng-cua and Lim A-bok on a variety of subjects, ranging from insecticides to investments. A bride's family could not bribe Ng Kui-lian to hide their daughter's defects until after the final ceremony, or raise the bride price and lower the dowry. This go-between's loyalty was unquestionable.

Unfortunately, Lim Han-ci's choice of a bride was not as astute as his choice of a go-between. In deciding among the several girls that Ng Kui-lian presented for his approval, he broke a fundamental rule. Chui-ieng was attractive, intelligent, healthy, and of the right age for his son. She was reputed to be strong-minded, but no rumor of really bad behavior was found among her neighbors. She was an adopted daughter but had been adopted into a childless family, so there was no suspicion that she was being rejected as an unsuitable bride for the son of that family. She did not have a reputation for skill in the domestic arts, but this was not at all unusual for young women from families of modestly comfortable means. Many mothers consider their permissive treatment of their daughters a kindness, at the same time cursing their new daughters-in-law for the slack upbringing that makes them so useless in their marital homes. But this was a minor fault. The major fault was one that Lim Han-ci foolishly chose to disregard. Chui-ieng was born into an urban family far wealthier than the Lims, and adopted into a family which was perceptibly better off than the Lims. When his go-between pointed this out as a serious disadvantage, Lim Han-ci made an error of pride. The house of Lim had risen so far in his lifetime that his perspective blurred. When Chieng-cua caught sight of the handsome girl and indicated his approval to his father, the decision was made. Lim Han-ci dismissed the long-accepted custom that wives should be selected from families whose status was the same or slightly inferior to their husband's. It was a decision he and the rest of the family regretted from the day Chui-ieng entered the house. She persistently brought to everyone's mind, both intentionally and through ignorance, the reason for this rule of marriage. Although not accustomed to a life of luxury, she was used to more comforts than she found with the Lims. She did not consider the price of a bus ticket to the next town a serious expenditure. The closest she had come to agriculture was in picking flowers, but the Lims expected her help, albeit minimally, during the rush periods of harvest. Although she knew she would have to learn to

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• 581
*159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
*596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
*593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
[359] that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

*159 "I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
*593 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
597 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
584 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

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chapter 11

[p.132]

NARROW HEARTS

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According to Lim Chui-ieng, all of her unhappiness stems from someone's ill use of her. In adult life that someone has been Lim Chieng-cua. Chui-ieng has chosen to focus on her husband's mistresses as the source of most of her troubles. Romantic love is considered irrelevant to marriage in China, and Chui-ieng had not even met her husband before her marriage, let alone seen enough of him to love him. Nonetheless, she felt insulted and threatened by the extra-marital activities he engaged in from the early years of their union. Her childhood, unusual for an adopted daughter, had not taught her the rewards of submission or the pretense of submission, but had accustomed her to being the center of large and small storms, many of them brought on by her displays of temper. In the Lim family tempers were a speciality and Chui-ieng's little displays caused only looks of disapproval. She had expected trouble in her new home, indeed her parents had warned her repeatedly that she would have to mend her ways when she married, but she had not expected to be ignored. I don't think it had ever occurred to her that she might not be able to control her husband as easily as she had controlled her foster parents.

*159 *596 *593 837

Chui-ieng's failure made her frantic, but she was helpless. She could mask her despair with scorn, but the only reasonable criticism she could make of her husband was that the money he spent on mistresses would ruin the family. "It is not because my heart is narrow that I argue with my husband. It is because I want to save my family. If he spends all the money on girlfriends, what are my children to do? We aren't like Lim A-pou and her sons who only eat the rice in the middle of the pan [i.e. don't have to worry where it is coming from]. When my children's father has a girlfriend he takes her to movies and to restaurants, gambling and buying wine. They take friends along too,

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but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.'"

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ieng's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[363] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
531 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
892 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
• 581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

573 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
• 581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

198 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 775 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 597 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. 581 842 597 Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

183 178 842

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

• 581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total denial of educational opportunities for females. The differences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
542 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. 582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage 612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a 571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to 584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al- 612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, 601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the 626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home [591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother [551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in [835] village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between [827] families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [171] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village. 612

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value." 171 602

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level. 171 618 602 621

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships. 171 582 628 [618]

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main 628 612 582

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family-division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is <u>the</u> form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time, there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 582 648 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a mainlander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a mainlander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral, irresponsbile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous. As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is considered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

582 in such a situation tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may strain affinal ties, but their primary concern is the effect of such a situation upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship itself. They fear that the girl's having natural allies in the same community will exacerbate what is at best a relationship of restrained hostility. Our genealogies include only four cases of preferred marriages in which the man and wife were both residents of Hsiachichou prior to their marriage, and these four cases are all exceptional in that the parties were members of families belonging to the same lineage. While ordinarily considered incestuous, such marriages are permissable in one situation. If a family adopts a daughter to marry to one of their sons and for some reason this marriage does not materialize, the girl is then eligible to marry into families belonging to the same lineage as her foster family. As to why village families are willing to contract endogamous marriages within their lineage but not outside it, we can only guess, having not seen the significance of the question while we were still in a position to collect pertinent data. Perhaps the strength of the prior agnatic ties effectively precludes the tensions which are apt to arise when marriages are contracted between families who are not close kinsmen and who do not belong to a common kinship organization.

584 Unlike the situation in many areas of China, preferred marriages in Hsiachichou seldom begin as infant betrothals. Occasionally, two women who are close friends will discuss the possibility of marrying an infant son and daughter, but such discussions are not ordinarily

584 to arrange the marriage. Someone was needed to negotiate the bride price and dowry with the girl's family, and someone was needed simply to play the role of go-between. The traditional ritual duties of the go-between are such that it is impossible to perform the engagement and wedding without someone playing this role. Although she may be damned in folklore and proverb as deceitful and conniving, the go-between is at the very least an indispensable evil.

But while it may be impossible to effect a marriage without a go-between, not any go-between will suffice. The first step towards a [582] satisfactory marriage is the choice of the right go-between. Since marriage with the same surname group is impossible because of the incest taboo, and since it is also felt that marriage within the same community is undesirable, a marriage will almost always involve a family's establishing social relations with someone with whom they are not intimately acquainted. For this reason it is extremely important to the family that they have a go-between they can trust, for most of the information they obtain about these potential kinsmen will be through her. A family will often respond to the suggestions of a go-between as much because of the qualities of the go-between as the qualities of the suggested match. The rule is simple and is almost universally observed, having, as we shall see later, a very strong effect upon the patterning of marriage alliances: no marriage is any better than the go-between who makes the arrangements.

When at last a family chooses a go-between in whom they have confidence, they then begin intensive inquiries about the other party to the

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER 4

THE ALTERNATIVES

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In the ideal Chinese world it would only be by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage that a person would exchange his status in one family for membership in another. Every family would bear sons who would marry and live with their parents, and every girl would leave her natal home as a young adult to become a daughter-in-law in her husband's family. Although we are very much inclined to doubt it, this ideal may have been realized in other parts of China. In Hsiachichou only a minority of the changes in family membership take place by means of the preferred marriage. Our genealogies include 167 cases of men and women who were born into village families which they later left by way of marriage or adoption, and 236 cases of men and women who were born elsewhere and later entered village families by marriage or adoption. Of these 167 persons leaving Hsiachichou 32 left by means of the preferred marriage, and of the 236 persons entering village families 74 came by way of the preferred marriage. Among those men and women who entered village families by way of adoption, 29 eventually married out of their foster families in the preferred way. We therefore find that of 196 persons leaving village families only 61 (31 percent) left by way of a preferred marriage, and of 236 persons entering village families only 74 (31 percent) came by way of a preferred marriage. While there can be no doubt that the preferred marriage was the ideal

583 193 582 way for a family to arrange its composition, it is obvious that there are other means which are just as important in practice.

584 591 583 In Hsiachichou a common alternative to the preferred marriage is what we will hereafter refer to as the sǐm-pûà, or "little daughter-in-law," form of marriage. Such marriages involve the male's family taking a prospective daughter-in-law into their household when the girl is still a child. She then grows up as a member of their kê much as though she were a daughter of the household, finally becoming a wife and daughter-in-law in the family when she is married to one of her foster family's sons. Although they may be adopted as late as four or five years of age, most sǐm-pûà enter their future husband's family at a very young age, the average being somewhere between two and two and a half years. A few of the sǐm-pûà adopted in Hsiachichou were actually nursed as infants by the women who later became their mothers-in-law. Women who had borne a female child after the birth of a son and who decided they wanted to arrange a sǐm-pûà marriage for the son gave away their own daughter and adopted another girl to drink their milk. While relatively rare simply because of the rarity of the necessary circumstances, such early adoptions are thought particularly desirable because "they make mother-in-law and daughter-in-law just like mother and daughter."

582 554 In the case of the preferred marriage the people of Hsiachichou have a clear preference with regard to the relative social status of the bride's and groom's families. Ideally, the two families should occupy a nearly equal status, but if there is a discrepancy the bride

582 554 should come from a family of lower status than that of her husband. Village parents fear that a girl from a family wealthier than their 581 own will not make a good daughter-in-law. As one of our informants explained, "If a girl is from a poor family she will know about money and how to save money, but if she comes from a rich family she will be spending money all the time, and then it will be very hard for you if you aren't rich." One woman did tell us that choosing a rich girl might be a good thing "because you could make some money on the dowry," but later in the same conversation she also pointed out the disadvantages of such a choice. "If you marry a girl from a rich family she won't know how to work, and she will spend a lot of money because she *584 will be used to it." In the case of the sīm-pûà marriage, on the *597 other hand, the relative social status of the two families is not an 554 important consideration. They most commonly come from the same social strata, but they may also be from widely divergent family backgrounds, with either the boy's or the girl's family being the more privileged of the two. We know of one striking case in which one of the poorest families in Hsiachichou adopted a daughter from one of the wealthiest landlord families in the town of Hsulin. The economic circumstances of the two families were so disparate that the woman told us she never went to visit her natal family. "They are much wealthier than my husband's family and would just think I was coming [581] to ask for something." What apparently concerns a family in selecting a daughter-in-law is her ability to adjust to the routine of life in their household. So long as the girl is raised in their home

583 581 554 We have seen that in the case of the preferred marriage the ideal is for the two families to be of approximately the same social status with any advantage being in favor of the husband's family. In the case of the matrilocal marriages there is no particular preference concerning the relative status of the two families, but there is in fact a strong tendency for the status of the male's family to be considerably lower than that of his wife's. Since a matrilocal marriage is an undesirable form of marriage for a male, men make such marriages only because they are so poor that they are willing to marry for security or for an inheritance. As a result, they are usually men from a socio-economic level lower than that of their wife's family. If they did not see some advantage in marrying into their wife's family, they would not 593 582 make a matrilocal marriage at all. The selection of the groom in the case of a matrilocal marriage also differs from the choice of a bride for a preferred marriage in that the general preferences for village exogamy and ethnic endogamy are not observed. Although most families would probably prefer a son-in-law from outside the village and within the same ethnic group, it is so difficult to find a man willing to make such a marriage that the girl's family is often forced to accept any man they can find. With the exception of the four cases in which a sīm-pòà married an agnate of her foster family, we do not find any preferred marriages involving two residents of Hsiachichou, and we know of only one case of a preferred marriage which involved a mainland Chinese. By contrast, the much smaller number of matrilocal marriages includes two endogamous marriages and three cases in which

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law.
582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of
591 completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms
[606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents.
[851] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's sur-
[553] name, although some informants claim that it is possible for one
178 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has
583 occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
594 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
198 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.

[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterized as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

#597 give their daughters out as sĭn-pûà. The villagers themselves assume
556 that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sĭn-pûà and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

#597 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions
#562 concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any par-
#121 ticular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adop-
[735] tion. But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they
[611] could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. The general
[582] preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created
[842] among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

husbands. Our genealogies include 24 women who by 1960 had worked as prostitutes for at least three years and about whom we have adequate information. Of these 24 women 12 (50 percent) had adopted their first child, and 14 (58 percent) of the 24 adopted at least one girl before bearing a male child. The importance of female children to women who become prostitutes can best be demonstrated by comparing the number of girls they adopt with the number they give away in adoption. Married women give away as many female children as they adopt, but prostitutes tend to hoard female children. Although between them they had borne a total of 23 female children, these 24 women gave only three of their girls in adoption, and at the same time adopted a total of 18 more female children. They adopted five times as many girls as they gave away, collecting a total of 38 female children. Their motive for adopting these girls is suggested by the fact that 6 of the village women who became prostitutes were the adopted daughters of women who were themselves prostitutes.

The circumstances which lead these women to adopt a daughter can be illustrated by the case of Lim A-sui, daughter of Lim Li-kui. After working as a prostitute for a number of years in Tainan, Lim Li-kui sent her eldest daughter to work in one of the city's best known brothels. Lim A-sui was then sixteen years old. A slim attractive girl, she caught the attention of the son of a wealthy Tainan family who wanted to marry her. The boy feared that his father would discover his prospective fiancee's occupation, and moved her and her family back to Hsiachichou where they lived for a time with Lim Li-kui's first foster

family. During the first nine months Lim A-sui's friend made several visits to the village and each month sent a substantial allowance, but after a while the boy admitted that it was going to be difficult for them to marry. He said that his father would not allow him to marry until his older brother married, which may very well have been true since such an order of marriage is desirable among respectable families. Lim A-sui was under considerable pressure from her mother at the time to return to work, the boy friend's allowance not stretching far enough to cover her gambling debts. Discouraged about her prospects for a normal future, and after a particularly violent quarrel with her mother, Lim A-sui disappeared, telling some of the neighbors she was going to commit suicide. Fortunately, she phoned her boy friend who was able to dissuade her by renewing his promise of marriage. When after several months his visits became sporadic and her mother's demands more adamant, Lim A-sui finally decided that she would never be able to marry and adopted a daughter. For her, it was an act of resignation, an admission that she would have to provide her own support when she was too old to work. As one of the village women explained in discussing the adoption, "What else could she do? That kind of woman has to have someone who will take care of her later."

Occasionally, a young woman whose parents do not have any adult sons "to lean on" will voluntarily become a prostitute. At least one such case developed while we were in Hsiachichou when a young woman who had five younger siblings took a job in an army brothel after her father, a coolie, broke his leg. Although at first we were skeptical

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583 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

*596 *159 595 583 *593 [771] Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

*596 *159 186 • 582 *593 595 All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that family's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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"Hah! How good is that. I always hear her scolding her mother. She tries to restrain her at every turn."

A-ki bristled in defense of her friend. "That is because the mother doesn't have any sense. If her mother took care of the home and didn't gamble all the time, I'm sure Chun-ieng would give her all of the money to take care of."

The continuous quarrel between A-hong and her daughter over money reached a climax several months later. It was only then that I learned of the future Chun-ieng longed for and of the secret she and the Lim family had kept from her mother. While working in Tainan, Chun-ieng met the second son of a wealthy industrialist. Their mutual attraction deepened into a more serious interest, and the young man wanted to marry her. Many young prostitutes who have not yet compromised their future by a series of abortions, illegitimate children, or the adoption of young girls as support for their old age, marry into quite respectable families. There seems to be some notion among peasant families that a young woman who has had this kind of experience is less likely to succumb to temptation after marriage. Chun-ieng's young man, however, came from the upper classes and her welcome into his family might not be as warm. Moreover, they also had to wait until his older brother, then serving his term in the army, was married, it being bad form for a younger brother to marry before an elder. When Chun-ieng's lover was sent by his father to supervise a logging operation in central Taiwan, they decided upon a compromise. Chun-ieng would come and live with him there until such time as they could be married properly. Tan A-hong knew nothing of these plans, although she knew her daughter was fond of the young man. She herself was attracted by his reputed wealth, but the possibility of her daughter marrying anyone was something she refused to think about. Chun-ieng married would not only make a considerable dent in A-hong's income, but would also deprive her of her authority over the girl. No matter what agreements are reached at the time of marriage, a young woman's loyalty necessarily shifts to her husband. Besides, Chun-ieng was still approaching the peak of her earning power as a prostitute. Her youth and high spirits had brought her a good income until now, and A-hong's practiced eyes recognized that her daughter's appeal was based on a handsomeness that would not fade as had her own but might with training turn Chun-ieng into the cool, sophisticated companion of the very wealthy. Whether or not Chun-ieng's

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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosperous shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency to speak her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster mother's account of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan A-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

162 [161] Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Szulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if [829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 829 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

lives with his bride in the village. Another young couple, working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when their child was eighteen months old because the boy's father became ill and required help with farming. Since it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls. Because few married girls continue working in the factory after marriage or after the first child is born at the latest, the age when they return to the village helps explain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four residents were males only and also to the greater shortage of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found by Gallin for his village on the west central plain (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to continue living in the village while working in the city. Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations (room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
• [582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[183] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

• 582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

583 prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain
556 a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an
581 economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

583 At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than
582 regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

573 Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-
559 in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 156; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [ ] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since [ ] the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
178 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Ever at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 <u>siaosiv</u>, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

• 582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

582 and a lesser preference for li exogamy. Villagers are valued much more than the town people who are said to be lazy and who probably possess expensive tastes. Most couples were both raised in the area around Hsin Tien although brides brought in from down island carry high prestige.

Although marriages between people with the same surname are legal and villagers are aware of examples in town, they do not occur in the area around Sanlei. An interesting unconscious patterning was revealed by the fact that on every occasion when the possibility was discussed, someone made the same remark, "That's just like the pigs!" (See [325] Glossary C.) There is a shared belief that pigs are dirty and have no morals.

There are two other types of surname exogamy. Some surnames are said to be both descendants of the same ancestor and therefore should not marry, for example Liao and Chien, although a violation of this rule is not as serious as would be the marriage of two people with the identical name. There was an example in the village and although the marriage had lasted many years, there was still much gossip about it for some people considered it a form of incest. Finally, two lineages may have had a fight and pledged that their descendants will never intermarry. This does not mean the proscription is for everyone with these surnames but only for the descendants of the pledgers who possess their surnames. There were three such pairs known to villagers

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

583 178 [184]

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

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One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

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The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

583 591 [612]

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

[171] [551]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

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Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sinosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinsiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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581 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by
584 marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry
583 have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation [564] may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both
584 families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family
465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita-
[203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and rela-
[618] tives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

2: Wolf

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

● 583

[For modes of marriage, especially in relation to rules of residence and initiation of common residence in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 40-98, 127-133, 165-246, and 251-288.]

impossible for the family which wanted to adopt girls as wives for their sons. Thus, we find in Hsiachichou in the years before 1930 a rate of adoption for female children that is much higher than the rate of male adoption. Whereas only 8 (7 percent) of the 110 males born in the village before 1930 were given in adoption, more than half of the females born in this period were sent out in adoption. Of a total 103 girls born into the village before 1930 we find that 67 (65 percent) were given in adoption. As striking as this figure may seem, the rate of adoption was apparently even higher in Hsiachichou in the past. Of 45 girls who were born before 1910 a total of 32 (71 percent) were given out in adoption.[1]

According to our informants in Hsiachichou, landlord families living in the market towns almost never gave their female children away in adoption. They were wealthy enough that the expense of raising a girl was not a matter of concern, and so were able to spare their female children the often unhappy fate of the adopted daughter. Some parents who were particularly fond of a daughter even went so far as to arrange a matrilocal marriage as a means of keeping her in the family. By contrast with these exceptionally well to do families, there have always been some poor families living in the area who have had to sell all of their daughters. These were the really impoverished who could not afford to raise their sons let alone their daughters. The contrast is one to which a friend living in Hsulin often referred to illustrate

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1 These figures and those which follow exclude the female children of a number of women who were prostitutes. Since the circumstances are so different from the case of the normal family, we will analyze these decisions separately.

[Additional information on sĭm-pûà and siaosiv is to be found in categories 584 and 597.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

583 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

*596 *159 595 583 *593 [771] Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

*596 *159 186 582 *593 595 All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 7 [p. 75]

LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"—these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 465 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 In order to continue the family line and provide
583 descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring
591 in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan
583 based on official records provided by Barclay for the
591 period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
• 583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
591 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
559 records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
• 583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ances-
769 tor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.

583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
861 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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851 The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

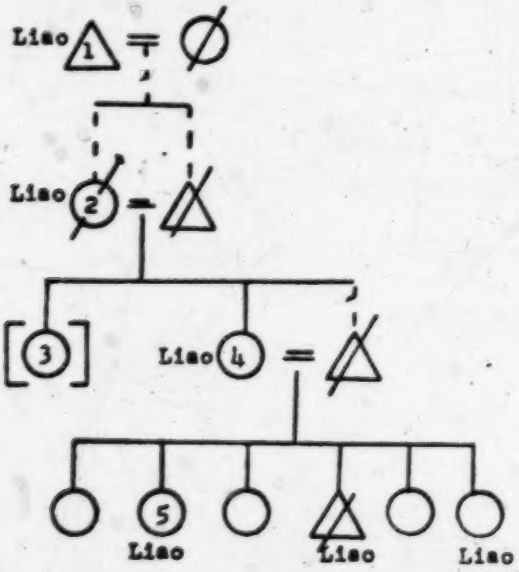

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
581 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

prospects to become an adopted-in husband for he does gain a wife, usually without cost, and also gains a home and an economic stake in his wife's property, the extent determined by negotiation.

At marriage, adopted-in husbands are older than regular husbands, 27.1 versus 25.8, but their brides are younger, 19.8 versus 21.2. Although I was not able to establish the explanation with certainty, it does appear that the older age for men is related to their inferior prospects as grooms. The younger age for women seems due to two facts. For one, they are probably acceding to parental wishes for fear of the lack of descendants; for the other, there is the absence of any pressure to delay marriage because of the girl's economic or labor contributions since she will not be leaving the household.

Most men state they would not like to be an adopted-in husband, a chao fu. However, the status of an adopted-in husband does not appear to be as low in Sanlei as has been described in some other communities (Gallin, 1966: 136; Barclay, 1954:229). For example, one adopted-in husband is the elected representative to the farmers' association, another is the chairman of the mediation team for a nearby coal mine, and yet another was the pot master for the last Matsu festival. Perhaps the differences in status are related to the frequency of matrilocal marriages in various communities. Only West Town among the Chinese

583 558 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in husbands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 183 123 The frequency of this form of marriage has important implications for the role of women. There are probably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

593 583 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

The third and final additional reason seems to be based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

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[577]
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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

[825]
[593]

7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

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585 The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that
584 described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf,
1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability
583 may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount ex-
584 changed marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while
585 the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the cirrcumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between
827 families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sioasiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[3]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [584] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

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585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in [203] the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

584

[For data on arranging a marriage in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 44-129, 163-216, 221-222, and 244-259.]

[Information on the sīm-pûà and siaosiv has been marked also for categories 583 and 597.]

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that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

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seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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future wife. Unfortunately, this second son died before the age of two from one of the many diseases that afflict Chinese infants. To make matters worse, when Tan A-hong was nine or ten, the girl the family had given away to make room for Lim A-pou was returned to them because the boy she was to marry in her foster family had also died. This placed Lim Han-ci in an awkward position, one that endangered the shaky balance a tenant farmer maintains with his poverty. Lim A-pou, the girl adopted to marry their eldest son, was old enough to be useful around the house and was proving to be a hard worker. Tan A-hong, adopted to marry the son who died, was still too young to work in the fields and was not particularly needed around the house. When their natural daughter was returned to them, Lim Han-ci found himself with two "useless" girls to feed, clothe, and marry to other families. He solved the problem of Tan A-hong by reselling her to another family; he accepted his fate by keeping his natural daughter. In view of the subsequent histories of the two girls, the decision was probably a wise one, but it must have been difficult at the time. Lim Han-ci's daughter grew up in her own family, made a good marriage, and returned to the house during my stay only on appropriate ceremonial occasions. Her siblings and foster siblings are fond of her, and she and her husband make no more than the usual demands on the family. Tan A-hong's relationship with the family should have ended at the point she left them, but they were plagued by her problems for years to come. She finally returned to settle permanently in Peihotien about half way through my stay in the village.

Lim Chieng-cua was the next son born to Lim Han-ci and although never very strong, he survived the dangers of a Chinese childhood. Two years later another daughter was born to the family, but she lived for little more than a month. To soothe the maternal sorrow and to provide Lim Chieng-cua with a wife, Iu Mui-mue was adopted almost immediately.

The last child born to Lim Han-ci's wife was also a girl. She was given away as soon as she was weaned and to my knowledge never returns to visit the family, not even on the traditional homecoming festival of the New Year. This is not unusual behavior on the part of children given away in adoption. Proverbially—and from my observation there is a great deal of truth in the proverbs—adopted daughters are treated harshly by their foster parents. Not all female adoptions are to provide sons with wives. Some little girls are adopted simply as

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During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua,* he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

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former village beauty, but Gioq-ki is of another type. She resembles far more her half-brother A-bok and her uncle Lim Chieng-cua than her short, stocky mother. From her father's family she inherited the unusual long, thin face with its high cheekbones, narrow nose, and firm, somewhat pointed chin. She also inherited, or imbibed, that family's hot temper and fierce character. In Lim Hue-lieng, his brother, and his father, these traits were awesome and even admired; in a Taiwanese female, they are labelled insolence. Gioq-ki is better educated than most village women and though overly proud of her education, she makes no use of it. She is clearly intelligent, but her quick mind only intensifies her restlessness and her dissatisfaction.

It is not difficult to see why Gioq-ki was attracted to the newspaper reporter who grew up on the mainland of China. Chang Jong-kuei is handsome, assured, and sophisticated. His carefully tailored, imported business suits look out of place on village paths, but he shows no signs of self-consciousness. Although the expression on his face suggests affability, his only contact with his village neighbors is at the gambling tables. When Gioq-ki met him, her experience with sophistication was limited to the practiced posing of young village toughs. While bold in a fight and defiant of their enemies, these young men withered at a glance from her father. They speak with confidence and respond quickly to any insult, and yet they are cautious of public opinion in their villages and accept the dictates of local custom. Chang Jong-kuei knows nothing of these restraints. He is an educated mainlander, a city dweller without obligation. Gioq-ki saw him move with ease and assurance through expensive hotels and restaurants in which her father would have looked out of place and slightly uncomfortable. Her father and the *lo mua* feared no one but deferred to the community; Chang Jong-kuei knew no community. The average villager would not trust Chang simply because he is not subject to the usual social pressures, but to Gioq-ki, living in the glow of her father's reputation for independence and power, Chang Jong-kuei's freedom from restraint looked like a personal quality.

At the time Gioq-ki and Chang met, young people in the villages were just beginning to demand the right to choose their own marriage partners. The objections of Gioq-ki's parents to her choice were balanced by her contemporaries' admiration of her boldness. What doubts she herself may have had about marrying a rootless mainlander were cancelled by her fiance's confidence and his dangerously foolish belief in her father's inability to interfere.

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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chapter 7

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LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

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chapter 9

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IU MUI-MUE: A REJECTED BRIDE

By the time Lim Chieng-cua and Iu Mui-mue, the girl adopted to be his wife, reached marriageable age, the Lim family was prosperous— more prosperous than their neighbors and more prosperous than Lim Han-ci had ever dreamed of their being within his lifetime. Iu Mui-mue had been adopted to provide a dutiful daughter-in-law and an inexpensive wife for the second son of a respectable though poor tenant farm family. But, the poor tenant family had become an increasingly powerful landed family, a family that could now afford a more prestigious form of marriage. Even if there had not been a change in his fortunes, Lim Han-ci could see that Mui-mue was not a suitable wife for his son. By adopting her as a child he had avoided the problem of adjusting an adult bride to a new household, but there are some things adopting parents cannot control. In the case of Mui-mue, it was her stupidity. Even worse, for Lim Han-ci's temperament, she was feckless. In all of his other children and in those of his grandchildren old enough to be influenced by him, Lim Han-ci instilled a driving capacity for hard work, but Mui-mue turned out to be one of the laziest women in Peihotien. She is placid, shiftless, and pleasure loving; when she encounters a problem, she laughs and turns to something else. In her youth she got more personal enjoyment out of the Lims' new prosperity than any other family member. By the time she was eighteen, she had a surprising reputation (for those days) for looseness, a reputation that Lim Han-ci found he could not

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cure by beating. Lim Chieng-cua at twenty-one had already developed some skills in diplomacy. When he committed his only unfilial act, refusing to marry the girl selected for him by his parents, he did so in terms of her potential for bringing shame to the family name.

Several young men of Lim Chieng-cua's generation rejected the girls adopted to be their brides, but it was by no means the common act it was to become a few years later. In most cases there was a family uproar, aired from one end of the village to the other; the outcome depended a great deal upon the son's position in the family, the firmness of his character, and the potential he had for financial independence. In the case of the Lims, however, the village knew nothing of the matter until an observant neighbor noted the second visit of a go-between and was calmly told that Lim Han-ci was arranging the marriage of his adopted daughter. We can never know precisely what words were exchanged between father and son, but I doubt that they found much to disagree over. Lim Han-ci could not have looked with much favor on Iu Mui-mue, and he certainly realized that her nature would not improve with an elevation of position in the family. Had the old man wanted it, Lim Chieng-cua would probably be married to Mui-mue today, but since the father was in basic agreement with his son, there was no reason for him to rise to the challenge to his authority and to thereby endanger a relationship that was both comforting and important to his own well-being. Lim Han-ci had lost his eldest son and wished no quarrel with his one remaining son.

There is nothing in the marriage of adopted siblings that is lacking in honor. It is a form of marriage found even among wealthy urban families who value peace over pageantry. But even a man of Lim Han-ci's parsimonious principles must have been tempted by the opportunity the marriage of two unrelated adults provides for a public display of the family's rise in the world. To affirm his ability to provide a series of feasts for a hundred or more guests, to display his new house bedecked in satin banners and garlands of gift money, to introduce the quantity and quality of his social and blood relations, to show how large a dowry he could demand, to have the dowry carried on open carts through the streets of the town and the paths of the villages, to know that rumors were circulating as to the amount he gave as a "bride price"—these things may have appealed to Lim Han-ci as a symbol of his personal triumph over poverty and as a gesture

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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

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chapter 10

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LIM CHUI-IENG: AN EXPENSIVE WIFE

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Lim Chieng-cua's revolt, it if may be called that, ended with his refusal to marry Iu Mui-mue. He did not demand the right to choose his own bride and made no objection when his father began searching about for a trustworthy go-between. In China, the choice of a go-between is nearly as crucial as the choice of the bride. In a village marriage, the go-between must negotiate and remember accurately and honestly all of the involved terms of the marriage settlement. She scours the countryside for a family of appropriate status and makes discrete inquiries among their neighbors, friends, and enemies about the health, character, virtue, and industry of the prospective bride. Few parents are so bereft of friends and relatives that they cannot make an additional private set of enquiries about the bride and her family, but it is on the go-between's researches that most decisions are based. Her honesty must be unquestionable, her ability to analyze character infallible, her experience extensive, and above all else, her loyalty to the young man's family must be firmly and irrevocably established. She must, nonetheless, seem equally trustworthy to the family of the bride, giving them the impression that she is their ally, working for their interests. This is the ideal go-between and here Lim Han-ci chose without error. Ng Kui-lian was at that time in her middle sixties and had been an active and highly successful go-between for over twenty years. She lived no more than 100 yards from the Lims, and her family had lived in Peihotien for at least two generations before her birth. Her sons

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had prospered and had been assisted toward their prosperity by the Lims. They still consult with Lim Chieng-cua and Lim A-bok on a variety of subjects, ranging from insecticides to investments. A bride's family could not bribe Ng Kui-lian to hide their daughter's defects until after the final ceremony, or raise the bride price and lower the dowry. This go-between's loyalty was unquestionable.

Unfortunately, Lim Han-ci's choice of a bride was not as astute as his choice of a go-between. In deciding among the several girls that Ng Kui-lian presented for his approval, he broke a fundamental rule. Chui-ieng was attractive, intelligent, healthy, and of the right age for his son. She was reputed to be strong-minded, but no rumor of really bad behavior was found among her neighbors. She was an adopted daughter but had been adopted into a childless family, so there was no suspicion that she was being rejected as an unsuitable bride for the son of that family. She did not have a reputation for skill in the domestic arts, but this was not at all unusual for young women from families of modestly comfortable means. Many mothers consider their permissive treatment of their daughters a kindness, at the same time cursing their new daughters-in-law for the slack upbringing that makes them so useless in their marital homes. But this was a minor fault. The major fault was one that Lim Han-ci foolishly chose to disregard. Chui-ieng was born into an urban family far wealthier than the Lims, and adopted into a family which was perceptibly better off than the Lims. When his go-between pointed this out as a serious disadvantage, Lim Han-ci made an error of pride. The house of Lim had risen so far in his lifetime that his perspective blurred. When Chieng-cua caught sight of the handsome girl and indicated his approval to his father, the decision was made. Lim Han-ci dismissed the long-accepted custom that wives should be selected from families whose status was the same or slightly inferior to their husband's. It was a decision he and the rest of the family regretted from the day Chui-ieng entered the house. She persistently brought to everyone's mind, both intentionally and through ignorance, the reason for this rule of marriage. Although not accustomed to a life of luxury, she was used to more comforts than she found with the Lims. She did not consider the price of a bus ticket to the next town a serious expenditure. The closest she had come to agriculture was in picking flowers, but the Lims expected her help, albeit minimally, during the rush periods of harvest. Although she knew she would have to learn to

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+159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
+596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
+593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
[359] that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

+159 "I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
+593 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
597 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
• 584 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

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she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry.

"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me.

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ieng told me: "She [probably the go-

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between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

123 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of
609 European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your
123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assess-
609 ed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some-
554 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order
584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my
123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had
[573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association).
[60] A final key may be found in the term of address which

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

• 584 established between the bride's parents and groom's parents through the auspices of a matchmaker, the bride
[178] and groom not meeting until the wedding. This form, once very popular, is declining in frequency, constituting about one quarter of the recent marriages in Sanlei Ts'un from data and estimated about the same for the li.

A second form is what we have called a "veto marriage." It is closely related to the strictly "arranged marriage" because the procedures are similar, initial negotiations being handled by a matchmaker between two sets of parents. However, before the engagement, the young people meet each other, frequently at the potential bride's home in the presence of both parents and the matchmaker. Alternatively, they may observe each other but not meet by both attending the same function such as a movie or amusement park in separate groups. Each potential spouse retains the right to veto the marriage but this is seldom done openly. The negative sentiment is expressed by pointing out faults, "He doesn't look strong." "She looks like she has expensive tastes." Positive sentiment, on the other hand, is merely a statement by the child to the parent that "You know best," or "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) This data was obtained by both interviews and observation. I accompanied one village boy, his parents, and the matchmaker to the home of the potential bride where we visited for an hour and left. In the taxi on the way back to the village, the boy told his father that he should

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [118] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [589] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

584 654 187 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei. A wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 584 769 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.

583 769 583 551 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 584 551 861 The most variance in marriage contract terms is with reference to the surnames of the children. The range is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

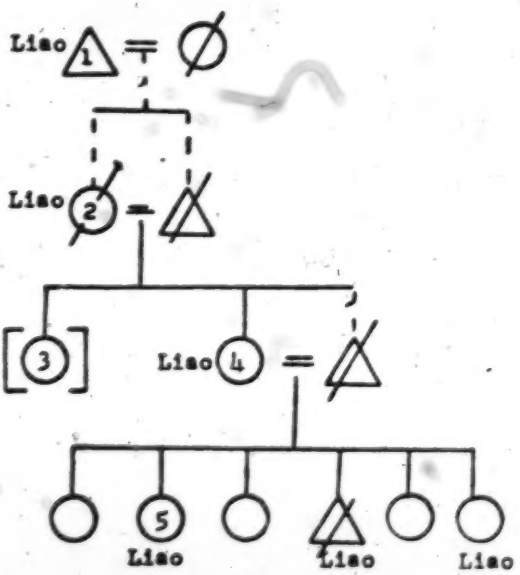

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to 885 reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

584 597 593 At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the wor[illegible]

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
595 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

584 in the usual manner. From the official records, it is
556 impossible to tell if the decision to marry out the girl was made by the father alone because his family could now afford the regular marriage with its consequent prestige accrual for the family or was due to the non-acceptance of the original match by the boy and/or girl. In Wolf's report, of 19 men born between 1910 and 1930 who later had an adopted sister designated as a future mate, only two eventually married, and in 15 cases, the young couple refused to go through with the match (1966:886). Only two of nineteen does not offer strong support for his contention that the adoption is a "partial" marriage. Indeed, other kinds of data suggest it is less a "partial marriage" than is an engagement. If an engaged girl refused to complete the wedding, her family would owe damages to the groom's family. On the other hand, if an adopted daughter refused to complete the wedding, her natal family (with whom relations are most often maintained) would not owe damages.

275 Unlike the men in Wolf's study (1966:883-92), vil-
548 lage men of Sanlei rarely travel to the wine and tea houses in Hsin Tien or Taipei. They do go occasionally to an unlicensed drinking and eating location in a basement in a nearby village house to eat snacks and drink wine or beer and sing or play games, but no prostitutes are ever present.

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

108 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
198 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

• 584 In the veto form, the prospective groom accompanies his parents and the matchmaker to the girl's house and while the adults chat and the girl serves tea and cookies, the boy and girl look each other over or alternatively, they may attend the same affair in separate groups such as a movie while negotiations are in process. Each then has the right to say no but this is rarely so boldly stated. Examples of veto statements include such as, "He doesn't look very strong." "Doesn't he look sickly?" "She looks like she might have expensive tastes." Acceptance statements are, "You know best." "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) One recently married village boy vetoed five girls before getting married but now claims to have a fully-arranged marriage. Another claims the same, stating he and his bride first met at the wedding, although both grew up in the same village which had a total population under 400 and both were on the same tag-ball team in school.

Finally, after a couple make a love match, they often go through the whole process of negotiations with a matchmaker as if the proposal was not a foregone conclusion. Love matches are extremely common among older couples or the remarriage of widowers or widows.

591 In terms of residence after marriage, there are three major forms: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. Patrilocal is most common and still carries the highest prestige. As discussed in Chapter V, matrilocal marriages are more frequent in Sanlei than in Taiwan as a whole. Neolocal

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 siaosiv, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf, 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount exchanged marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
• [584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

628 invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one
612 is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's
796 *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* fur-
574 nishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In
[621] any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a
593 son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a
612 wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the
604 groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The
[171] importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a
574 visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller
593 and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a
[606] large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take
[612] turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to
593 her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time
612 talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occa-
612 sions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they
574 happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [584] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. 584 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family 465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in [203] the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'ang t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys berome even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

584 606 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 585 183 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want [584] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-zi̍t, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu zi̍t, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

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585 toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates
[273] the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger
[32] guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

593 The formal marriage procedure is brought to completion three days
585 after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother or her sisters serve her tea in the kòng-thia̍: as they might serve a respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact, referred to as cu̍e-khe̍q, "being a guest." After this first visit the the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

*584 *585 *597 Such ceremony as is associated with the sîm-pûà form of marriage is likewise very simple. As was the case with all brides thirty or forty years ago, the girl will ordinarily be dressed in red the day her residence is transferred from her parental home to her future husband's home, and it is common for families in Hsiachichou to take the girl home "to be a guest" several days after the "wedding." But there are no feasts, no guests and no band, and often no go-between; in short, none of the activities that make a preferred marriage proper and successful. Later, when the girl is old enough to marry, it is necessary to perform a second ceremony to unite her with her husband, but this is likewise a very simple ceremony as compared with the preferred patrilocal marriage. When the parents feel that their son and their "daughter-in-law" are old enough to marry they will usually take the occasion of a New Years to present them to their ancestors and thus accomplish their union as husband and wife. Since there are always a number of guests in the house on the occasion of any New Years, there will always be a number of people to witness this presentation, but it is not necessary to invite guests particularly for this purpose. According to most informants, it is not even necessary for the girl's real parents to be present, this being what we might call an intra-family rather than an inter-family affair.

*584 *597 *593 The childhood status of the sîm-pûà in her foster home is something of an enigma. Given the obvious ceremonial equation of her entry into her husband's home with that of a bride in the preferred form of marriage, one might assume that her adoption is equivalent to marriage, making

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual. [554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [185] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûa, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$500 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sim-pua than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sim-pua marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

*584 regarded by foreigners as one of the more unusual Taiwanese customs,
178 it might easily become identified for the younger generation as
177 symbolic of the traditional society. Young people might therefore be particularly reluctant to make such marriages because of their association with the "old" as contrasted with the "new". Such a line of argument undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth. As Japanese and Western influence became strong on Taiwan and the younger generation was attracted by what was identified for them as "modern" and "new," the sīm-pûà marriage did tend to be tagged as "traditional" and "the old way of doing things." Again, however, this cannot be the whole picture, for resistance to the sīm-pûà form of marriage is not a new phenomenon. There is evidence which seems to indicate that even before foreign influences had any appreciable effect on Taiwan the sīm-pûà marriage was generally regarded as an unhappy fate by *584 those who had to make such a marriage. While many of our older informants in the village would argue that the sīm-pûà form of marriage was a good thing, this was always from the point of view of their status as parents or grandparents. When asked if they themselves had been happy to make such a marriage they were generally as opposed [585] to the idea as their children. It is also relevant here to note the use of the term sàng-cûe-tûi to refer to the brief New Year's ceremony which unites a man and his foster sister as husband and wife. The term is best translated simply "pushing them together," and is usually explained with a rough pushing movement of both hands. Since the phrase is traditional as well as common usage, it would seem to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

12 description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also associated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
554 587 688 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent [162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, • 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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• 585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 524 435 [585] The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for [178] pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan- 782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic

The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf, 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount exchanged marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
• 585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expresaed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[8]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sim-pua for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

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548 more to her liking than the one she avoided by marrying out, however,
• [586] and after only a year or two "she decided that she didn't like her husband and left." It was at this point that Lim Li-kui became a prostitute, evidently unable to find any other way to support herself. We heard from several people that she made a second transient marriage, although this may have been nothing more than a particularly faithful customer. All we know for a fact is that she bore a number of children, and that she adopted at least one daughter. It is curious that even though Lim Li-kui has been a member of at least four families during her life, it is always to her first foster family that she returns when she is in need of help. One of the women of the Ong family told us that she returned to Hsiachichou "whenever she had a fight with a man she was living with," and we know from various reports that the eldest of her two surviving daughters was largely raised by the Ong family.

548 Beyond those cases we have already mentioned, there were also 6 younger women in Hsiachichou who had worked or were still working as prostitutes. The total number of prostitutes in our genealogies is thus surprisingly large. Of 131 women of twenty years of age or more who spent the majority of their childhood as members of families living in Hsiachichou at least 25 (19 percent) have worked for some period of time as prostitutes. Moreover, in 1960 there were at least three girls of less than twenty years who were then employed as "dark room girls," to use the village euphemism. The conditions which predict a woman's becoming a prostitute become apparent when we look at their family

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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of gratitude to the son who had remained loyal to him. A poor family with no money and no land can marry a son to a foster daughter and their neighbors will think nothing of it; when a family as affluent as Lim Han-ci's makes such a marriage, it only reminds the neighbors of how insignificant that family was when the bride was adopted. The Lim family had climbed to a definite social position in their community and Lim Han-ci was willing to pay the price to maintain it.

Mui-mue's character and limited intellectual capacities cast doubt on her ability to function as the wife of the family's head. With the removal of his eldest son from an active role in family affairs, Lim Han-ci departed from custom and began to look to his second son as his natural successor. So long as he lived, Lim Han-ci retained and made the most of his authority as father, but he gradually turned over to Lim Chieng-cua the practical conduct of the family's affairs. Lim Han-ci continued to represent the family in the village and to conduct most of its external affairs, but more and more decisions about the use of family funds, the purchase of supplies, the keeping of family accounts, were delegated to Chieng-cua. As Chieng-cua's wife, Mui-mue would be expected to eventually assume management of the family's domestic affairs, and this was a task for which she had again and again demonstrated herself as unfit. By now the family was convinced that Mui-mue could not be trusted with access to their common purse. Lim A-pou would have been the ideal woman to fill this role, but that was impossible. The only solution was to remove Mui-mue and find another wife for Lim Chieng-cua.

From what I heard of her early personality and from what I can infer from her present behavior, the marriage Lim Han-ci negotiated for Iu Mui-mue seemed quite appropriate. Through the good offices of a go-between, she was quietly and respectably married to a medicine peddler from a nearby town. Medicine peddlers are rarely wealthy and usually spend a great deal of time traveling, but their life is full of variety and in general freer than that in the villages. This nomadic existence with its constant stimulation should have been ideal for Mui-mue, but for some reason it was not. Perhaps instead of traveling with her husband, she was left at home with his parents, or perhaps her easy ways and lack of judgment got her into trouble. Whatever the cause, the marriage lasted for a very short period, less than a year. I have reason to believe that the failure of the marriage rested on her actions since had it been otherwise, she would have returned to the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim home from which she was properly married and let them take responsibility for smoothing out the difficulties—a form of behavior in which Mui-mue was well practiced. Instead, Iu Mui-mue resumed the name of her natal family, although she did not revive any other relations with them, and moved to the city of Keelung. Keelung is a port city and the brothels there are not the prosperous, gay sin spots frequented by Tan A-hong and her daughter, Chun-ieng. Even in her youth Iu Mui-mue couldn't have been attractive enough to find employment in a better class house, and her lethargy and lack of intelligence would not have allowed her to try any other form of employment. Nonetheless, her good humor alone seems to have provided her with enough "friends" to support herself. She returned to the Lim household infrequently.

Much to the disgust of some of our informants, the most scornful of whom had herself worked for several years as a prostitute, Mui-mue contracted syphilis. To be specific, the disgust of her acquaintances was engendered not so much by the fact that she contracted the disease, an obvious occupational hazard, but by the fact that she neglected it until her legs were a mass of loathesome sores. Someone finally forced medical attention on her and she was cured, but her legs are deeply scarred.

Iu Mui-mue was twenty-eight when her first child, a girl, was born. Her chronology is a bit hazy here since it was also at about this time that she began living with a gardener. After a few years she and the gardener were married. That is, they registered their names jointly with the police. Shortly after attaining this respectable status, Mui-mue succumbed to the attraction of the house of Lim and returned to Peihotien. She and her husband now rent another of the little houses owned by the Lims. She is in and out of the main house somewhat more than other neighbors, always helps in the kitchen when the family gives a big feast, is usually the first asked when A-bok must hire a woman to weed or clean vegetables. There is considerable reticence about discussing family affairs in her presence as she is no more capable of keeping a secret than she is capable of tact. In the family schism, she is notoriously prejudiced toward Lim A-pou's point of view and when lacking evidence for her case does not hesitate to manufacture it.

Iu Mui-mue's marriage seems as stable and as happy as any of the other relationships in Peihotien, both formal and informal. Her

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiv marriages explains some

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 165 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

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With regard to divorce, Ch'ing law states that a man can divorce a woman for seven reasons which are known as the Ch'i Ch'u or Seven Ousts: (1) Failure to serve the husband's parents and disobedience to them. (2) Failure to give birth to a son. (3) Dissoluteness of manners. (4) Jealousy. (5) Malignant disease. (6) Loquacity. (7) Larceny (Chui, 1966:61-8). Adultery is not listed here but was also a compelling reason for divorce. However, in the same law may be found the San Pu Ch'u or Three Non-Ousts, reasons why a wife cannot be divorced by her husband except on the grounds of adultery: (1) Mourned her husband's parents for three years. (2) Husband's poor family became rich after marriage. (3) She has no home to return to (Chiu, 1966:69-71). Chiu makes the point repeatedly that according to the law, men have "an exclusive right of divorce in ancient China" (1966:58). Even in divorce by mutual consent, traditionally permitted in China, the divorce is "effected in the name of the husband" (1966:60). Other scholars consistently agree, i.e., "divorce became exclusively the man's privilege and was practically equivalent to repudiation of the wife by the husband" (Lang, 1946:40).

However, a careful reading of Ch'ing law together with analysis of a sample of court decisions, does not support the above argument. All of the above facts are true but important omissions were made. The usual presentation implies the husband had the power to divorce his wife on the

562 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San
586 Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all
671 such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

114 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect
562 of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have con-
586 sidered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the
671 primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 [114] 121 562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 587 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] [178] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

584 554 187 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
562 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
587 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
589 There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
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585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 586 587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [54] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

588 and never came back." On the other hand, we heard from several of the family's neighbors that Tan A-giok worked as a prostitute when she was young, and that "they just said that they were married when that man came to live here." Which of these two stories is the best account we cannot say, and it may be that both of them are true. There were several other cases in the village in which prostitution ripened into a matrilocal marriage, and it is quite possible that Tan A-giok later married this man even though this was not his original reason for coming to live with her. The case of a woman by the name of Ong Cui-kim is even more difficult because it involves a disagreement among the villagers themselves as to what constitutes a marriage. Some [585] feel that Ong Ciu-kim was married because her mother accepted a bride price and because she lived with the man, while others argue that the ceremony was never completed and that "they just lived together." What happened was best described to us by a neighbor:

> "Ong Cui-kim used to live with a man who still lives in Wanhua. They met each other there because she used to work there. Her three children are all his. He told me all about it. He said he used to like another girl from this village, and once in the factory he whistled to attract her attention, but Ong Cui-kim turned around instead. That was the beginning of their friendship. He was going to marry her, and he even bought all of the engagement cakes. Ong Cui-kim was pregnant by then, and her mother only asked for NT$1200 for the bride price. The problem was that Ong Cui-kim was adopted to marry her foster brother and was still registered with the police as his wife. Someone told him that he could get some money too if she married, and so the night before the engagement he went and asked the boy to give him NT$1200 also. The next day when the boy came with the engagement cakes he demanded the money. The boy was angry and refused. He just sold all the cakes right here in the village and very cheaply. Everyone had a good time!

• 588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kin to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kin would never go back to their house after that."

587 [132] Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
217 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

217 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
• 588 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[127] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [118] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [588] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
554 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
587 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in
588 common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

000 to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

589 Of a total of 116 men who grew up as members of Hsiachichou families 8 (7 percent) passed their thirtieth birthday without marrying. Four of these men were either very old or had already died at the time of our study, and four were younger men who might still marry. Two of the younger men were brothers whose parents died when they were quite young. Their father's older brother raised them, but he and his wife also died before the boys were old enough to marry. The oldest boy, according to his neighbors, was sickly as a child, and so "his mother was too good to him and gave him too much tonic and too many good things to eat. That's why he is this way now." "This way" apparently refers to his frequent ill health and his general lack of energy. Although already 34 years old in 1960, he had never looked for work outside the village, spending most of his time helping his brother-in-law who tills the family's small truck garden. The judgment of most of the neighbors is that this man will never marry, but his younger brother probably will. Energetic and hard working, he began to work in the coal mines before he was twenty years old, and had it not been for bad luck would probably not be on our list at all. While working in a mine near Keelung he was engaged to a young woman living in a nearby village, and would have married her had she not run away with another man while he was in the army. Although this caused him a certain amount of embarrassment, it apparently has not discouraged him, for we heard just before we left the village that he was looking for another wife.

• 539 The four younger men in our genealogies who did not marry all share one characteristic. They are either the offspring of women who never married, or they are men whose fathers died before they reached marriageable age. While we are not sure that this should be labelled the cause of their not marrying, it is undoubtedly an important contributing factor. In none of these cases had the parents adopted a sim-puâ, and so a marriage meant the preferred form of marriage, an expense which a family without an adult male might find difficult to manage. This was suggested to us by a mother who said that she would arrange a marriage for her son if she had the money, "but I don't and so he will just have to make his own life. If he wanted to find a wife he would, but he doesn't so he will just have to make his own way." Her apparent lack of concern is probably due to the fact that she has two other sons who are married. So long as a family has one or two married sons with children they are not as concerned about the marriage of a second or third son, although they would naturally prefer to see him marry. The reason for the unmarried state of one young man may be that when his married brother became ill and lost his job the family could not afford to assume the additional burden of a second daughter-in-law and more children. During the two years we lived in the village they were almost entirely dependent upon the wages the unmarried son earned as a coal miner.

The cases of the four older men who failed to marry involved a variety of circumstances. One is the case we have already mentioned of a man by the name of Ong Mong-chi who obtained an adopted son in

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [822] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [591] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-gick who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-gick's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

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595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
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589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[769]

589 Ng Cng-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Cng-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Cng-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Cng-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Cng-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Cng-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."
[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Cng-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

585 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs,
589 and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I'
[737] just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age."

548 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents'
589 desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

584 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable
597 information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a
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*584 number of male children, she was given away in adoption as a child, but
*597 later returned to her natal family. Some of the villagers say that she
• 589 returned because the boy she was adopted to marry died, and others think that it was because her prospective mother-in-law didn't like her. Whatever the reason, her natal family accepted her return with reluctance, and apparently did not feel any responsibility for arranging her marriage. With three sons to provide wives for, they probably had little money to spare for a dowry, this being the reason they gave
548 the girl away in the first place. Ong Ti-sai went to work as a prostitute when she was quite young, and has been following this profession all of her life. Although fifty-three years old in 1960, she was still entertaining soldiers in her house. It is interesting to note that while Ong Ti-sai was only one of a number of prostitutes living in the village at this time she was the only one of whom most of the village was critical. The main reason seemed to be that she practiced her profession in the village. Most women who are prostitutes do not make any particular effort to conceal the fact, but they almost always avoid professional activities while in the village, particularly with local men. We once overheard a mother warning her daughter not to become involved with a village man who seemed attracted by her.

> "We are just living here temporarily, so we cannot go around as we please. We have to be good friends with all of the people here. This man has a home and children, and so he cannot afford to run around. Don't pay any attention to whether he has money or not. We can only be his friends. We cannot break up his home. You have to remember that we cannot damage people's relations with other people in the place where we live."

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Ong Hong-chi did not have to marry because he had the son given to him by his foster sister as a forfeit for marrying out of the family. His is an exceptional case, however. For most people remaining unmarried creates a very real problem. They must somehow provide for their old age and for their security in the next world. For men the most common solution is to attach themselves to a married brother's family, contributing their income to the support of their nieces and nephews. These children are then obliged to their father's brother in much the same way as they are to their father and will support him in his old age. This is the situation of the three unmarried elderly men who had no children, and, if they do not marry, the four younger men we have discussed will probably follow the same pattern. When we knew them in 1960 they were each included in the kê of a married sibling and contributed a large share of their income to that kê. The afterlife of these men is usually provided for by giving them a brother's child in nominal adoption. This child is then under ritual obligation to his foster father, and is expected to designate one of his own descendants to carry on the truncated line. If an unmarried man's brothers cannot spare a male child, he may be given a girl, in which case the girl is in the same position as any other only child and must make a matrilocal marriage that will allow her to fulfill her obligations to her foster father. This is what happened in the case of the man who did not marry because of a mental handicap. Unfortunately, the girl's husband later deserted her, and she was forced into prostitution in order to support herself and her children.

*[592]

*593 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different.
*562 Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would
*597 seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she
589 fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind
769 of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply
that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as
[604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in
which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or
a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child
was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The
woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world
and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually
adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their
future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent)
adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more
children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who
bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter.
The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both
young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their
future they must do one or the other.

548 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally
*597 true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes.
Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore
very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able
to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
562
587 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
589 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

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family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, cloths, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*593 592 their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was *593 561 [867] required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

• 59 354 312 In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

|2| Also note that this second type of bias is derived from a subculture of the elite classes rather than from the peasant masses. It is probably significant that many anthropologists who study China are known as "Sinologists" but there is no equivalent term for those who study the Zuni or the Nuba.

However, once a bias derived from the "Great Tradition" is overcome and reported in the literature, other investigators soon discover the fact in their own research This does not imply that there is any falsification; rather, that once the importance of some social fact is drawn to the attention of the investigator, he looks at its implications for his own research. This latter belief is supported by the fact that when ethnographies written before its recognition are re-examined, they often provide support for the new discovery through concrete details although the original author may have reached the opposite conclusion.

|2| Let me illustrate with the case of the Chinese
• 59 family. Almost all early descriptions of the Chinese family emphasized its nature as a large extended family unit. In a demographic survey of 2,866 farm families in China, Buck revealed that most of the families were nuclear and smaller than previously suggested (1930). However, Buck's report did not have much effect on the literature until discovered and reported with further data by

121 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese
• 59 Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 For another illustration, consider the only re-
602 cently realised importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

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594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

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Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	5.8
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

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In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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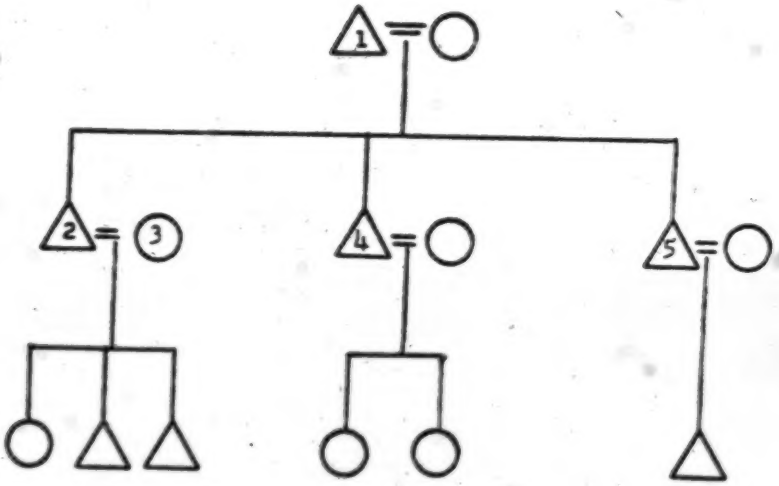

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
• 59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that
178 neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of
59 job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

121 larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of
178 a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an
• 59 average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Inheritance, real or anticipated in the case of division before the death of parents, is equal for all sons (with exceptions to be discussed later). Diagrammed in Figure 9 is a patrilineal descent group which we will assume represents a single chia with division about to occur. Conceivably, division could produce various combinations of new chia but in Sanlei, the actual division will nearly always produce three new units: (2,5), (3,6), and (4), each unit receiving an equal share. Variations reflect the condition of (1) or (4). (1) may be attached to one of the three units; (1) may constitute a separate unit with an equal or partial share to be later split again after his death; or (1) may be a separate unit with no share but supported by the other three on a rotating basis. If (4) is unmarried, he may be attached, with his share, to one of the first two groups with a strong tendency for the parents to remain with the youngest son (4).

Almost always, a division focuses on one generational level only. That is, (5) or (6) never break off into distinct units at the time (2), (3) and (4) are dividing. It is possible that (2) and (5) could break off as a single unit and leave the rest of the original family as a whole, but this never takes place. If (2) insists on breaking off, the whole family will divide into the three units posited above although if only (2) is insistent, there may be above average amounts of bitterness generated.

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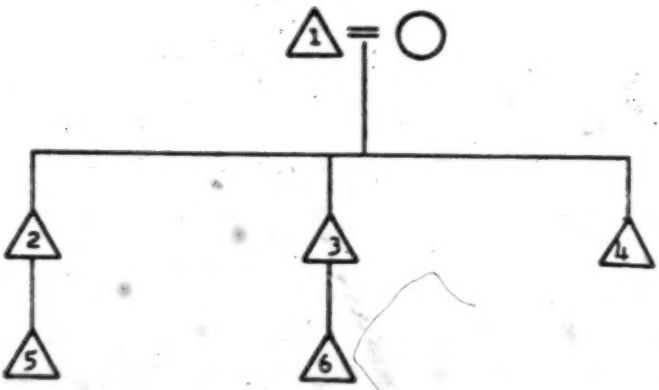

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
602 • 59 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria
182 were merely based on those items that seemed immediately
602 necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can
59 all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[969] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[969] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 838 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

182 situation is relatively rare, it is useful analytically
• 59 for a starting point and once completely described, the life cycle can be viewed as an endless chain. Phase I, the Phase of Expansion continues until the first child is married. The first several years in the existence of the household may produce a variety of forms such as those listed below:

A. The couple would meet the typical ideal minimal goal maintained by most villagers and have three boys and two girls and raise all to maturity, complying with all the above items.

B. The couple would have only one boy but perhaps one or more girls and raise the boy to maturity, also complying with all the above items except perhaps (6).

C. The couple would have no boys but one or more girls who live to maturity potentially violating (6) and (17) and surely violating (1) and (2).

D. The couple would have no children, violating (1), (2), (6), and (17).

E. The couple would be divorced or either mate would die, in either case without offspring, violating the same items as in Case D.

There are culturally provided solutions for each of the above potential violations. For case B and C, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) and/or have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for one or more of the girls. For case D, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) or one or more girls (5) and have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for the adopted girls. In the case of E, without offspring, either remarriage is possible or the solutions advanced for D. Note

182 that in Phase I, the Phase of Expansion, all the families
e 59 listed above would be nuclear.

Phase II, the Phase of Dispersion or Fission, occurs during the period from the marriage of the first child until the marriage of the last. In accordance with (1), (6), and (17), it would be best if children, as they married brought in their spouses to live in the parents home with (2) and (3) requiring that male offspring especially bring in their spouses. Consequently, if there are no males in the family, it is necessary that no less than one female bring in a husband and in this case, that there be a possibility of producing a child in the succeeding generation with the original surname. In accordance with the requirements of (2) and (3) and because of (4), this condition can be met and often is met by the local practice of an adopted-in husband who permits one or more of his children to be assigned his wife's original surname. The A case above, which does not violate most postulates, would have seldom been realized in Sanlei due to death rates. Demonstrated in Figure 11 are various ways in which each of the five types (A, B, C, D, E) may become a stem family. Of course it is also possible that any stem family could become a regular extended family which is highly probable for A in particular.

However, an extended family is unlikely to come into existence because of demographic factors, i.e., two

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

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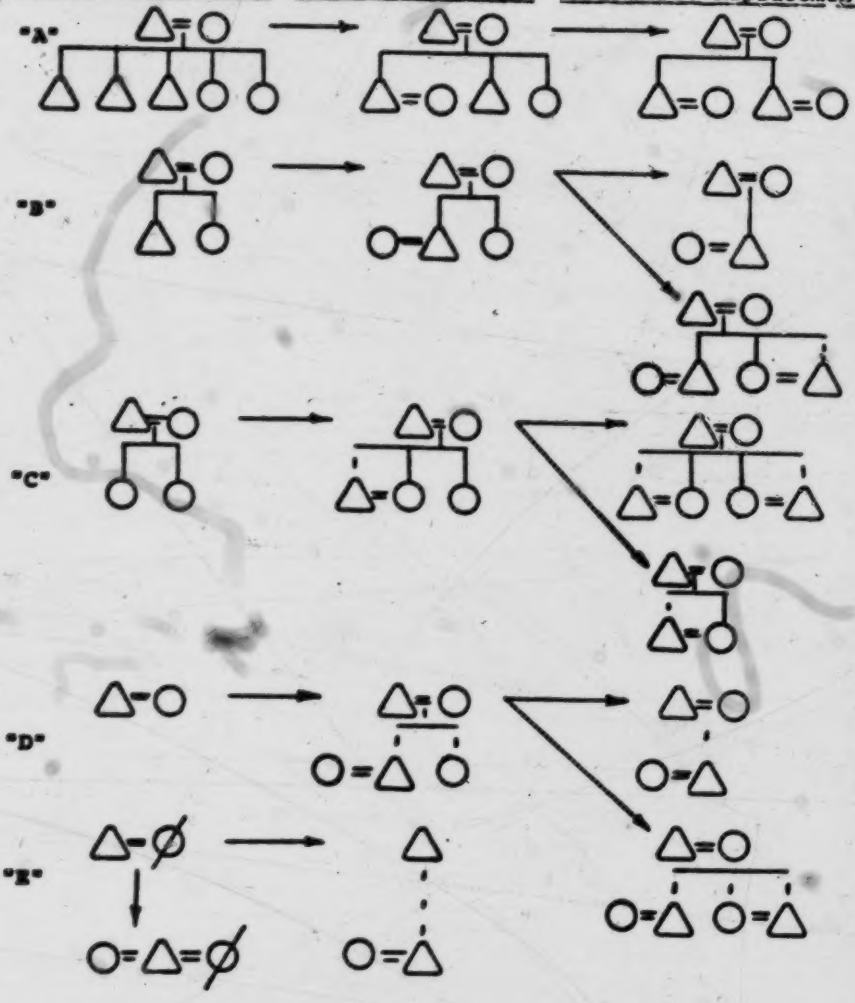

Note: This is a sample only and favors development of more complex forms. Any unit may divide or die off before achievement of column 3 and thereby revert back to column 1.

Figure 11. Sample of Family Life Cycle Stages in Sanlei

182 males must marry while at least one parent remains alive.
• 59 As indicated, other processes could create extended families, but these too are unlikely. Adopting boys is extremely expensive and although adopted-in husbands may be acquired for natural or adopted daughters, it would take a reasonably wealthy household to attract two men.

Nevertheless, an extended family is realized with some degree of regularity, but seldom is an extended family maintained for other factors are relevant. For example, there is the recognition of man's individuality (10) but he is supposedly subordinate to the family (9), a potential and frequent conflict. In the larger family, it is difficult to maintain the harmony that is expected (7) because of the belief that the large group naturally has more problems (8); there are more females who naturally fight with each other (16); and finally, many members are only affines, a stronger source of conflict than consanguines (14) and (15). It may very well be the case that these three causes are part of a self-fulfilling prophesy, i.e., it is believed there should be problems, so there are.

Yet, while the senior generation male is active and in control, a continued undivided existence is possible. However, as he approaches and passes age 60, he ceases to be regarded as an effective adult, often withdrawing willingly from the responsibility (18). This withdrawal is

182 usually delayed as long as there is one unmarried child
• 59 in the household, particularly if the child is male (18). In accordance with age emphasis (12), control should pass to the oldest son. However, the degree of respect due older siblings (12) does not often appear strong enough to overcome the other centrifugal forces. It seemingly takes the increment of respect due between generations (11) to overcome these centrifugal forces and even that is rarely sufficient. In Sanlei, there was only one ta chia ting with two males in the senior generation but this was an odd case, one brother's wife had deserted him (the family was discussed in connection with Figure 8). M. Wolf (1968) also found one ta chia ting in Hotien that had two males in the senior generation, but she too felt the situation sufficiently unusual to justify the occurrence as a special case in special circumstances.

Upon the death of the male chia chang, or at his withdrawal from active control, if all sons are married, it is almost certain there will be family division. However, care for the aged by a man's descendants (17) is so important that seldom will division occur if there is only one male in the younger generation. If there are several sons and a division takes place, it is likely that the old parents will remain with one son united in a stem family.

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• 59 Phase III, the Phase of Replacement, lasts until the death of both parents. Given the high death rates, this stage may have been realized before any child is married. It does seem usual that the last of the old parents die while living in a home with one married descendant and perhaps, some grandchildren. An old couple with more than one married son usually prefers living in the home of the youngest but there is no cultural norm specifying the youngest son. I would suggest the following factors favor the youngest. Relations between a male and his first-born son are formal and harsh in Sanlei although parents seemingly develop greater skill in child-rearing with practice. The last child is often a family pet, babied by others, while both mother and father put less pressure on the youngest to succeed. The last child has been forced to adjust to older siblings (12) and has likely developed greater skills in smooth interpersonal relations. The end of Stage III produces one or more Stage I families and we are back at the beginning of the cycle. Note however, that the Stage I family is actually likely to already include children at its inception.

To summarize this explication of family cycles, note that with the historical demographic rates, it appears that a large number of people will be living in nuclear households at any given moment in time, as indicated by the 40% figure realized through the statistical approach (Table 6).

182 An examination of the situation from the point of view of
• 59 an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and
183 descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural
59 values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between
829 families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *han-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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583 192 558 Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

583 558 Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

583 The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a 583 number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract 675 which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is [591] old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

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[For additional information relating to rules of residence, see category 583 and 584.]

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is the form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-ziâ̍t, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu ziâ̍t, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of these different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way. Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

583 611 591 such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

583 581 591 611 At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

*597 away a child if they did have a use for her. Of 10 girls born into
*562 families who were clearly among the wealthiest in Hsiachichou in the
182 years before 1930 we find that 6 were given away in adoption, and of 18 girls born into families who were definitely poor at that time 5 were raised as members of their natal families. Most families with female children kept at least one of their girls, and almost all families with more than one female child gave at least one girl away in adoption. Of 57 women who bore at least one female child 39 (68 percent) raised at least one of these children, and of 30 mothers who bore two or more female children 28 (93 percent) gave away at least one of these children.

*597 As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, a family can
*583 achieve the goal of social continuity in several ways. They can arrange
*562 one of the two forms of patrilocal marriage for a son or an adopted son
591 or they can arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter or an adopted
182 daughter. A patrilocal marriage is always preferred over a matrilocal marriage when a family has a choice, but when they have no sons most families will gladly arrange a matrilocal match for a daughter. The perpetuation of the family is the goal, the forms of marriage only the means. We therefore find that one of the considerations which often enters into a family's decision about giving away a female child is their estimate of the possibility that the family may need to resort to a matrilocal marriage. If a family sees some possibility of this, they will usually be reluctant to give away their female children; while if they see little possibility of needing to resort to such a marriage,

*597 they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of
*562 raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly,
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• 591 saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a
182 man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money
on and you might as well give her away."

*597 A second consideration which often enters into these decisions
*562 concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not
462 ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until
182 very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind
of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work
which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's
clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is
usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the
family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children
to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking
*597 for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this
859 work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is
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182 a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as
she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with
the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a
girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is
not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying
her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsi-
*597 bility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child
*562 for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done
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CHAPTER 9

MARRIAGE BY ADOPTION

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• 591 The first decision the family of a new born male child must make is whether they are going to raise the child as a member of their own kê or give him in adoption; and, if they decide to retain him as a member, they must then make some decision about his marriage. Since very few families need consider seriously the possibility of giving a male child in adoption, it is usually the decision about the boy's marriage which is most pressing. As we shall see later, a number of men who were born into Hsiachichou made matrilocal marriages, but this is not a possibility ordinarily envisioned by a boy's parents when he is still a child. The assumption is always that every male not given in adoption will marry patrilocally and become an heir in his father's line of descent. Matrilocal marriages only occur as a result of unusual circumstances which cannot ordinarily be foreseen by a child's parents. Thus, the decision for a family with a male child is usually seen as involving a choice between the sim-pûa form of marriage and the preferred patrilocal marriage. Should a female child be adopted and raised as the boy's wife, or should the family wait and obtain a bride for him in the preferred way? The question is a complex one which may have a crucial influence on the family's fortunes, and most families make their decision only after the most careful deliberations.

*597 The first and most important of these considerations we have already discussed in the last two chapters. In the early decades of this century many families adopted a female child as a means of obtaining a wife for one of their sons. By adopting a girl and raising her themselves they could save the expense of the preferred form of marriage, and in introducing the girl into the family at an early age they could often avoid the tensions characteristic of the family created by the more formal marriage. But while there can be no doubt that many adoptions were motivated by the advantages of this alternative to the preferred marriage, it is also clear that this was not the only important reason for adopting female children. Our genealogies include 44 cases of adoptions by families which did not as yet have any male children. Since most families will not consider the marriage of an adopted daughter with one of her younger brothers, these adoptions were obviously not undertaken because of the advantage of one form of marriage over the other. In one case a family did arrange the marriage of an older girl with a later born son, but in every other case a second daughter was adopted if the family wanted to raise a wife for a younger son.

*585 *597 The most obvious reason for a childless family's adopting a female child is to use her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. [597] Any form of patrilocal marriage is always preferred to any form of matrilocal marriage, but descendants obtained through a matrilocal marriage are better than no descendants at all. A family which does not see much hope of bearing children of their own may therefore adopt a girl as the only means of perpetuating their line. They would usually prefer

000 *583 • 591 family decision. The decisions which concern most families are how their children are to marry, not whether or not they should marry. Decisions about the sīn-pûa form of marriage must be made early in the family cycle, and so the alternatives at this point are the preferred form of marriage and some form of matrilocal marriage. A daughter may be married out of the family in the preferred way, or she may be used to bring a son-in-law into the family by means of a matrilocal marriage. A son may either be retained as a member of his natal family by means of the preferred marriage, or he may be alloued to marry out of the family to become a member of his wife's household. Since the decisions which many families make about the marriages of their daughters depend in large part upon the availability of men willing to make matrilocal marriages, we will begin our analysis with a discussion of some of the considerations which make men more or less willing to marry into a woman's family.

*583 591 558 As is the case in China generally, Hokkien men are usually reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage. According to an informant who had himself married matrilocally, one reason is that "no one ever respects a man who marries into his wife's family." Since a man's primary duty to his parents is to provide them with descendants and to support them in their old age, the man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often accused of being unfilial. Also, there is the widespread assumption that a man who makes such a marriage must be poor. A matrilocal marriage is one way in which a poor man can obtain a wife without paying a bride price, and so it is easily said of any man who makes such a marriage

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

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578 younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

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606 Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered
D46 an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the [598] person who told him'spits blood to death'."

3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. 583 591 606 578 Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

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We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

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Aside from these various considerations which might make any man reluctant to marry matrilocally, there is also the unwillingness of most parents to see a son marry out of the family. All of the same reasons which make it important for a family to have male children make it equally important that these sons remain in the family. As a result, men who make matrilocal marriages are often men who are not bound by any family claims. The situation of a young villager by the name of Lim Liong-hong is perhaps a good example of the kinds of circumstances which may lead to a man's making a matrilocal marriage. Born as the illegitimate child of an adopted daughter who became a prostitute when her foster parents were unable to arrange a marriage for her, Lim Liong-hong was left for his mother's foster parents to raise when she married and moved to southern Taiwan. Since his foster grandparents had sons and grandsons of their own, they took little interest in Lim Liong-hong, allowing him to govern the course of his own life from the time he graduated from primary school. When we knew him he was living part of the time with his foster grandparents in Hsiachichou, and part of the time with a maternal relative in Panchiao where he was working in a paper mill. According to his grandmother, this family has only one child, an adopted daughter, and "so they treat him very well because they would like to have him marry into the family." She thinks this would be a good thing, and whenever Lim Liong-hong returns to the village she urges him to go back to Panchiao. "I tell him that if he stays there a while maybe he will get used to that girl, and after a

*583 while they may like one another and get married. He has no father and
*583 really no mother either, and so he doesn't have to worry about burning
• 591 incense for anyone."

Similar circumstances are evident in a number of cases of matrilocal marriages recorded in our genealogies. In one instance the man was an illegitimate child whose mother later married and bore several more children. Since the boy had been given his mother's maiden name, her marriage left him without any family responsibilities. In another case the man's father died when he was still a child, and his mother remarried, leaving the boy to be raised by his father's older brother. The father's older brother already had sons of his own, and so again the boy did not really have a family identity. A third case involved an illegitimate child whose mother died and whose father already had several sons by his wife. The boy's father's family raised him, but did not take an interest in his marriage because he did not bear their surname. One man who married into a family living in Hsiachichou was a traveling fortune teller who apparently did not have any family or home; another was the elderly goldsmith we have already mentioned who was also without a family; and in several other cases men who married into the village were mainlanders without families on Taiwan. We also know of two cases of matrilocal marriages by men who were the only surviving members of their family, and in one other case the man's only close relative was a a-ma whom he preferred not to marry. Although we do not know the background of all of the men in our genealogies who made matrilocal marriages, it would appear that at least half of them were men who had no family ties at the time of their marriage.

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Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matrilocally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sīm-pûà who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally deranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

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Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 102 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lim Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

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When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

600 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
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593 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
591 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
[464] likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

feed herself, but a man can always manage to earn at least enough to eat." The woman who cannot get along with her husband's parents has no alternative but "to swallow her anger," but the man who is at odds with his wife's parents can rely upon his own resources. Depending upon his age and his profession, this may be more or less of a hardship, but it is never the hardship that it would be for a woman who left her husband's family.

We have already seen that the in-law relationship created by the preferred patrilocal marriage is typically one of tension and hostility. Because of a common interest in the man who is the husband of the one and son of the other, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law often become involved in a bitter struggle. What saves the family from being torn asunder by this conflict are the strong ties which bind a son to his parents. Nothing could be clearer than the precept that a man must place his parents' welfare before the interests of his wife. "A man's parents are like his arms and legs; his wife is like his shirt and pants." Although a man may occasionally sympathize with his wife's quarrel with his mother, he would never abandon his parents for the sake of his wife. If she would sever ties with the family she must do it alone, and it is therefore virtually impossible for her to do it at all. The strength of the relationship between parent and child thus serves to balance the potentially disastrous tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The situation is again very different in the case of the matrilocal marriage. Here also one finds that a great deal of tension is generated

by the entrance of an outsider into the family circle, but this tension is not effectively counteracted by the strength of the parent-child relationship. The matrilocal marriage does not create a structure which is a simple inverse of the structure resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The dyadic relationships of the Chinese family are defined in terms of a patrilocal family, so that even when a woman marries matrilocally her husband takes precedence over her parents. As a result, the crucial parent-child relationship is much weaker in a matrilocal marriage than in a patrilocal marriage. While a son would be severely criticized for siding with his wife against his parents, a woman who has married matrilocally may be criticized for siding with her parents. We heard several caustic remarks about a women who was apparently in the habit of taking her parents' side in their quarrels with her husband. For example,

> "That woman! She already has two children, but she still sides with her father when he and her husband get into an argument. Where else could one find a woman like that? He married into her family, and so her father and mother are always saying things to him, but she always takes her parent's side. It is as though she were just married, and she already has two children.

The matrilocal marriage is also weakened by personal tensions between the parents and their daughter. Since most families who arrange a matrilocal marriage do so because the wife is barren and has borne no sons, the great majority of women who make such a marriage are adopted daughters. Of 26 women for whom a matrilocal marriage was arranged 20 (77 percent) were adopted daughters. While these women are generally obedient in their relations with their parents, they are nonetheless not as loyal to the family as a son or a daughter. They know that they

*583
4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
4 591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die." He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

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581 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brittle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

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581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

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581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less

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581 stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

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tive merits of the various forms of marriage, we were told, "You can never tell what will happen when a man marries into your family. He may be a good man like Tan Han-cu's son, or he may be a man who is always gambling and running around. Maybe he will work hard for your family, but maybe he will run away with your daughter. You can't depend on it."

We therefore find that it is only when they have no other way of obtaining sons that parents will attempt to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. Of 26 village girls for whom matrilocal marriages were arranged 16 (62 percent) were daughters whose parents did not have any sons. Their sons had either died before reaching marriageable age, or they had the misfortune of never bearing any male children. In 8 of those 10 cases in which a family did have sons and still arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, the sons were much younger than the daughter. By the time a man's eldest children reach marriageable age, he himself will be approaching an age at which he will no longer be able to support his family. If these older children are girls, he may be forced to bring a son-in-law in to support the family until his own sons are old enough to assume this responsibility. We can therefore say that so long as a family has a son of marriageable age they will almost never arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. The only two exceptions in our genealogies were cases in which the daughter herself initiated the marriage. In one case the marriage was a "love match" in which the man was escaping a marriage with a sīm-pûa, and in the other case the daughter was a prostitute who married a man she met

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"at work." The husband himself claims that he did not marry his wife's family even though he is living with her parents in Hsiachichou, but this is probably not true as one of their three children carries his wife's surname.

The matrilocal marriage might therefore be characterised as a last resort. So long as a family has sons who are old enough to marry they allow their daughters to marry in the preferred way, but when they have no sons of marriageable age they have no choice but to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. While this is a step that is always taken with reluctance, it is important to note that it is also taken with determination. Simply because this is their last resort, parents will not brook any resistance on the part of their daughter. So far as they are concerned the family's future and their own security in old age are at stake, and they are therefore willing to apply whatever pressure is necessary to make a daughter acquiesce. Occasionally it happens that no pressure is necessary. In one happy case a girl whose parents had no sons had the good fortune to be attracted to (and attractive to) a young man who did not have a family of his own. She was happy to marry this particular man under any circumstances, and her parents were delighted to find a man willing to marry into their family. When we asked her if her parents had approved of her choosing her own husband, she answered, smiling, "It isn't easy to find a man willing to marry into his wife's family." More commonly, however, this is not the case. As a result of the stereotype of "the kind of man who would

*583 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to
• 591 matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will
581 never make a good husband."

*584 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage,
591 the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of
581 marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage,
less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a
much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa
marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must
deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a
matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter
*562 comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist paren-
*584 tal pressure because of their potential economic independence, but
[464] daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although
there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory,
these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is there-
[463] fore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of
only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents
from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional
because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When
her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that
she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in
the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marri-
age, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She
was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

562 584 herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

583 591 881 The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sīm-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [796] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [736] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [54] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

548 Aside from those cases of unmarried women who have worked as prostitutes, our genealogies also include 10 cases of women who have married and who have also been prostitutes at one time or another. In 8 of these 10 cases the women were prostitutes before they married, and in 2 cases married women turned to prostitution when their marriages • 591 failed. Those who married after their work in brothels included three women who married into their husband's family, 4 who married matrilocally, and one case in which the status of the marriage is somewhat ambiguous. This last case is interesting because it reveals the villagers' assumptions about the conditions which result in a matri- *583 591 local marriage. After having worked for a number of years in Taipei hotels, a woman by the name of Pe A-hong met and married a wealthy Cantonese businessman. By the time of her marriage Pe A-hong had already borne one female child and adopted another. She later bore her husband two sons and a daughter. Since she was the only child of her parents and an adopted daughter at that, Pe A-hong's mother apparently insisted that she could marry only if her husband was willing to accept financial responsibility for his wife's family. As a result, the family which settled in Hsiachichou consisted of Pe A-hong and her husband, her mother, the two daughters who bore her maiden name, and the three younger children who had all taken their father's name. Pe A-hong's mother now tells her neighbors that her daughter's husband married into her family, and with any other family the facts are such that this would be accepted without question. The man lives with his wife's parents; he has agreed to take financial responsibility

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-khui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-khui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sîm-pûa for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-khui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-khui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 4

[p.36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

596 / 159 The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. [173] The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a fault he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. [591] [602] All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [20] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [888]

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
• 591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
• 591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
[62] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 621 549 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their de-
591 scendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the fol-
621 lowing is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 30 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight
621 from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As pre-
166 viously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Szulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
591 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
[559] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[661] *siaosiv* marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% *siaosiv* marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married *chao fu* and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (*chao ti*), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

584 In the veto form, the prospective groom accompanies his parents and the matchmaker to the girl's house and while the adults chat and the girl serves tea and cookies, the boy and girl look each other over or alternatively, they may attend the same affair in separate groups such as a movie while negotiations are in process. Each then has the right to say no but this is rarely so boldly stated. Examples of veto statements include such as, "He doesn't look very strong." "Doesn't he look sickly?" "She looks like she might have expensive tastes." Acceptance statements are, "You know best." "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) One recently married village boy vetoed five girls before getting married but now claims to have a fully-arranged marriage. Another claims the same, stating he and his bride first met at the wedding, although both grew up in the same village which had a total population under 400 and both were on the same tag-ball team in school.

Finally, after a couple make a love match, they often go through the whole process of negotiations with a matchmaker as if the proposal was not a foregone conclusion. Love matches are extremely common among older couples or the remarriage of widowers or widows.

a 591 In terms of residence after marriage, there are three major forms: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. Patrilocal is most common and still carries the highest prestige. As discussed in Chapter V, matrilocal marriages are more frequent in Sanlei than in Taiwan as a whole. Neolocal

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 sisosiv, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

592 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593 alike in Sanlei village:
522

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all
591 houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562
[591] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many
[595] households have officially registered female heads. W.
562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a
592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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61 551 361 618 614 361 [342] together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

342 The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment [592] in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

342 621 Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

621 575 However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1955–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1955–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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number of persons per household was 5.83. These figures can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. The size of the average household for all of Taiwan was 5.5 persons (Statistical Abstract of Republic of China, 1955:27).

In Hsin Hsing village households have practically no outsiders, either relatives outside the immediate family or servants of any kind.

TABLE 5

SEX RATIO, HSIN HSING VILLAGE
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	280	303	302	312	320	
Female	305	309	339	332	337	
Sex Ratio	94.8	98.1	89.1 [a]	94.0	95.0	94.2

[a] There is no apparent reason for this drop in 1956. It may possibly be a result of a statistical error in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office records.

TABLE 6

SEX RATIO, PU YEN HSIANG
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	12,508	12,946	13,239	13,441	13,572	
Female	12,581	13,014	13,466	13,784	13,909	
Sex Ratio	99.4	99.5	98.3	97.5	97.6	98.5

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	594	612	611	644	657
Number of households	109	112	115	115	115
Average number of persons per household	5.45	5.46	5.57	5.60	5.71

There are relatively few families of what is commonly called the joint type, composed of parents, unmarried children, and more than one married son with his wife and children. There are a number of the so-called stem type, generally composed of a parent or parents, the unmarried children, and only one married son with his wife and children. Most households in Hsin Hsing are the nuclear type, composed

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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

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As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

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TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,525	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

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TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

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was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

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In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[12] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

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437 Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

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• [592] Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

000 The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.82 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[6] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

592

[For information on kê in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 28-33, 84-105, 134-162, 207-225, 260 and 269-279.]

[Information on kê and chia (family) may also be found in categories 593 and 596.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

epilogue

[p.148]

SEPARATE STOVES

A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

621 Individual villagers are combined into chia
592 (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 Although not listed in the official government
602 records, a number of chia in the village are combined into
613 several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute! In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

342 514 [177]

342 The plans of the above house also reveal a final
• 592 pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 purposes. Women in these kind of households were seldom
593 fully aware of the monthly budget or family financial condition overall.

Table 4. Sex of Budget Manager by Household Type

Household Type	Number*	Male	Joint	Female
Extended	8	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%
Stem	25	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%
Nuclear	30	33.3%	26.7%	30.2%
Total	63	39.7%	30.2%	30.2%

*Omits three men living alone

In 30.2% of the households, the woman managed the budget and handled most of the money although men did participate in decisions regarding major acquisitions. These households are not really the mirror image of the male-managed households for although men (the non-managing sex) might be unaware of the breakdown of monthly expenditures, they usually knew the monthly total and were always quite familiar with the overall financial condition. Additionally, a man always had a personal allowance for which there was no accounting which he could spend on cigarettes, or whatever he liked, but it was often a very small amount. As implied in the previous paragraph, in the male-managed household, women did not know the financial condition nor did they receive a regular allowance.

• 592
593 The third category, 30.2%, is listed as joint and includes those households which were really jointly managed or those which had a regular division of responsibility plus a few households which I could not accurately place in either category listed previously because of conflicting evidence. A joint management system is not unlike the practices connected with the management of an American joint checking account except that in Taiwan, especially in the rural areas, almost everything is on a cash basis. Therefore, all money coming into the house goes into a cash box and all disbursements are paid out of the box (leaving the receipt in its place). Instead of a monthly bank statement to balance, there are periodic conversations about who spent how much for what. Although there was a tendency to state that the male had the major responsibility in these households, it appeared to me that women were usually in effective control for they could rattle off the details of the expenditures with greater facility than men and both sexes also agreed that it was usually the female who initiated the conversation required to balance the accounts.

Most young men and women who earned wages turned their full pay over to their families to manage. However, each retained a regular small allowance (or turned over the money and got back an allowance) and were furnished extra money for expensive items such as clothing as needed.

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [29] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [54] [388]

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 the household are also important contributors to income by
592 means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible
462 for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The [454] family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges 465 but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is
511 463 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day
465 or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 However, the family is deeply in debt because the
736 two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

596

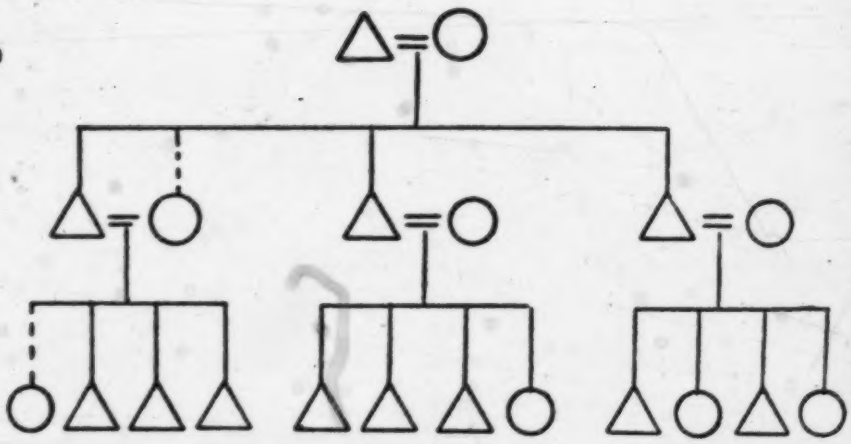

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

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594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Yu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 888 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

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592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 591 621 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their descendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the following is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 30 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 621 166 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As previously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Sxulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
27 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
597 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
• 592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

125 Again, because of the errors associated with the
592 official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[547] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
• 582
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

121 769 [171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782 592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

562 [591] [595] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many households have officially registered female heads. W. 562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a 592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [591]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 593 [114]

frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

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From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *siaoiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 593 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

593 858 [842] The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally. [764]

However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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593 854 857 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in'tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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584 178 people to get a glimpse of one another, and perhaps even to meet in a very formal situation. This most recent development has been precipitated by the general changes in the economic and social life of the village as a result of the great increase in mobility and contacts with urban centers.

584 178 169 Two different factors are responsible for the increase in mobility; men are conscripted and leave the village or go alone to urban centers to seek employment. These men, whether single or married, tend to become more independent of family discipline. They have opportunities to meet women, and perhaps to have an affair. The unmarried man may well become less willing to be ordered back to the village one day in order to marry a girl, sight unseen and chosen for him by others. But the situation is even worse when a village man, married to a girl he had never seen and had not chosen, whom he does not yet care for, finds himself suddenly in love with a girl in the city. In such a case it is not unusual for him to stay in the city and live with the 584 586 178 woman, refusing to go home to his legal wife. Today, this situation could end in divorce, which creates additional problems because of the need to return the engagement gifts and dowry. In addition, it is likely to inflict serious guilt feelings on the parents. On the few occasions when a village marriage has been dissolved, the parents who arranged the marriage seem to be the most seriously affected, questioning whether or not they had made a poor marriage choice for their son or daughter. It is consequently considered very important to avoid such situations, and many parents have expressed the feeling that since things are now different it is better to share some of the responsibility for arranging a marriage with the young people themselves.

584 593 178 The young people who are allowed to share in the responsibility do so in several ways. Frequently, once the arrangements for a marriage are under way and the parents of the two families entertain favorable feelings towards one another, a meeting is arrranged at which the young people can at least see each other. A favorite rendezvous is some large shop or theatre in Lukang. The two sets of parents arrive, each accompanied by the son or daughter. One family is escorted by the matchmaker who, from a distance, points out the girl to the boy and his family. Sometimes the boy and his family may visit the home of the girl. When they arrive, the girl may appear briefly and offer them tea and cigarettes.[8]

In each case, both the boy and, in turn, the girl are asked for an opinion about the tentatively chosen mate. The young people cannot really judge each other, except perhaps by looks, and if he or she is at all filial and respectful of the parents, can say little more than, "the girl looks all right," or "she is not too pretty, but if you [parents] think she is acceptable, then it is all right." In this way, the parents relieve

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a local girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

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Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] [585]

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

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An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

000 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
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593 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
591 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
[464] likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

*562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

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[For information on family relationships in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 57-131, 138-139, 150-212, and 233-281.]

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[For family relationships, see category 116, pp. xiv, 23-29, 41-144.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
177 not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[3] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 purposes. Women in these kind of households were seldom
• 593 fully aware of the monthly budget or family financial condition overall.

Table 4. Sex of Budget Manager by Household Type

Household Type	Number*	Male	Joint	Female
Extended	8	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%
Stem	25	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%
Nuclear	30	33.3%	26.7%	30.2%
Total	63	39.7%	30.2%	30.2%

*Omits three men living alone

In 30.2% of the households, the woman managed the budget and handled most of the money although men did participate in decisions regarding major acquisitions. These households are not really the mirror image of the male-managed households for although men (the non-managing sex) might be unaware of the breakdown of monthly expenditures, they usually knew the monthly total and were always quite familiar with the overall financial condition. Additionally, a man always had a personal allowance for which there was no accounting which he could spend on cigarettes, or whatever he liked, but it was often a very small amount. As implied in the previous paragraph, in the male-managed household, women did not know the financial condition nor did they receive a regular allowance.

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593 The third category, 30.2%, is listed as joint and includes those households which were really jointly managed or those which had a regular division of responsibility plus a few households which I could not accurately place in either category listed previously because of conflicting evidence. A joint management system is not unlike the practices connected with the management of an American joint checking account except that in Taiwan, especially in the rural areas, almost everything is on a cash basis. Therefore, all money coming into the house goes into a cash box and all disbursements are paid out of the box (leaving the receipt in its place). Instead of a monthly bank statement to balance, there are periodic conversations about who spent how much for what. Although there was a tendency to state that the male had the major responsibility in these households, it appeared to me that women were usually in effective control for they could rattle off the details of the expenditures with greater facility than men and both sexes also agreed that it was usually the female who initiated the conversation required to balance the accounts.

Most young men and women who earned wages turned their full pay over to their families to manage. However, each retained a regular small allowance (or turned over the money and got back an allowance) and were furnished extra money for expensive items such as clothing as needed.

592 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money
• 593 but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest
[562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the
596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri-
592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex-
596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. [262] [426] [454] [838] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
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Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

• 593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realisation of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 ethnographies has a higher percentage of adopted-in hus-
558 bands than Sanlei and Hsu states that such a husband does not have low status (1967:98). Sanlei villagers indicate it is a natural process to adopt husbands, what else can a family without a son do?

583 The frequency of this form of marriage has impor-
183 tant implications for the role of women. There are prob-
123 ably regional variations across China with respect to rates but, as stated, rarely are competent data provided in ethnographic studies to support the summaries and abstractions. Because of the low status usually claimed for chao fu marriage, it is likely the estimates by villagers on which the summary may be based would be low. Among 15 Sanlei men, the average guess at the incidence of chao fu marriage was 1 in 10 with a single high guess of 1 in 7 by an old man. Since the actual incidence was higher than 1 in 4, this inaccuracy is significant. If this dissertation was based on interviews and the impressions of informants rather than on actual counting, a quite different picture would likely have emerged.

• 593 Many, if not all accounts of the Chinese family
583 discuss the great period of stress for the new bride when she enters her husband's home as a virtual stranger as one important factor contributing to her lowly condition. Conversely, few reports discuss the role of men in the case of the chao fu marriage who enter the bride's home as a

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
585 is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
554 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
587 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in
688 common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

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At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
• 598 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
• 595 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>simosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

591 paid to the natal family but it is said that the older
[435] the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers
[548] did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed
[178] for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

591 The traditional literature suggests that the treat-
562 ment of adopted daughters in a household was often extreme-
593 ly harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later <u>siaosiv</u> marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 837 482 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women and children carry children around strapped to their backs

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857 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big
482 as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely
603 indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
352 the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [383] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [bus] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
765 as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
162 could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

• 593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

• 593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

[551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [719] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [848] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that woman tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
182 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
• 593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[561] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to support in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

However, the most important relationship under consideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

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• 543 also serves to maintain the pretense. A casual observer may easily be fooled for in many cases, it appears that the villagers are actually fooling themselves. There is no common kinship term that a man can use to address his wife. Until the children are born, permitting teknonymy through them, a man avoids using any term at all other than the equivalent of "hey you." However, the wife can both address and refer to her husband as "Lord and Master." While the idea of subordination-superordination is conveyed by the term, it may be used by a domineering wife as part of an order to her husband to perform some task. To illustrate, Liao Wei-yu (one of the men in the six-family compound described in Chapter V), his cousin Liao Wei-I, and I spent about four hours one afternoon sitting in his courtyard trying to repair a tea presser. During the first three hours, his wife sent Wei-yu on several errands such as fetching water, bringing wood to the kitchen, putting up a bamboo pole for drying clothes, etc., each time ordering the task in an imperious tone although the command was prefaced by the usual "Lord and Master." Wei-yu complained to us, softly so his wife would not hear, that to refuse her requests would only cause trouble. After about three hours, the li secretary stopped by to review some tax record changes with Wei-yu, a village lin chang (neighborhood leader). Because the secretary is an important official, the four of us went into the kung t'ing and sat around the table while Wei-yu ordered

562 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a
593 fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of times to ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds
542 of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of
562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family
577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will
593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros-
58 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
599 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593 alike in Sanlei village:
522

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all
591 houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562
[591] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many
[595] households have officially registered female heads. W.
562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a
592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:15). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property. 596

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife. 592 [562]

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*. 596

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum- 596 594

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form 434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An 578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many divisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [702] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[459] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, [167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semiformal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternatiely with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
• 594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
599 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
178 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.
[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterised as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

[621]

594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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• 594 621 the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

178 59 621 Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

121 178 59 One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

return until after New Year although part of their responsibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

For most of the above events, although details vary, worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers, and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible, there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth [732] year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
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589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-sui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[MM]

589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."
[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

595 589 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs, and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I'. just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age." [137]

548 589 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents' desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

584 597 589 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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As a point of fact, Lim Hue-lieng's marriage had little effect on his daily life. He did not live in the family home and took no interest in their daily activities. The marriage did, however, add one more chapter in the growing legend of his great personal power. He became the hero of one of the most popular village tales of sexual prowess. It was his boast and the favorite story of his admirers that he spent only two nights in Lim A-pou's bed: on his wedding night he gave her Lim A-bok, and some years later when a typhoon forced him to spend the night in the village, he gave her Masa. The rest of his nights were spent with a series of mistresses of whom even the most salacious village gossips have long since lost track. Finally, when his first-born son was about two years old, Lim Hue-lieng settled down more or less permanently with a village girl, Lim So-lan, the adopted daughter of another Lim family.

Because my assistant came to know Lim So-lan well during our stay in the village, So-lan was willing to tell us quite a bit about her life as Lim Hue-lieng's "second wife": "He only lived with his first wife for a few days just after they were married. After that he never stayed home at night. Before he began to live with me, he had a great many women, but he always left them after a little while because they were just interested in making money and would sleep with other men. When he first came to live with me, I was only seventeen years old. He had just returned from hiding from the police for a few months and had also just broken off with the last woman because she slept with someone else while he was away. His eldest son was about two years old then. He was a good friend of my foster mother, and often joked with her about me, telling her that he wanted to come and live with me. I was working in the river then, gathering rocks, and saw him there every day because he was the head of all of the people doing that kind of work. At that time my family was very poor because my father gambled too much. That year he gave us money to help us through New Year's. My mother was always urging me to marry him. I told her that he was a *lo mua* who had had a lot of girlfriends and would beat me if I did anything he didn't like. I was very afraid of him and ran away every time I saw him. When my mother said that she wanted me to marry him, I cried every night, but my mother knew that he made a lot of money and would help our family, and so finally she asked him to come and live in our house. He lived with our family for five or six years.

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"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their fu[illegible] The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

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course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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chapter 6

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LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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*596 Lim A-
*159 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few
152 terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected
837 under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's
• 595 two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)
[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

*159 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim
*596 house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, bor-
595 rowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

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sides with either Lim Chieng-cua's part of the family or Lim A-pou's. I could never lead her or her mother into a discussion of the schism in the main family, and in answer to direct questions I received only cluckings of sympathy. In trying to decide where their sympathies might most reasonably rest, I found myself hard put to come up with a feasible hypothesis. Lim Chieng-cua's coolness to his brother and, until recently, complete disregard of his brother's second wife, should disincline them to favor his side, even though he is the head of the household. Lim A-pou's ill treatment of So-lan and the latter's uneasy compunction at having contributed to Lim Hue-lieng's estrangement from his legal family would not particularly make for close ties with that part of the family either, even though there are undeniable blood ties in the second generation. I was left with a frustrating if dignified lack of information which was not the case with any of the other family fragments related to the Lims.

To the casual observer, Lim So-lan's position in the world is quite good. The quarrels between her daughters and between Gioq-ki and her husband probably attract more attention than do other family quarrels because of the strong personalities involved, but not because they are outside the broad range of behavior considered normal in Taiwanese society. Lim So-lan is respected by all who know her as a woman who works hard, pays her debts, and is not inclined to ease her loneliness with malicious gossip. The family income is sufficient for them to eat well and to dress appropriately. They fulfill their social and financial obligations at the weddings and funerals of relatives and give an acceptable number of feasts during the religious festivals. There is nothing indecorous about the fact that So-lan allows gamblers to use her house since they are not professional gamblers and do not bring in outsiders. Her older daughter's difficult personality is accepted with the sigh that covers most idiosyncracies in the village population. Gioq-ki herself has been far too busy with her own problems to meddle in her neighbors' lives.

But in terms of the main tenets of Taiwanese life, Lim So-lan has been tossed into a side pool that must dry up and cease to be. Her marriage (a term which even the most rigid villager would use to describe a liaison that existed for so many years) was irregular in that the children born to her are not descendants of her husband's family. Lim So-lan has no ancestors and her husband's ancestors are the property of the main family. If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had mar-

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lán when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 595 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu*; he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem.

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them.

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal.

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige.

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [502] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the *new chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tau* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tau* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for co-operation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

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596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaoiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaoiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaoiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaoiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaoiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaoiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 198 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*. 846 [596] [612]

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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child along on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hsin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[3] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [587] of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
• 596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thîⁿ:, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342
596 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
X 592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatani for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

Of the six houses constructed in the village during the past five years four were simply box like structures built side by side to save the expense of a wall. Since such construction precluded the possibility of later expansion, the builders of these houses had evidently given up the vision of a "great house of many generations and many branches."

*121 *592 128 data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we do not have complete information for even those recent dicisions which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kê and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate, they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives, but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally significant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the kê at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made. We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made because the composition of the kê varies over time in a cyclical manner. *592 [178] Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases, the joint family, the stem family, and the elemementary family.

• 596 In the joint family phase, the kê typically consists of a man and his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

596 twenties who have been married within the last four or five years. Unless the father is ill or in some other way incapacitated he will occupy the position of kā-tiû:, or "head of household", and will manage most of the family's affairs, including their common purse. If his sons earn a cash wage, this money will be turned over to the father who will then redistribute it as he sees fit. In practice, a reasonably forceful and capable young man may exert a considerable influence in family affairs, but in theory at least all family decisions are the responsibility of the father in his role of kā-tiû:. Unless the family is an exceptionally poor one, in which case one or all of the sons' wives may work, these women will share the burden of managing the kitchen, the most common arrangement being for them to rotate the responsibility. In actual practice, their husbands' mother will usually work side by side with them, but ideally her role is supervisory.

The arrangements of the joint family have very definite advantages for its members. It is difficult for a man with a plot of land the size of that held by most village families to earn a living for his wife and children. If he works his land he can usually feed the family with the produce of the land, but then he has no cash income to provide for the family's other needs; on the other hand, if he lets the land lie fallow to take a job as a laborer, the additional cash income seldom offsets the expense of buying food. A few village men try to do both, working in a factory or mine during the day and on their land in the evening, but this requires that a person possess exceptional energy. A much more efficient way of managing is for two or three men

• 596 men to pool their efforts, one of them farming their joint land holdings while the other provides the cash income, and this is, of course, the usual arrangement in the joint family. One of the men in the family, usually the father who is more experienced as a farmer, tills the family's fields, while his sons take jobs as miners or laborers. The family thus has not only all of its food provided but also a cash income to meet its other needs.

596 462 Not without its advantage to the joint family is the presence of several able-bodied adult woman. The amount of work required of women in the average village family is enormous. Aside from cooking for a large family and caring for their children, women must chop and cook the food for the family's pigs; feed and care for their ducks and chickens; salt and store seasonal vegetables; wash the family's clothes by hand in the river; clean and maintain the house and furniture; help with the winnowing of rice at harvest time; and so forth, almost endlessly. The advantage of the joint family is that these tasks can be shared and rotated. One woman assumes the responsibility for marketing and cooking for five or seven days, and is then free for an equal length of time during which she can sew, tend to the special needs of her children, 593 596 and perhaps even pay a visit to her relatives. To have time to visit relatives is of particular importance to young married women who often have no friends in their husband's village and find a visit home their only recreation.

While the arrangements in the joint family have real advantages they also work to create equally real difficulties. The concept and

precedent of filial piety is so strong that a father and son can usually manage to share a common income without serious quarrels, but the traditional value placed upon sibling solidarity is more an injunction than a reality. Put in a situation of having to share, adult brothers usually end up hating one another. Of the various cases of physical violence recorded in our field notes the majority of those involving adult males are cases of fights between brothers. One brother may resent the fact that the other contributes less to the family purse and takes out equally, or one may feel that the other is secretly withholding part of his income. The complaints expressed in the following interview are symptomatic of the tensions which characterize relations between the various units of the joint family.

"You have been living in our house this long now. I'm sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I really don't like to talk about family business. If I tell people outside the family they laugh and wonder how we can get along this badly. If you compare the amount of work our half of the family does with the amount my uncle's half does, who works the most? Just look. When my uncle sees that I am very busy he won't even ask his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze after school. This is work that the children of a farmer are expected to do, but he never tells his children to do it. I have so many things to do myself and then I have to take care of the buffalo too. There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to sit and take in money. If he wants the fields to grow up to grass, I can sit and receive, too.

The other day my wife kept asking me to let her buy a pair of new shoes but I told her she couldn't because I didn't want the other half of the family to talk about us. So what happened? Everytime my uncle's wife walked out of her room she had on a new pair of shoes. Where does all that money come from? Whenever it isn't my aunt's turn to cook she is off visiting

• 596 this one and that one. It is hard to believe that when you go out you don't have to spend any money. Does this money fall from the sky? When it is her turn to cook, my mother is always around helping her, but when it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt is far away and her children sit there and cry and yell. Never once, even when it wasn't her turn to cook, has my aunt chopped up sweet potato leaves to feed the pigs. It is always my wife or my mother who has to do that.

593 As a result of these tensions the joint family phase of the family
596 cycle is ordinarily short lived. Within a year or two of the time that
[178] the second brother marries most village families divide into two separate units. Although there were twenty men living in Hsiachichou in 1960 who had at least one married brother, there were only three kê which included married brothers. In ten cases two married brothers actually lived in the same house, sharing the same kōng-thia:, but each had his own stove and controlled his own purse, constituting a separate kê. In most cases brothers did continue to cooperate in the worship of common ancestors, and in at least one case shared the use of a water buffalo, but relations were typically hostile and distant. The animosities which cause the kê to break up in the first place are often intensified by the haggling involved in the division of the family property with the result that even as elderly men many brothers barely speak to one another.

592 After the division of the kê the parents either live with one of
593 their sons and his family or live alternately with each in turn. There have been no cases in the recent history of Hsiachichou in which a man and his wife established their own independent kê after their children divided the family. There are various reasons for this.

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternately with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 594 621 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 886 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

• 596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
597
598 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.
[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterised as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[For information on the extended family, see category 116, pp. xiv, xv, 10-12, 29-58, and 72-148.]

[Information on kê and chia may also be found in the category 592.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

bok's young son, the tiny family tyrant, smiled, and ran off to join a nearby ball game. Unlike any of his brothers and sisters, Kui-hok openly adores his father. Even the adults are amused by his practice of hoarding any treats that come his way to share with his father. He is shy, particularly with us, but not so shy that he wouldn't occasionally slip his hand into my husband's when they happened to be going in the same direction.

Lim Chui-ieng now uses her older children as substitutes for the adult friends she has been unable or unwilling to make in the village, but as infants she did not find the solace in them that many unhappy wives do. After the first two, she was unable to produce sufficient milk and had to rely on powdered milk and local substitutes such as rice gruel and soy milk. She complains of the work they cause her, and she complains of the bad effect her pregnancies have had on her health. After the birth of Kui-hok, Lim Chieng-cua made an extraordinary suggestion for a Chinese husband. He told his wife to have an hysterectomy, the only means of birth control considered reliable at that time by the Taiwanese. Most men, even men considerably poorer than Lim Chieng-cua, are unwilling to limit the size of their families. The number of sons a man has is a great source of pride. An old man told me, "People here don't ask how much money you have. They ask how many sons you have." Perhaps the fact that Lim Chieng-cua had three sons and was seriously concerned about Taiwan's population problems prompted his suggestion to his wife. And perhaps he was looking at the more personal future of his family. If his three sons as adults could not live in harmony under the leadership of the eldest, their share of the family property would be divided in three portions. A three-way division of Lim Chieng-cua's half of the family estate would make small portions and more sons with even smaller shares would land each of them back close to where old Lim Han-ci had begun. Lim Chieng-cua may also have been worried about his wife's health although to me she looked stronger than most of her neighbors. Perhaps he was just tired of her complaints.

Out of fear, Lim Chui-ieng delayed the operation until after the birth of two more children. Lim Chieng-cua remarked to me once that it would have been a great blessing to everyone if she had gone when he first suggested it. The fifth child, Bieng-cu, is an ugly, sulky little girl. Her habitual expression is one of barely repressed anger. She has not yet the courage to express her feelings in attacks on her peers so

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

• 596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

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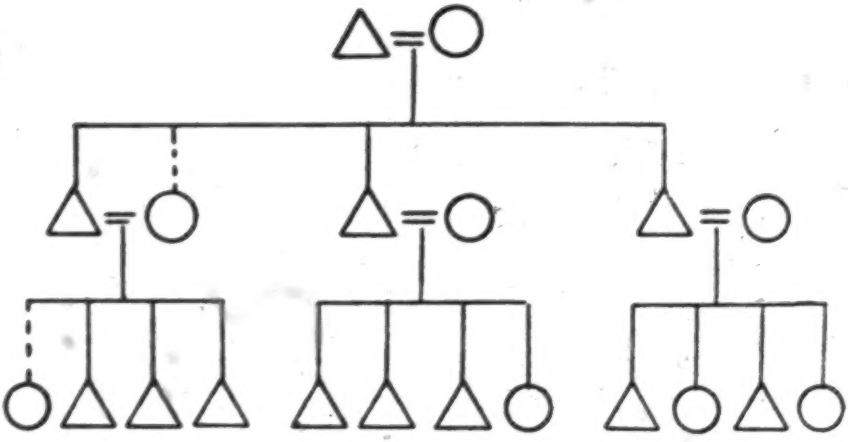

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

121 (1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger
178 than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing
59 there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un.
59 For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is
121 diagramed in Figure 5 includes four adult males although
178 the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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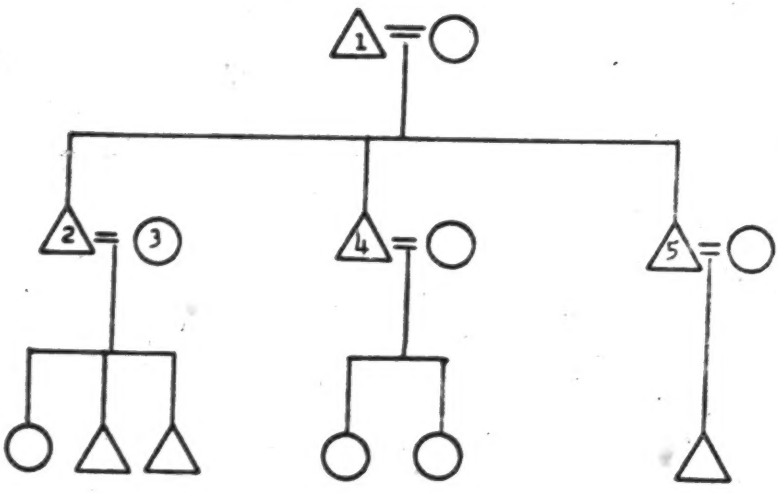

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage
• 596 organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by
596 Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'ing) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that
769 described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58)
596 since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

121
769
596 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

601 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure
596 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
596 by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307

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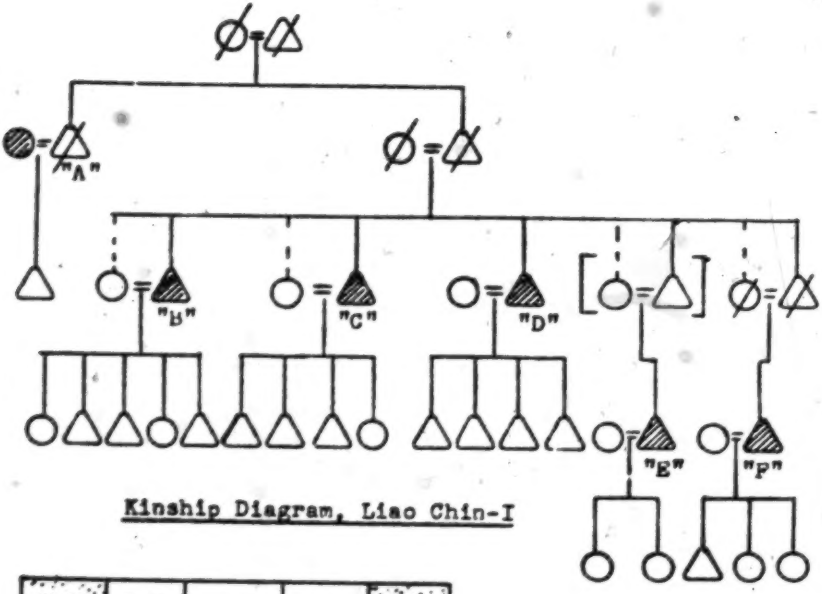
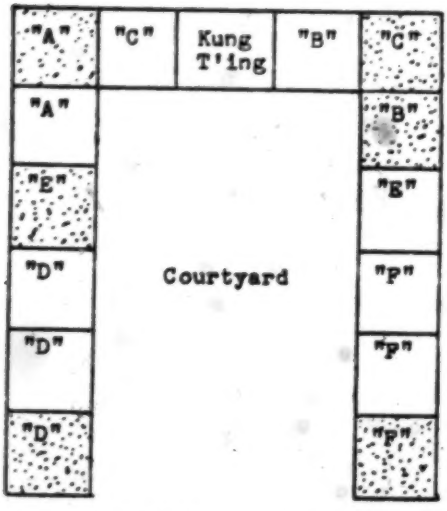


Kinship Diagram, Liao Chin-I



Building Diagram, Liao Chin-I "Compound"

Note
In the kinship diagram, each chia is identified with a letter which also designates the owner of the rooms in the dwelling unit. The kitchen for each hu is indicated by dots. The chia chang of each family is identified by cross-hatching. The kung t'ing and the courtyard are owned jointly.

Figure 12. Kinship and Dwelling Diagram, Liao Chin-I

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 842 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [574] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

769 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I,
596 the founder of the compound, have certain rights of wor-
782 ship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events, 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

596 602 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

621 769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

596 941 [621] Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 861 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily identify which family within it. Also, although women neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 578 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

596
462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

596 unit, but may be merely due to the fact that the typical unit is in the shape of a "U" with doors rarely opening on other than the inner court-yard. Interaction is much more frequent among the compound members as opposed to outsiders because of propinquity and convenience and increased communication often leads to mutual understanding. In any case, the "compound" is highly valued, not as good as the ta chia ting (extended family), but much better morally and economically than scattered single household units.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men: their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to
587 remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her
[178] deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

• 597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sioasiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sioasiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *siaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *siaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *siaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *siaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *siaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *siaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *siaosiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *siaosiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *siaosiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *siaosiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *siaosiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sisosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted.

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient.

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up.

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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769 this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

797 769 177 178 The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

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769 597 Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

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[For the relationship between the foster and the natal family of an adopted child, see category 593.]

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[For data on adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 39-105, and 121-288.]

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

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[Information on the sĩm-pûà and siaosiv has been filed also in categories 583 and 584.]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

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future wife. Unfortunately, this second son died before the age of two from one of the many diseases that afflict Chinese infants. To make matters worse, when Tan A-hong was nine or ten, the girl the family had given away to make room for Lim A-pou was returned to them because the boy she was to marry in her foster family had also died. This placed Lim Han-ci in an awkward position, one that endangered the shaky balance a tenant farmer maintains with his poverty. Lim A-pou, the girl adopted to marry their eldest son, was old enough to be useful around the house and was proving to be a hard worker. Tan A-hong, adopted to marry the son who died, was still too young to work in the fields and was not particularly needed around the house. When their natural daughter was returned to them, Lim Han-ci found himself with two "useless" girls to feed, clothe, and marry to other families. He solved the problem of Tan A-hong by reselling her to another family; he accepted his fate by keeping his natural daughter. In view of the subsequent histories of the two girls, the decision was probably a wise one, but it must have been difficult at the time. Lim Han-ci's daughter grew up in her own family, made a good marriage, and returned to the house during my stay only on appropriate ceremonial occasions. Her siblings and foster siblings are fond of her, and she and her husband make no more than the usual demands on the family. Tan A-hong's relationship with the family should have ended at the point she left them, but they were plagued by her problems for years to come. She finally returned to settle permanently in Peihotien about half way through my stay in the village.

Lim Chieng-cua was the next son born to Lim Han-ci and although never very strong, he survived the dangers of a Chinese childhood. Two years later another daughter was born to the family, but she lived for little more than a month. To soothe the maternal sorrow and to provide Lim Chieng-cua with a wife, Iu Mui-mue was adopted almost immediately.

The last child born to Lim Han-ci's wife was also a girl. She was given away as soon as she was weaned and to my knowledge never returns to visit the family, not even on the traditional homecoming festival of the New Year. This is not unusual behavior on the part of children given away in adoption. Proverbially—and from my observation there is a great deal of truth in the proverbs—adopted daughters are treated harshly by their foster parents. Not all female adoptions are to provide sons with wives. Some little girls are adopted simply as

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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

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brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief. The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

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A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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chapter 7

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LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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*159 *596 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

*593 584 • 597 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" [461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable [231] occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce [115] about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lán when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

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herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier at her gambling.

During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her. I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair. Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her back on dreams of a normal life.

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cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

"I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old. My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

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she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry.

"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me.

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ieng told me: "She [probably the go-

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between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

166 592 621 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the mountain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 591 592 621 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were raised within three miles of the center of the village. This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei population.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies 592 597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships 592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc- 592 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes 592 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

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592 Again, because of the errors associated with the official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
• [597] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
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597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

584 554 182 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also associated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

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Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

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585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

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At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilateral parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a <u>siaosiv</u> daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
598 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[661] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a siaosiv marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a siaosiv marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

improve her position in an extended household soon after marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

A second additional reason for the adoption of daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as *siaosiv*, and six who had been adopted and later
562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out.
In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in *siaosiv* marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Fu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 562 162 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adoption between families who both live in the village counts twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 562 [217] One of the items of the household registration is the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex. Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiv marriages explains some

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaosiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

590 [435] paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers [548] did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed [178] for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

590 562 593 The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later <u>siaosiv</u> marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent [162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

597 if the boy learns about his natal home he will have a strong desire to return to it permanently.

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602 The second type is not quite a complete adoption socially although legally it is a standard adoption. Two of the seven Sanlei adoptions were of this form, an adoption between two closely-related family units which are usually composed of patrilineal kinsmen. A son might be given by one man who had several sons in adoption to his brother who had none. Since the household containing the two brothers may not have divided, this adoption may not involve a physical movement of the boy and in any case, the two families will usually remain intimate. In one of the Sanlei adoptions, two brothers were involved.

The other was deviant and involved matrilineal stepbrothers in an undivided household (illustrated in Figure 8). After Huang (1) died, leaving one son (5) his wife (2) remarried a Liao (3) and they had one son, a Liao (4). They all constituted a single economic family. Huang (5) married and had five children, all with the surname of Huang. Liao (4) married and had a daughter but his wife (7) ran away with a Mainland soldier, taking the child (8). The balance of the people on the diagram are now living as a single economic unit and worshipping two sets of ancestors, Liao and Huang, but these arrangements would not leave anyone to properly continue worship of the Liao line, i.e., there are no longer any Liao in the

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

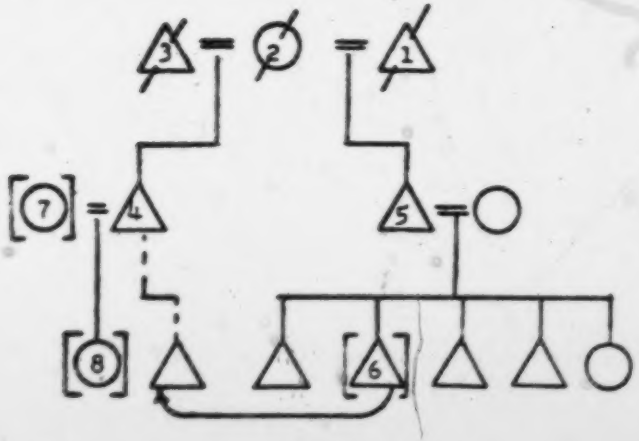

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

597 562 [435] sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 562 The above described processes are used along with birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 795 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biological barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

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581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of 183 178 842 a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
• 591 <u>siaosiv</u>, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

622 624 554 565 Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and [602] area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

622 624 [592] Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually [602] between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

618 602 Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a [601] multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. 582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage 612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a 571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to 584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al- 612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *ko-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, 601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the 626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother [591] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in [551] village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is [835] almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between [827] families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *siaosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

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APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside"-relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

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as a first character *"I"* (meaning wife's sister and mother's sister and found under the kinship chart and list numbers 41, 44, and so on).

Therefore, in order to categorize the Chinese system of kinship terminology for first cousins, we must consider the following: (1) the initial and most significant bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins and the other three types of cousins (the patrilateral parallel cousin is also the only one with whom marriage is, of course, strictly forbidden), and (2) the secondary bifurcation between the patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins and the matrilateral parallel cousins (a distinction apparently not found universally throughout China or even throughout Taiwan). This secondary bifurcation, which, terminologically, actually tends to separate matrilateral parallel cousins from both types of cross-cousins as well as from the patrilateral parallel cousins, is also indicated in the fact (as seen in the body of Chapter 5 and in an accompanying note) that while the villagers have these kinship terms for matrilateral parallel cousins, in actuality many of them do not apply the terms to their matrilateral parallel cousins. Rather, they think of them merely as *ch'in ch'i* (relatives), so that Hsin Hsing villagers say that marriage to a matrilateral parallel cousin is the closest one can come to marrying a stranger. Such is clearly not the case for any of the other three types of cousins.

Diagramatically, the distinctions between reference terms for the four types of cousins can be briefly shown as follows:

Bifurcation
- A–Patrilateral parallel cousins
- Patrilateral cross-cousins / B–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- Matrilateral parallel cousins

Bifurcation
- 1–Patrilateral cross-cousins / Matrilateral cross-cousins
- 2–Matrilateral parallel cousins

Examples

Patrilateral parallel cousins	FaBrSo	*Shu pe hsiung*
	FaBrDa	*Shu pe mei*
Patrilateral cross-cousins	FaSiSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	FaSiDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral cross-cousins	MoBrSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	MoBrDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral parallel cousins	MoSiSo	*I piao hsiung*
	MoSiDa	*I piao mei*

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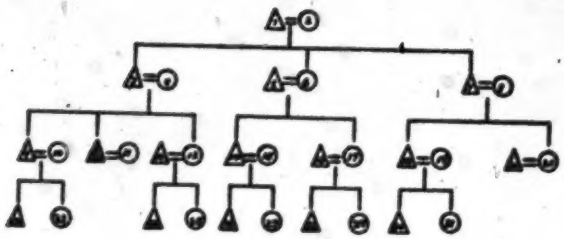
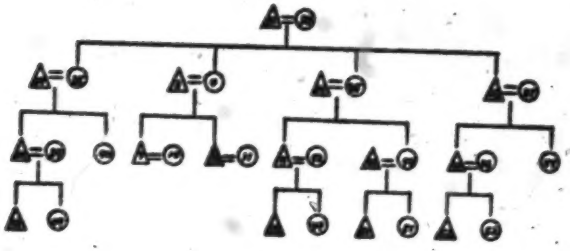


▲ = male ego

FIG. 4. Kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village: male ego's patrilineal and patrilateral kin.



▲ = male ego

FIG. 5. Male ego's matrilateral kin.

a) Terms of reference
b) Terms of address used by ego for his relatives •

1. a) *Tzu fu* 祖父

b) *A kung* 阿公

2. a) *Tzu mu* 祖母

b) *A ma* 阿媽

• Whenever the term of address is omitted, it usually means that ego addresses that particular person by his first name or else some other personal name.

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3. a) *Fu*	父
b) *A pa*	阿爸
4. a) *Mu*	母
b) *A ma*	阿媽
5. a) *Ku chang*	姑丈
b) *Ku chang*	姑丈
6. a) *Ku mu*	姑母
b) *A ku*	阿姑
7. a) *Shu fu*	叔父
b) *A shu*	阿叔
8. a) *Shen mu*	嬸母
b) *A shen*	阿嬸
9. a) *Hsiung*	兄
b) *A hsiung*	阿兄
10. a) *Hsiung sao*	兄嫂
b) *A sao*	阿嫂

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11. a) *Chi* 妻

b) —

12. a) *Mei fu (hsu)* 妹夫 (婿)

b) —

13. a) *Mei* 妹

b) —

14. a) *K'u piao hsiung* 姑表兄

b) *A hsiung* 阿兄

15. a) *K'u piao hsiung sao* 姑表兄嫂

b) *A sao* 阿嫂

16. a) *K'u piao mei fu (hsu)* 姑表妹夫 (婿)

b) —

17. a) *K'u piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

18. a) *Shu po ti* 叔伯弟

b) —

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19. a) *Shu po ti fu (hsiao shen)* 叔伯弟婦(小嬸) 601

b) —

20. a) *Shu po mei fu (hsi)* 叔伯妹夫(婿)

b) —

21. a) *Shu po mei* 叔伯妹

b) —

22. a) *Chih tzu* 姪子

b) —

23. a) *Chih nu* 姪女

b) —

24. a) *Sheng tzu (wai sheng)* 甥子(外甥)

b) —

25. a) *Sheng nu* 甥女

b) —

26. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

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27. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

28. a) *Ku piao sheng tzu* 姑表甥子

b) —

29. a) *Ku piao sheng nu* 姑表甥女

b) —

30. a) *Shu po chih tzu* 叔伯姪子

b) —

31. a) *Shu po chih nu* 叔伯姪女

b) —

32. a) *Wai tzu fu* 外祖父

b) *A kung* 阿公

33. a) *Wai tzu mu* 外祖母

b) *A ma* 阿媽

34. a) *I chang* 姨丈

b) *I chang* 姨丈

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35. a) *I mu* 姨母

b) *A i* 阿姨

36. a) *Chiu fu* 舅父

b) *A chiu* 阿舅

37. a) *Chiu mu* 舅母

b) *A chin* 阿妗

38. a) *I piao hsiung* 姨表兄

b) *A hsiung* 阿兄

39. a) *I piao hsiung sao* 姨表兄嫂

b) *A sao* 阿嫂

40. a) *I piao chieh* 姨表姊

b) *A chieh* 阿姊

41. a) *I piao ti* 姨表弟

b) —

42. a) *I piao ti fu* 姨表弟婦

b) —

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43. a) *I piao mei fu (hsu)* 姨表妹夫(婿)

b) —

44. a) *I piao mei* 姨表妹

b) —

45. a) *Ku piao ti* 姑表弟

b) —

46. a) *Ku piao ti fu* 姑表弟婿

b) —

47. a) *Ku piao mei* 姑表妹

b) —

48. a) *I piao chih tzu* 姨表侄子

b) —

49. a) *I piao chih nu* 姨表侄女

b) —

50. a) *I piao sheng tzu* 姨表甥子

b) —

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51. a) *I piao sheng nu* 姨表姪女

b) —

52. a) *Ku piao chih tzu* 姑表姪子

b) —

53. a) *Ku piao chih nu* 姑表姪女

b) —

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS

A	阿	Prefix to names of people; used to show respect
Chang	丈	An elder
Ch'i	妻	Wife
Chieh	姊	Elder sister
Chih	姪	Nephew or niece; child of a brother
Chin	妗	Wife of a mother's brother
Chiu	舅	Maternal uncle
Fu	父	Father

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Fu	婦	Woman; wife
Hsiung	兄	Brother; elder brother; a senior
Hsu	婿	Son-in-law
I	姨	Wife's sister; mother's sister
Ku	姑	Girl; paternal aunt
Ku chang	姑丈	Husband of father's sister
Ku mu	姑母	Father's sisters; paternal aunts
Ma	媽	Mother; mama
Mei	妹	Younger sister
Mu	母	Mother
Pa	爸	Father
Pe	伯	Father's elder brothers; uncle
Piao	表	Applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of the mother's brothers; "outside" (relative)

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Sao	嫂	Elder brother's wife
Shen	嬸	Aunt; father's younger brother's wife
Sheng	甥	Children of a sister
Shu	叔	Father's younger brother
Tsu	祖	Ancestor; founder
Tsu	子	Son; a child
Wai	外	Outside; beyond

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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China AF1
Taiwan AD6

these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND WORDS*

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Chao fu	招夫	Adopted-in husband
Chao ti	招弟	To invite in a younger brother
Chen	鎮	A market-township area
Ch'eng szu	承嗣	A term referring to a person adopted for the purpose of "continuing the family line"
Chia	甲	A measure of land equal to about 2.89 acres
Chia chang	家長	Head of an economic family
Chieh	節	A festival
Chieh pai hsiung ti	結拜兄弟	Sworn brothers
Ch'in ch'i	親戚	Matrilateral and affinal relatives, or relatives through adoption
Ch'in t'ang	親堂	People bearing same surname, but not part of same *tsu* (lineage)
Ch'in tsu	親族	Members of the same *tsu* (lineage) or patrilineal kinship group
Ching	驚	A scare (a fright)
Ch'ing Ming Chieh	清明節	A festival for worshipping at graves
Chui hsü	贅婿	Adopted son-in-law

* For additional Chinese kinship terms, see Appendix 2.

*584 *593 *591 at all common. All one can say, then, is that while a sīm-pûà is in some sense married as a child, she is not married in the same sense as the woman who has entered into a conjugal relationship. She becomes a married woman vis à vis her parental family only after the conclusion of the second ceremony makes her the wife of a male in her foster family as well as a daughter-in-law of her foster parents.

*584 *593 *591 602 •[601] But whatever the status of a sīm-pûà as a child, the relationship between her natal family and her foster family is ideally the same as that between the two parties to the preferred patrilocal marriage. The two families are expected to use the usual affinal kinship terminology with regard to one another, and they are also expected to behave in terms of the roles associated with the use of this terminology. Such affinal ties are at best nominal, however, and in most cases they are not recognized at all. When she is still a child a sīm-pûà will sometimes be taken to visit her natal family, and on occasion her mother may visit her in her foster home, but these few contacts seldom create strong ties between the two families. Most sīm-pûà strongly resent their parent's having given them away in adoption, and as a result refuse to stay with their parents or sometimes even to talk to them. Moreover, those few girls who do establish some relationship with their parents do not ordinarily form attachments with their real siblings, so that once their parents die they are not inclined to continue a relationship with their parental family. A sīm-pûà's natal family and her foster family might, of course, pursue an affinal relationship regardless of the girl's involvement, but Chinese families apparently have much

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a tông-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sim-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cǐ-bó-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

family are both commonly referred to as sim-pûà, the term lông-lù being used only in its written form and only then for the purpose of registering adoptions with the police. If one needs to distinguish betweem the two categories, one can use the descriptive terms "ū thi-thâu" and "bōu tùi-thâu", "those who have counterparts" and "those who do not have counterparts," but this alternative set of terms is only employed when in the context of the conversation the girl's marriage status is of particular relevance.

This same tendency toward an amalgamation of the two categories is also apparent in the ritual of adoption as it is practiced in Hsiachichou. Regardless of whether or not the child is intended to marry a son of the adopting family, she is always dressed in red on the day she is introduced to her new home, and it is common usage to speak of the token compensation given to an adopted girl's parents as a bride price, ignoring the fact that in many cases the child is not a little bride. When a village prostitute adopted a female child as security against the possibility of her being unable to marry, she too dressed the child in red and spoke of the price she had to pay for the girl as a bride price. Since this woman did not have any sons at the time of the adoption, she was obviously not going to marry the girl to a son, but the adoption was nevertheless transacted as though it were a prelude to a marriage. The child was even taken to her natal family "to be a guest" three days after the adoption, the same as if she were an adult woman marrying in the preferred manner.

*597 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential ally and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sīm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis- [601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sīm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sīm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

THE HOUSE OF LIM

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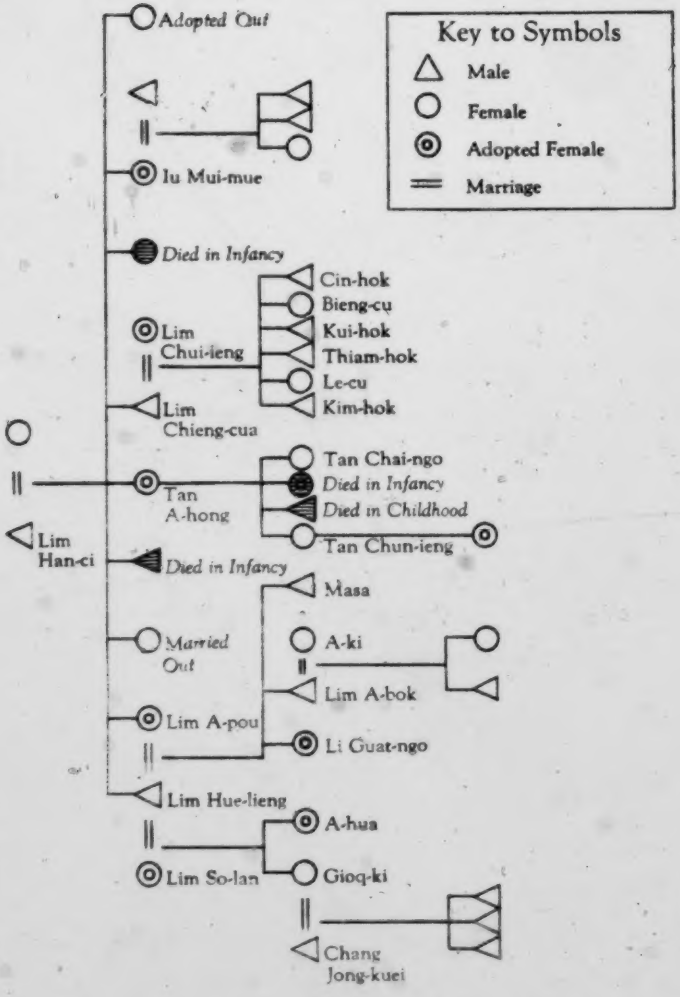


[p. xxi] [p. xxii is blank]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

LIST OF SYMBOLS

128
• 601

Male

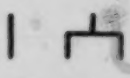
Female

Deceased Male

Deceased Female

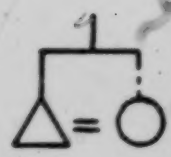
Marriage

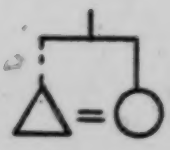
Divorce


Descent

Adoption

Departed via Migration or Adoption


Adopted Daughter Marriage (Siaosiv)


Adopted-in Husband Marriage (Ch[illegible] fu)

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 584 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
137 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.
244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

599 youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son
602 (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

599 Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively
562 different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

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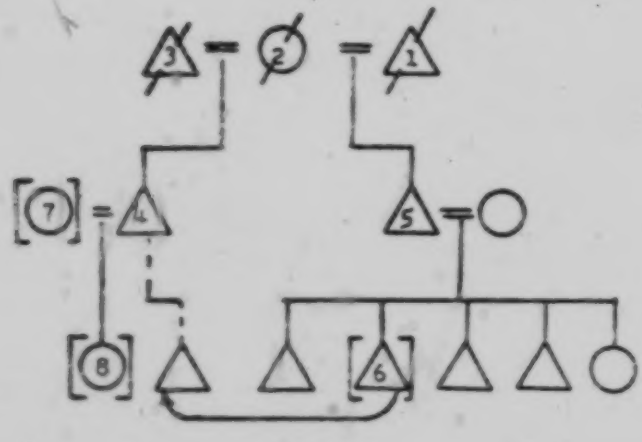

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

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769
596 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

• 601
596 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A, B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
5% by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307 1

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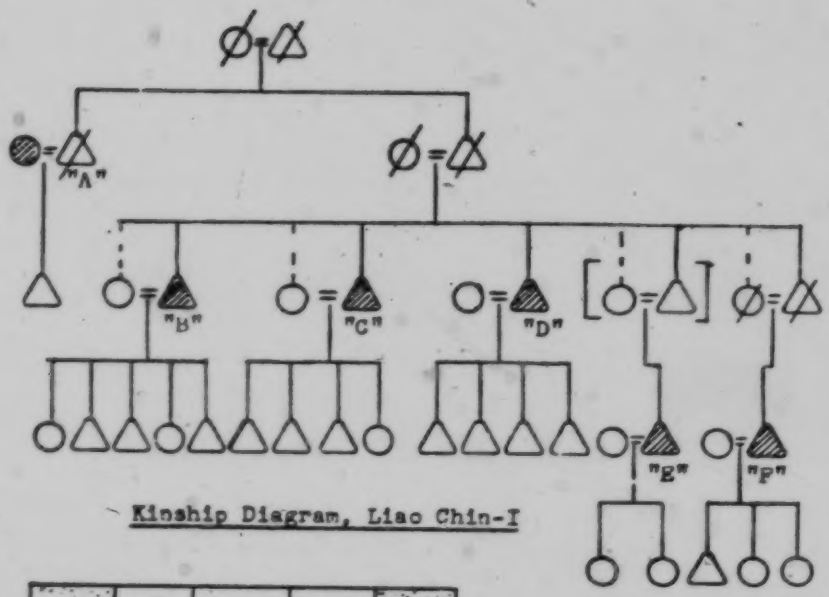
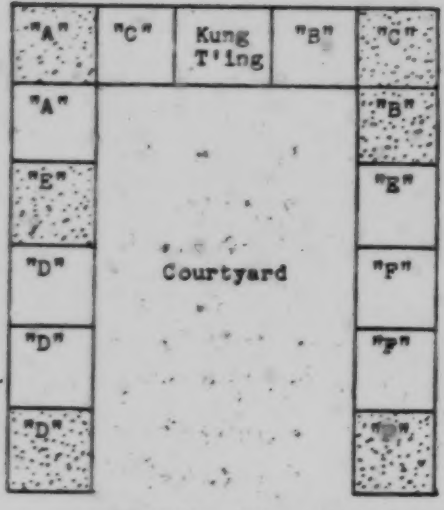


Kinship Diagram, Liao Chin-I



Building Diagram, Liao Chin-I "Compound"

Note
In the kinship diagram, each chia is identified with a letter which also designates the owner of the rooms in the dwelling unit. The kitchen for each hu is indicated by dots. The chia chang of each family is identified by cross-hatching. The kung t'ing and the courtyard are owned jointly.

Figure 12. Kinship and Dwelling Diagram, Liao Chin-I

1: Gallin

• 602

/Information on the ch'in ch'i -- matrilateral and affinal relatives--has been filed in category 612./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

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THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

T 161 162 [127]

T [167]

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

F Tn 161

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

Tn 161

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

443 484 regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to [628] Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into 177 contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are 464 made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move 484 regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are 177 many other factors operative (some which we have already had an 628 indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors [891] such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. [575] Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the [312] Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese [602] kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as [582] well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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[654]

[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both liveli-
[628] hood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
• [602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual
reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organiza-
tion and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relation-
ships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In
that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local
village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation
facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly
wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as produc-
tion increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago,
when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T
241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The
irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises
93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of
water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers
devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is
insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop,
when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the
cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown,
naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice
crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since
the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation
schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference
T in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the
[433] first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent,
because of the difference in season and available irrigation water be-
tween the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of
maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice,
and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japa-
nese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type
grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] [427] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[3] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

241 462 464 178 177

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

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One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[3] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercusions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

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[5] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[3] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single 厝, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

*584 at all common. All one can say, then, is that while a sīm-pûà is in
*593 some sense married as a child, she is not married in the same sense
*597 as the woman who has entered into a conjugal relationship. She becomes a married woman vis à vis her parental family only after the conclusion of the second ceremony makes her the wife of a male in her foster family as well as a daughter-in-law of her foster parents.

*584 But whatever the status of a sīm-pûà as a child, the relationship
*593 between her natal family and her foster family is ideally the same as
*597 that between the two parties to the preferred patrilocal marriage. The
• 602 two families are expected to use the usual affinal kinship terminology
[601] with regard to one another, and they are also expected to behave in terms of the roles associated with the use of this terminology. Such affinal ties are at best nominal, however, and in most cases they are not recognized at all. When she is still a child a sīm-pûà will sometimes be taken to visit her natal family, and on occasion her mother may visit her in her foster home, but these few contacts seldom create strong ties between the two families. Most sīm-pûà strongly resent their parent's having given them away in adoption, and as a result refuse to stay with their parents or sometimes even to talk to them. Moreover, those few girls who do establish some relationship with their parents do not ordinarily form attachments with their real siblings, so that once their parents die they are not inclined to continue a relationship with their parental family. A sīm-pûà's natal family and her foster family might, of course, pursue an affinal relationship regardless of the girl's involvement, but Chinese families apparently have much

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sĭm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sĭm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sĭm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sĭm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sĭm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kla:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bŭe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

giving the child or the family who is receiving the child, the adopted child being termed a biēng-liēng-kiàn. Although no term with a social referent ever has an exact equivalent in a language spoken in another society, the verb chī is not too inappropriately translated with the English verb "to adopt." The adoption does not in any way alter the existing social relationship between the two families who are parties to the adoption, nor does it involve an exchange of gifts or compensation for the one family's loss of a member. As is the case with adoption in most English speaking countries, rights in the child are transferred freely and without further social implications. The difference is that whereas the English verb "to adopt" is appropriately used for any transaction involving the transfer of rights in a child, the use of the Hokkien term chī is limited to those cases in which the two families are agnatically related. When the parties to the adoption are not agnates the act of adoption is referred to with the verbs būe and bùe. The family who receives the child is said to have "bought" him (bùe), and the family who gives the child in adoption is said to have "sold" him (būe). As in the case of adoptions involving agnates, such transactions do not alter existing social relationships, but they do involve the payment of a considerable sum of money by the adopting family. The use of the verbs "to buy" and "to sell" is not metaphorical. Whereas a family adopting a child from an agnate is not required to give any compensation whatsoever, the family adopting a child from a non-agnate must ordinarily offer what for most families amounts to the equivalent of a year's income.

*597 • 602 The use of the term khe-páng-kiá: to refer to children adopted from agnates suggests that such adoptions usually involve families which are closely related, the literal translation of the term being "the child who crosses the house." Since it is usually only close agnates who live in the same house, a "child who crosses the house" must be the child of close agnates, and this is in fact commonly the case. The term is appropriately used to refer to any male child adopted from an agnate, but it is seldom that such adoptions involve families who are not related in the first or second degree. The implications of the term biēng-liēng-kiá: are somewhat more obscure. A biēng-liēng is apparently a flying insect the life cycle of which requires the participation of the earthworm. After laying its eggs, the insect deserts them, depending upon the worm to hatch the eggs and thus perpetuate the species. A biēng-liēng-kiá: is therefore a child of parents who are willing to see him given over to someone else's care, they themselves not caring whether or not he survives. As the term is used in Hsiachichou, it does not seem to imply any scorn of the child who is given away in such an adoption, but it does imply criticism of the parents who would be willing to surrender a male child. Considering the importance which is attached to the principle of continuity in the male line, such an attitude is not at all surprising, for the selling of a male child implies a lack of concern for one of the most highly regarded of all cultural values.

Among the wealthier landlord families of the Taipei basin a distinction is made betwen the status of an adopted son who is a biēng-

liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tuzuru Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Uzuru Okada, Kiso Chaki, op. cit., p. 7.

511 426 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 602 888 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

*593 the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most
• 602 they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was
888 setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would
[189] just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 When asked the most important reason for having children, several
181 villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing
842 on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial
888 thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

769 adults who died as members of the family. If two brothers of a previous
• 602 generation did not divide their parental household during their lifetime, one may find the head of the household's brother or his father's brother represented among the family tablets, or, if at one time there was a matrilocal marriage in the family, one may find among the tablets the names of the head of the household's father's sister and his father's sister's husband. In one unusual case we found hanging next to the family's altar a small red packet which was devoted to a man who had lived for a long time with a woman of the family after her husband had died. The family included this person's name among their tablets because he "had no family of his own and because he had been a member of our kê for a long time." The only deceased members of a family who are not represented among the tablets are those persons who died before they reached marriageable age. A person who dies as a child can only be included among the family's tablets after his own father and mother have died. If the family should happen to suffer some misfortune after their deaths, a shaman may suggest that this is because some previous member of the family who died as a child is angry, and it may then be necessary to add his name to the altar as a means of placating him. By this time, the person is always of a senior generation relative to the living members of the family, and so as a father's brother or a grandfather's brother it is only proper that he be honored as an ancestor. He cannot be so honored during his parent's lifetime because he is then of a junior generation, and also "because he was so unfilial as to die before his parents."

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors, the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

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their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

It is interesting to note that
[597] Ong Chun-a's husband was the second of two sons, and that the older
593 brother had several male children who were not sold. Ong Chun-a's husband's parents could afford to sell their second son's male children because they had other grandchildren to carry on their family line. If Ong Chun-a and her husband had been in a position of authority in the family, they probably would not have sold all four of their sons. When asked how she felt about selling her four children, Ong Chun-a answered, [718] "In those days we did what our parents told us." We do not know for certain who made the decisions in the other four families who sold male offspring, but the position of the children in the family indicates that it was probably their grandparents. Three of the four were the children of later born sons, and in all three of these cases the father's older brother had male children at the time the sale took place.

597 It was thus only the very poor who ever sold any of their male
602 children, and they only did so after the continuity of the family line was assured. What then of the khe-páng-kià: form of adoption? How frequently did families give male children in adoption to an agnate? The question is an interesting one because the considerations which enter into the decision are entirely different. The khe-páng-kià: form of adoption does not require the adopting parents to compensate the child's parents, and so there is no question of material gain in giving a child to an agnate. The family which relinquishes one of their male children to an agnate does so because they feel obliged to help their kinsmen, or because they hope that by helping their kinsmen they will create obligations which will later be of use to them. The decision thus

597 involves weighing the relative importance of lineal and collateral
602 kinship ties. The family which gives a child to an agnate naturally strengthens their ties with the adopting family, but they do so by sacrificing a potential tie with the descending generations of their own line. The question which a family must put to itself is this: Are strengthened ties with one's agnates worth the price of an heir and descendant? The answer is no. The frequency of such adoptions in Hsiachichou indicates a clear preference for lineal ties as the more
[178] dependable and more significant. Although every family living in Hsiachichou has had agnatic kinsmen who did not produce sons in one generation or another, we find that not one of the 110 males born into the village before 1930 was given out as a khe-pang-kia:. The only two such adoptions of which we have any record occurred after 1930, and neither of these are really exceptions to the preference for lineal ties. In both instances a child's grandparents decided to give a childless son one of his brother's male children. These two adoptions were thus made from lineal rather than from a collateral perspective, and did not invole a sacrifice of lineal ties for the sake of collateral ties.

562 In speaking of a male infant a village mother will sometimes refer
842 to the child as her pou-pue, her "treasure." The term is never used with reference to female infants, nor is there any female counterpart of the term. The term which one hears repeatedly with reference to female children is the term liau-ci-nue, "something to lose money on." Male children are "treasures" because it is through its male offspring

made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pûa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

121 182 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 182 583 592 621 602 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they gives to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pôa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
• 602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

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chapter 3

[p. 23]

HOUSES AND FAMILIES

The interaction of the Taiwanese villager with his friends and neighbors is like the spice in his soup, savory but of little sustenance. It is with his family, his parents and grandparents, his children and grandchildren, that he takes the measure of his life. His relations with his parents may be strained, with his wife distant, and with his children formal, but without these people he would be an object of pity and of no small amount of suspicion. He would be pitied because he had no parents to "help" him and no children to support him in his old age, pitied because he had no place in a group, because he didn't belong anywhere. For these same reasons he would be the object of suspicion. A man not thoroughly imbedded in a network of kinship cannot be completely trusted because he cannot be dealt with in the normal way. If he behaves improperly, one cannot discuss his behavior with his brother or seek redress from his parents. If one wants to approach him about a delicate matter, one cannot use his uncle as a go-between to prepare the way. Wealth cannot make up for this deficiency any more than it can make up for the loss of arms and legs. Money has no past, no future, and no obligations. Relatives do. A young man orphaned as an adolescent or otherwise separated from his immediate kinsmen commonly marries into his wife's family. As this usually involves his agreeing to assign some of his children to his wife's father's line of descent, a man who marries in this fashion bears the stigma of having abandoned his parents and his ancestors—but this is preferable to an isolated existence. A man with a good job could find a wife among the entertainers of the city, but he wants more than a

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

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The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 4

[p. 36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

[596] [159] The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. [173] The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a faul: he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. [591] [602] All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

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and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the work is divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

121 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese
59 Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 For another illustration, consider the only re-
• 602 cently realized importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

supposed overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality, have been "discovered" to be important in economic and political spheres as well as in such other spheres as marriage, funerals, education, certain birthdays, childbirth, etc. Subsequent reports take Gallin's discovery into account. For example, A. P. Wolf (1968) stressed the importance of the need to establish a network of affinal relations as one factor promoting traditional marriage forms in a Taiwanese peasant village.

As suggested previously, the re-examination of earlier reports also reveals clues to the importance of affinal relatives. The partnership which dominates Lin Yueh-hwa's study of Chinese familism (1947) consisted of a pair of affinal relatives. Although Fei placed great emphasis on agnates, he does indicate some significance for affinal extensions (1939:86-7). Finally, Freedman concludes (1957:225-31) that the kinship system in Singapore does not place an emphasis "on the groupings of people into agnatic groups" which is found in Fukien and Kwangtung. The importance of affinal relatives is one of the factors negating this expected emphasis. Because his conclusions which were based on observation are different than his expectations which were based on the literature, he considers Singapore to be deviant (1957:225). In the terms of the concept previously delineated, it may well be the case that if he were to make observations in Fukien and Kwangtung, he might also conclude that they too were

621 592 Individual villagers are combined into chia (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 602 613 Although not listed in the official government records, a number of chia in the village are combined into several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

According to Marion Levy (1967:67-83) perhaps the most significant feature of traditional China was that it was family oriented to an overwhelming degree. The family was an overriding focus for individual loyalty, the basic unit for production and consumption, and finally, the basic unit in terms of which the allocation of power and responsibility took place. Further, the family was a basic building block in larger agnatic groups. Implicit in Levy's discussion is the importance of kinship in village life.

Although kinship units in Sanlei Ts'un are a significant factor in the social life of the village, the above picture exaggerates their importance. Even Marion Levy points out (1967:69) his description is an ideal seldom approached by the peasant. Since Sanlei is a peasant village which does not contain any wealthy individuals, it would not be expected to approach the ideal. Yet, kinship groups are singularly important in village social life.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

128 • 602 [769] This chapter provides a picture of the family and larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values, particularly the worship of ancestors, support continuation of the family along the male line.[1] Families are combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these general values are important, it will be demonstrated that compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and adoption are all processes which can be used to create and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units use these processes strategically to achieve certain goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of family head, particularly with reference to sex differences. A discussion of the forms and processes which change the family composition and their present distribution in the village completes the static picture of the family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific underlying values in the village, the cultural processes available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

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602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

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659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

597 if the boy learns about his natal home he will have a strong desire to return to it permanently.

597 602 The second type is not quite a complete adoption socially although legally it is a standard adoption. Two of the seven Sanlei adoptions were of this form, an adoption between two closely-related family units which are usually composed of patrilineal kinsmen. A son might be given by one man who had several sons in adoption to his brother who had none. Since the household containing the two brothers may not have divided, this adoption may not involve a physical movement of the boy and in any case, the two families will usually remain intimate. In one of the Sanlei adoptions, two brothers were involved.

The other was deviant and involved matrilineal stepbrothers in an undivided household (illustrated in Figure 8). After Huang (1) died, leaving one son (5) his wife (2) remarried a Liao (3) and they had one son, a Liao (4). They all constituted a single economic family. Huang (5) married and had five children, all with the surname of Huang. Liao (4) married and had a daughter but his wife (7) ran away with a Mainland soldier, taking the child (8). The balance of the people on the diagram are now living as a single economic unit and worshipping two sets of ancestors, Liao and Huang, but these arrangements would not leave anyone to properly continue worship of the Liao line, i.e., there are no longer any Liao in the

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

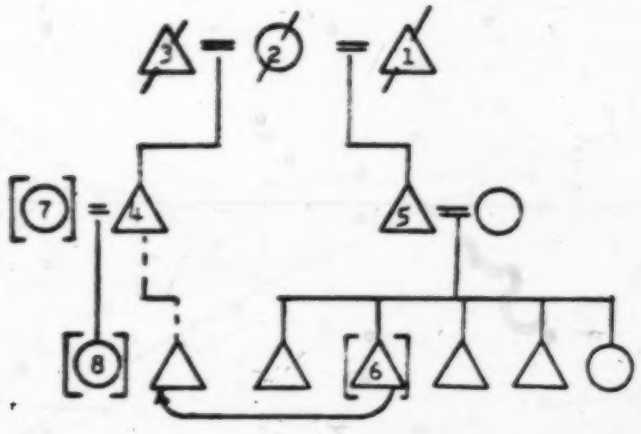

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
• 602 drews heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and
59 Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[887] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of <u>feng shui</u>[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

602 of the deceased in the three lines were collected from
769 their various resting places and placed in the site and the subsequent burials of descendants of the three lines have continued, thus creating and maintaining a corporate group.

602 The meaning of the phrase, three descent lines, must be explained. In the original village in Fukien, a man had five sons. After he died, the five sons with wives and children separated into five families who all migrated to Sanlei. Descendants of each of the five continue to identify themselves as members of separate groups, each focused on one of the five brothers. Although villagers call each of the five groups a fang, the term has been translated in various ways in the traditional literature. Based upon work by Lin, Freedman calls fang a sub-lineage (1958:36) while H. C. W. Liu (1959:99) terms it a branch or sub-branch of a clan, literally "house." Use of fang in Sanlei does not seem consistent with these definitions but instead follows the pattern described by Cohen (1969: 167), i.e., fang is applied to patrilineal descent unit segments of various sizes and complexity even to the extent of labeling the nuclear family units in a single ta chia t'ing (extended household).

602 Villagers distinguish the collective descendants
769 of each of the five brothers as separate fang, each numbered in the original birth order of the brothers. Thus,

602 769 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother. There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 596 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

596 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship
• 602 unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

245 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in
472 recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu
602 has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers
472 with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother associations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

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000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[P.45]

LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come. Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mua* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is variable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife normally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is 585 273 521 the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables [604] tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is tanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

her a married daughter in the eyes of her parents and a daughter-in-law in her family of procreation. One might easily argue that this is the reason her parents do not need to be present at the ceremony which gives her the status of wife. And yet there is other evidence which seems to suggest that while the adoption does give the foster family certain rights in a child it does not mean that she is married in the usual sense. If an adult woman's husband dies, she ordinarily remains a daughter-in-law in her husband's family, but in the case of a sīm-pûa the child's parents may demand her return if her prospective husband should die before the second ceremony. It is also generally recognized that the parents have more interest in the welfare of a child who is a sīm-pûa than they do in the welfare of a daughter who is married. When an adult married woman dies, her mother's brother may show his displeasure at the treatment she has received in her husband's family by knocking several of the male members of the family on the head with his cane when he comes to inspect the coffin, it being expected of the husband's family that they will wait kneeling at the door of their house for the arrival of the deceased's consanguineal relatives. But, as we have already pointed out above, it never happens that a married woman's family will take her back into their household, and they certainly do not have the right to remove her from her place as a wife and daughter-in-law in her husband's family. In the case of the sīm-pûa, however, the girl's parental family does have the right to demand her removal if they feel that she is being mistreated, and this does in fact happen upon occasion, although it certainly is not

*513 offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of
535 the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives
431 usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's
• [604] brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually
give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably
more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet
the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest.
[434] Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between
NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families
are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let
alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a
family into debt for years.

*513 There are, of course, various ways in which a family can econo-
*584 mize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the
594 bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy
553 the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts
can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common
elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is
that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for
them to adopt a sîm-pûa than to even attempt the preferred marriage.
For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in
the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage
in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sîm-pûa
marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it
involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

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Ong Mong-chi did not have to marry because he had the son given to him by his foster sister as a forfeit for marrying out of the family. His is an exceptional case, however. For most people remaining unmarried creates a very real problem. They must somehow provide for their old age and for their security in the next world. For men the most common solution is to attach themselves to a married brother's family, contributing their income to the support of their nieces and nephews. These children are then obliged to their father's brother in much the same way as they are to their father and will support him in his old age. This is the situation of the three unmarried elderly men who had no children, and, if they do not marry, the four younger men we have discussed will probably follow the same pattern. When we knew them in 1960 they were each included in the kê of a married sibling and contributed a large share of their income to that kê. The afterlife of these men is usually provided for by giving them a brother's child in nominal adoption. This child is then under ritual obligation to his foster father, and is expected to designate one of his own descendants to carry on the truncated line. If an unmarried man's brothers cannot spare a male child, he may be given a girl, in which case the girl is in the same position as any other only child and must make a matrilocal marriage that will allow her to fulfill her obligations to her foster father. This is what happened in the case of the man who did not marry because of a mental handicap. Unfortunately, the girl's husband later deserted her, and she was forced into prostitution in order to support herself and her children.

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*593 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different.
*562 Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would
*597 seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she
589 fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind
769 of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply
that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as
[604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in
which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or
a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child
was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The
woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world
and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually
adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their
future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent)
adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more
children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who
bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter.
The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both
young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their
future they must do one or the other.

548 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally
*597 true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes.
Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore
very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able
to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him. "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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159 596 604 578 431 friends, and I can give things to mine. Didn't this man ever give things to us? He nearly always brings us a big bag of taste powder when he comes. I didn't ever hear him say it was only for me, did you? A person who wants to run a business outside can't be like this.

"Think about it this way for a minute. Suppose this person really had been very bad to you. And now here he is asking you for something, not you asking him. It is he who would be bringing shame on himself by asking, not on you. You can bring shame on yourself only by not giving it to him.

"You say he would not invite you to stay in his house for one night, but did you explain to him what the situation amounted to? No, you just said you had missed your bus. How was he to know it was the last bus or that there was no late train? He is my friend. If your friend came and asked for something and I wouldn't let you give it to him, how would you feel?"

159 596 604 578 A-bok had had all the lecturing on proper behavior that he could take for one evening, and he said rather loudly, "All right. All right. Don't just stand there and oppress me about it all night."

This bit of disrespect caused Lim Chieng-cua to drop the tight rein he had been holding on his infamous temper. He yelled at A-bok, "You accuse me of oppressing you! You are the one who is doing the oppressing. Haven't I explained anything to you?"

Evidently the expression on A-bok's face (which I couldn't see) angered Lim Chieng-cua even more, and he moved as if to strike him. A-bok jumped up and ran out of the room. A good friend of the family who had been sitting with us immediately pulled on Lim Chieng-cua's arm and began talking to him in a soothing manner. "All right. All right. This is just a little thing. There is no good in it for anyone in quarreling over it."

Lim Chieng-cua calmed down a little and the friend continued to talk to him softly and unemotionally—a trick this man has that makes him much called upon in the village to settle family disputes. "Don't argue with the boy anymore. He is young yet and still doesn't understand the 'affairs of the world.' You are of an older generation and must not lose dignity by arguing with him. If he cannot understand, just forget it for now."

After a bit, the friend in his role as peace-maker went in to talk to Lim A-bok and his mother. A-pou was scolding her son. "If he wants to hit you, just let him hit you. Why do you run? Let the others see how he treats us."

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The friend cut her off and began to speak to A-bok as if his mother were not in the room. "Oh, cucumbers. Cucumbers are nothing special. You grow them yourself. It won't cost you any money. Just give them to him. Why argue over these unimportant matters?"

Lim A-pou muttered angrily, "My son is afraid of Chieng-cua just like a shrimp. Even if he doesn't want to give them away, he will have to."

I asked Lim A-pou later if she thought Lim Chieng-cua would really have struck her son. She scowled and said, "Why not? Last August he hit him." When I probed for more details, she said, "Huh! That wife's slave!" and ended the conversation with her usual response of "I don't know anything about it."

A relative of the family did know something about it and was happy to discuss a topic of seemingly endless village interest. Lim Chieng-cua bought a fancy radio for the family. A-bok came in one afternoon to find it blaring loudly for the pleasure of Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's twelve-year-old daughter. Besides telling her it was far too loud, A-bok also pointed out that the broadcast was in Mandarin, a language with which none of them are too familiar, and that she should not listen to Mandarin broadcasts for fear that she pick up something from a mainland station and get them in serious political trouble. Le-cu felt saucy and told him it was none of his business because her father had bought the radio. This made A-bok angry and he said some things about Le-cu's mother and maternal ancestors (i.e., cursed in the familiar fashion). Lim Chui-ieng overheard this, as she does nearly everything, and reported it to her husband. Lim Chieng-cua did not bring the matter up with his nephew until the family confidante and arbiter was present. He explained the exchange to him, in A-bok's presence, asking for a statement as to whose behavior had been remiss. One thing led to another, and A-bok got a sharp clip on the head. The friend told me sadly, "From the time he was a child, Lim Chieng-cua has been very fond of A-bok. The only reason they don't get along anymore is the women between them. A woman's heart is always narrower."

Although the quarrel over the cucumbers seems ridiculous and seemed to flare with little provocation, when viewed in a fuller context, it shows some of the finer qualities of both men. Lim Chieng-cua, though he might have suffered from A-pou's ill humor, would have been well within his rights as head of the family to simply order the cucumbers sent to his friend and business associate. Instead, he chose

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to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come. Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mua* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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People would laugh at me. They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us!' When my father and grandfather were alive, nobody dared to say anything more on a subject after they had spoken. Even older generations came to them for advice. It is because of this kind of a past that I don't like to talk about the family's problems with other people and let them laugh at us."

A-bok's comments were interrupted a good many times as the result of our vastly different weeding speeds. In substance he said: "You saw the quarrel I had with my uncle the other day [about the cucumbers], and you know all about it. I am too easy going. I let people look down on me. I don't know how long my life will be, but even if I don't see it, my children or my grandchildren will see if he [his uncle] treats his own children as 'well' as he has treated me. I just keep my head bowed and go on working. When he scolds me, I don't say anything back if I can help it. Whose temper is worst? My grandfather's was the very worst, but he didn't beat me. My own grandfather didn't find reasons to beat me, but now the younger brother is beating the older brother's children. [To a Chinese this is something like saying the world is turned upside down.] I don't think my uncle's children will just stand there and let him beat them when they grow up. His eldest son has a bad temper, and even worse, he holds a grudge over the tiniest things. Le-cu [Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter] will fight with you but then she forgives and forgets. I know what people are saying about me in the village. Some of them think I am right, and some of them think my uncle is right. Like Ong Liong-hong [a family confidante who runs a small general store on the outskirts of Taipei]. He thinks my uncle is right.

"My mother gets more and more angry because my uncle's children have several new sweaters and ours are full of holes. My wife keeps begging me to let her buy a pair of white shoes. I told her she couldn't because I didn't want anyone [i.e., Lim Chui-ieng] to talk about us. So what happens? Everytime my aunt walks out of the door, she has a different pair of shoes on. Yet everyday I hear her complain to you that it is harder for her to get money than for a beggar. So where does this money for shoes come from then? When it isn't her turn to cook, she is always off visiting this one and that one. You can't tell me that you can go visit people in other towns without

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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smiles, and when you ask for money his mouth is very stern. I gave Ong A-giok her wages for weeding the cucumbers only two days ago. She did the work many weeks ago. I told my uncle that we owed her money, but he hadn't done anything about it. I thought he had paid her long ago, and I was very embarrassed. Whenever money has to be given out, it is always like this. Even if I don't ask for any money for three months, he will never say, 'Well, you must need money. Here is some so you will have it when you need to buy something.'"

I asked if his uncle might not think he kept money out for his own use when he sold vegetables. "You can't sell vegetables every day," he said, "and besides he knows enough to guess how much we can get for the vegetables we sell.

"'Even a shrewd man of great ability cannot get past a pretty girl guarding a gate' [a common proverb]. You can't blame him for all these problems. You have seen how that woman [Lim Chui-ieng] can nag. If she is eating and he comes in from the factory, she puts down her bowl immediately and follows him into the bedroom to talk. If she finds him sitting alone, she will hurry over to ask him about this and that and the long and the short."

By my own observation I knew this to be the case, but it did not fit in very well with some gossip I had been hearing in the village. Hoping A-bok's talkative mood would last, I asked him, "If she treats him so well, why did he go out to find a mistress that time?"

"It was her own fault," he answered. "I really wish they would fight again like they used to." A-bok grinned naughtily. "If it hadn't been for my mother and I, Lim Chui-ieng would have been beaten to death a long time ago. One time in particular it was really bad. Lau Kim-chiok was living in that house where her mother lives now. One night Lim Chui-ieng went over and looked in the window and saw my uncle's shoes in there. She was afraid to do anything by herself, so she got one of our friends to go with her—he was living in our house just then. He went with her, but she didn't tell him where they were going, and when they got there she broke the window. My uncle came out and chased her back to our house, trying to hit her. She tried to go into my grandfather's room to hide, but he wouldn't let her and said, 'I'm not going to get involved in this anymore. You solve your own problems.' She had no place to hide so she came into my mother's room. I pulled uncle away and my mother stood between them. Lim Chui-ieng shouldn't have gotten our friend involved because my uncle

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

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On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only administered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with
[604] a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[858] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

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857 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big
482 as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely
603 indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
[852] the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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as a first character *"I"* (meaning wife's sister and mother's sister and found under the kinship chart and list numbers 41, 44, and so on). 601 605

Therefore, in order to categorize the Chinese system of kinship terminology for first cousins, we must consider the following: (1) the initial and most significant bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins and the other three types of cousins (the patrilateral parallel cousin is also the only one with whom marriage is, of course, strictly forbidden), and (2) the secondary bifurcation between the patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins and the matrilateral parallel cousins (a distinction apparently not found universally throughout China or even throughout Taiwan). This secondary bifurcation, which, terminologically, actually tends to separate matrilateral parallel cousins from both types of cross-cousins as well as from the patrilateral parallel cousins, is also indicated in the fact (as seen in the body of Chapter 5 and in an accompanying note) that while the villagers have these kinship terms for matrilateral parallel cousins, in actuality many of them do not apply the terms to their matrilateral parallel cousins. Rather, they think of them merely as *ch'in ch'i* (relatives), so that Hsin Hsing villagers say that marriage to a matrilateral parallel cousin is the closest one can come to marrying a stranger. Such is clearly not the case for any of the other three types of cousins.

Diagramatically, the distinctions between reference terms for the four types of cousins can be briefly shown as follows:

Bifurcation
- A–Patrilateral parallel cousins
- Patrilateral cross-cousins
- B–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- Matrilateral parallel cousins

Bifurcation
- 1–Patrilateral cross-cousins
- 1–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- 2–Matrilateral parallel cousins

	Examples	
Patrilateral parallel cousins	FaBrSo	*Shu pe hsiung*
	FaBrDa	*Shu pe mei*
Patrilateral cross-cousins	FaSiSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	FaSiDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral cross-cousins	MoBrSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	MoBrDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral parallel cousins	MoSiSo	*I piao hsiung*
	MoSiDa	*I piao mei*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [591]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem fo[illegible]nd some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division t[illegible]ace and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [502] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[459] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or
[606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i*; the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

#584 able to completely recoup their financial loses and exonerate their family's reputation. They returned to Hsiachichou laughing and cheering, delighted with their complete victory, and all sat down to a "wedding" feast.

The engagement is always held in the home of the bride's family, and is typically attended by the bride and her close relatives, the go-between, the groom's father and mother, and perhaps the groom's father's brothers or his father's father. The groom himself is never present. There is always a feast at which many of the members of the two families meet for the first time, and there is therefore always much toasting and an exchange of formalized greetings. So far as the progress of the marriage itself is concerned, however, the core of the engagement consists of a simple ceremony in which the future mother-in-law pre-
#584 sents her son's bride with a gold ring. The bride sits with her back
• 606 to her family altar facing the door of the kōng-thiâ: a position which symbolizes her departure from the family, and her mother-in-law places the ring on the index finger of her right hand. The significance of the ceremony lies in the fact that it represents the commitment of the two families to the marriage, and that it is also taken to presage the future relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. According to popular tradition, if the mother-in-law manages to slip the ring past the younger woman's knuckle she will be able to dominate her daughter-in-law, while if she fails, the daughter-in-law will be able to maintain a certain independence in her new home. The morning before any engagement one will always hear a girl's mother and her paternal

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want
[594] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

*583 591 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principles. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

*583 591 611

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law.
582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of
591 completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," cio̍u-ji̍p; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chhia-chhu̍t. A cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms
[606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents.
[591] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's sur-
[559] name, although some informants claim that it is possible for one
178 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has
583 occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage in place of

842 and "bad fortune," or "good name" and "bad name"; many illustrated their answers by pointing to a man with many sons as an example of hǒu miā: and one with no sons as an example of pâi miā:.

593 842 606 Although the ultimate responsibility for providing descendants belongs to the male members of the family, the immediate responsibility rests with those women who are their wives. The fertility symbols with which the marriage ritual is embossed serve to remind the bride that her primary duty to her husband's family is to bear children. Until she has fulfilled this duty she must "walk quietly" in her husband's house. Because of the high cost of marriage, few families in Hsiachichou would even consider repudiating a barren daughter-in-law, but neither would they forgive the daughter-in-law who failed to bear them grandchildren. The mother-in-law will usually take every opportunity to remind her of her failure. To her, the girl's failure is a terrible disappointment, casting a shadow over what were to be the joyous years of her old age. Something of the bitterness which arises in such a situation is apparent in a comment we overheard while talking to a woman whose three children were all adopted. During the course of our conversation, the natural born daughter of the woman's sister-in-law interrupted and was told to go away and "stop being a useless girl." Our informant's mother-in-law happened to be sitting in the same room and took this opportunity to comment, "It doesn't matter very much whether children are boys or girls. What really matters is whether or not a woman bears children."

be concerned about social approval and propriety, these decisions clearly involved other considerations.

One of these would seem to be the type of family created by the two different forms of marriage. Tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is characteristic of the preferred form of marriage from the very inception of the relationship. At the engagement when the mother-in-law attempts to push the engagement ring past her daughter-in-law's knuckle, the assumption of hostility between the two women is symbolically expressed, and this hostility tends to become more intense and more open as the relationship matures. During the early years of the marriage, when the mother-in-law is still an active woman, and before her daughter-in-law has secured her position in the family, the older woman will usually be the dominant member of the pair, a position which she seldom hesitates to exploit, taking advantage of every opportunity to harass and embarass her son's wife. A stranger in her husband's village as well as in his home, the untried and insecure bride has no choice but to swallow her resentment, but this early attitude of restraint does not last. The birth of her own children gives the young woman as much of a claim to a place in her husband's family as the mother-in-law herself, and in time the young woman also finds friends and confidantes among her husband's relatives and neighbors. Resentful of her mother-in-law's treatment of her, and often seeing the dissolution of the family as being to her advantage, the daughter-in-law then begins to respond to her mother-in-law's abuse in kind. The result is an active and

606 open conflict which threatens the harmony, and indeed the very existence of the extended family. Although obviously biased in favor of the speaker's point of view, the following excerpt from a village conversation indicates something of the intensity of the conflict between

[761] the two women. The conversation refers to a recent death which a shaman interpreted as the result of a death bed curse.

> "You didn't know my mother-in-law, did you? My mother-in-law was terrible at cursing people. She used every kind of curse. But I was very good to her just the same. I took her food to her when it was time to eat no matter how far away from the house she was. So when she died my husband's father said to me, 'All right, she is dead now. It doesn't matter how much she cursed you. You were so good to her that from now on you will certainly have good fortune and live very well.' The mother-in-law of that woman who died could really curse people, and so I think that what the god said is right. That woman really didn't treat her mother-in-law at all well. Her mother-in-law was blind and bedridden, and she seldom went to look after her or feed her. She wasn't filial to her mother-in-law, and so naturally what her mother-in-law said came true. I think that if you are filial to your mother-in-law it doesn't matter how much she may curse you."

An occasional good-tempered daughter-in-law will ignore her mother-in-law's provocations, and not all mothers-in-law are sharp tongued and unreasonable curmudgeons. Exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Our field notes include references to bitter quarrels or complaints involving nearly every mother-in-law and daughter-in-law living in the village during the period of our study. So nearly universal is the tension between the two women that the villagers themselves regard a peaceful relationship as extraordinary. When one village woman let it be known that she thought that her new daughter-in-law was both considerate and hard-working the situation became a

606 matter of general village attention and the topic so widely discussed that references to it appear in our field notes again and again over a period of several months. At first the tone of the village response was that of knowing amusement, everyone confidently implying that it wouldn't last more than a few weeks. When the usual change of heart did not take place quite as soon as expected, this attitude gradually gave way to resentment and even irritation. A number of village women seemed to feel that the woman was causing them trouble by praising her daughter-in-law. As one of them put it to us, "She just goes around telling everyone how good her daughter-in-law is, and this just makes a lot of trouble. It makes other people mad at their own daughters-in-law just to hear it." The eventual deterioration of the relationship was greeted by the family's neighbors with satisfaction and a sense of relief. To the best of our knowledge, the only cordial relationship of the kind in the village involved an elderly woman and the wife of her younger son, the wife of the elder son being a woman with a village-wide reputation of being a "hot pepper". It seems from what the family's neighbors told us that the older woman had been forced to come to terms with her younger daughter-in-law in order to hold her position vis-à-vis her elder son's wife. While this may not be that rare exception which proves the rule, it does serve to underscore our more general point.

606 *584 This tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is at least in part a product of the process by which the preferred form of marriage is arranged. It is usually the groom's mother who takes

primary responsibility for negotiating the details of the marriage, and she is the person who is most likely to become angry as a result of the inevitable haggling involved in these negotiations. Irritated by the size of the bride price she has had to pay and resentful over what she considers an inadequate dowry, she awaits her daughter-in-law's arrival "with an angry face." Given, then, a situation in which the mother-in-law must supervise her daughter-in-law's work, a situation very much exacerbated by the fact that the mother-in-law often has good reason to be dissatisfied with her daughter-in-law's performance, it is almost inevitable that tensions will develop between the two women. The girl is bound to make mistakes as a result of being unacquainted with the routine of the household, and often she has not been properly trained in much of the work expected of a married woman. One woman told us that she was so worried about this that she did not sleep or eat for three days before her marriage.

> "Nobody could have been more worried than I was before I got married. I never used to go out of the house, not even for a walk. Daughters don't learn to cook or to take care of a house. I was so worried that I couldn't eat or sleep for three or four days, and I was so tired the day of the wedding that I could hardly walk."

A sympathetic mother-in-law may remember her own experience as a bride, but more often than not this is only a distant memory given no relevance to the present situation. What is usually foremost in the older woman's mind is that with a daughter-in-law she will have someone to shoulder the burden of the household chores. A few minutes after describing her own anxiety as a bride, this same woman told us

606 that she was so happy her son was marrying soon "because now I will have somebody to help me cook and take care of this large family." She was naturally very much disappointed when her daughter-in-law turned out to be no better prepared than she herself had been, and as a result she was constantly complaining that her daughter-in-law was a "useless girl who doesn't know how to do anything but eat rice."

Listening to the daily bickering among the women of the household, one gets the impression that the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is primarily a matter of conflict over household routine. The mother-in-law complains that her son's wife "doesn't know how to do anything," that "she is lazy and stupid," that "she doesn't know the worth of money," and so forth. For her part, the daughter-in-law accuses the older woman of "really being able to scold," of not giving her son "enough money to buy anything," and of being generally demanding and bad tempered. But while these daily encounters over matters of household management and the domestic division of labor do add to the tensions between the two women, they are more the topics of the conflict than the real cause of the tension.

593 606 152 The origins of the tension between the two women would seem rather to be a competition for the loyalty of the young man who is the older woman's son and the younger woman's husband. A woman proves herself as a woman and secures her position as a wife by bearing male children. It is through her sons and by means of her sons that a woman finds a place in life. Moreover, given the ideal of an expressionless and unemotional relationship between husband and wife, a woman's male

*593 children are often the only appropriate objects for her affections.
• 606 It is not surprising then that she is jealous of the woman who enters
152 her son's life and threatens to replace her in his sympathies, and this jealousy finds expression in an exaggerated reaction to the irritations of life in the kitchen. For her part, the daughter-in-law soon learns that her husband is the only potential ally she has in her new home. Although her father-in-law may sympathize with her predicament, the expectation of avoidance prevents him from ever playing a protective role, and the inevitable conflicts between brothers effectively precludes any possibility of a sympathetic relationship with her husband's sisters-in-law. The young woman therefore turns to her husband as her confidant and her resource, hoping that she will be able to talk him into leaving the larger family, thus freeing herself forever of the tyranny of her mother-in-law. This tactic naturally serves to confirm the worst of her mother-in-law's fears, and her irritation and resentment of the daughter-in-law is increased proportionately. The result is a conflagration that feeds on its own flames. The more resentful and jealous the mother-in-law, the more she tyrannizes her son's wife; and the more she is victimized, the greater the daughter-in-law's efforts to pry her husband out of his natal family, this effort serving to confirm the older woman's suspicions and intensify her resentment.

This more basic cause of the conflict between the two women is often laid bare in times of crisis. In their daily encounters both women express themselves in the rhetoric of the kitchen, but when these

593 606 152 minor encounters boil up into a crisis the real cause of their differences comes to the fore. When a village mother who was having great difficulty with her daughter-in-law seemed to be losing control of the situation, her complaint was not that the daughter-in-law [redacted] or incompetent, but rather that her daughter-in-law "is trying to steal my son from me." She told her son, "I'll go kill myself, and then the two of you can be alone and not be bothered with a mother." In this particular case the son responded in terms of the ideal role for a son, assuring his mother that he would send his wife away rather than cause his mother pain. In his own words, "How can I let you do that? If she isn't good to you, then I'll send her back to her family. How can I let you kill yourself?" Such a response naturally encourages a mother and temporarily calms her fears, but there is always the worrisome possibility that someday her daughter-in-law will alienate her from her son. To bear sons is a woman's first great trial in life; to maintain their loyalty and affection is the second and more difficult trial. As a well known proverb tells, "You can bear a son's body, but you can never know a son's heart." In sympathizing with a neighbor who was having trouble with her son's wife, a village woman expressed what is probably the most basic fear of every mother with a married son.

> "You raise your children, and then when they grow up they are always someone else's. Your daughter belongs to your son-in-law, and your son belongs to his wife. Especially those men who always listen to what their wives say. If you say two words to your daughter-in-law, then they'll get mad and move out of the family."

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very different in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage. The girl who is adopted as a child and raised as a daughter in the family does not ordinarily become involved in the conflict that occupies the girl who enters her husband's family as a young adult. There are several reasons for this difference. For one thing, the sīm-pûà is socialized in terms of the routine of her husband's household, and so there is less occasion for conflict with her husband's mother over household matters. Nothing is demanded of the girl at the time of her marriage which she has not already learned as a daughter of the family. For another, the girl does not have a natal home to which she feels she can turn in desperation, nor does she have any other experience which might cause her to make unfavorable comparisons with her life in her husband's family. The only family life she has ever experienced is that of her husband's family. She knows of no other way of doing things and has no other standard. More importantly, the sīm-pûà marriage creates a family in which a girl's mother-in-law is also her mother, a woman's daughter-in-law also her daughter. A girl's husband's mother is the same woman who nursed her and cared for her when she was a child; and a woman's daughter-in-law is a child whom she herself raised and educated. The inevitable tensions of life as members of the same household are offset by a natural affection arising from a prolonged and intimate association. Moreover, there is also the possibility that this early association of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law precludes the development of the intense competition over the son and husband which is at

*597 • 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential allys and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sĭm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis- [601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sĭm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sĭm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-pûa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pûa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pûa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pûa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīm-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
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183 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
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183 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
606 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words." When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

*583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
*693 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
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183 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
• 606 other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

*583 The choice between the sīm-pûa marriage and the preferred marriage
*577 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
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556 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
182 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
183 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûa form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûa marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûa form of marriage as a way to avoid the

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] man. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the [598] person who told him 'spits blood to death'."

3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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606 In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

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> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

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We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

feed herself, but a man can always manage to earn at least enough to eat." The woman who cannot get along with her husband's parents has no alternative but "to swallow her anger," but the man who is at odds with his wife's parents can rely upon his own resources. Depending upon his age and his profession, this may be more or less of a hardship, but it is never the hardship that it would be for a woman who left her husband's family.

We have already seen that the in-law relationship created by the preferred patrilocal marriage is typically one of tension and hostility. Because of a common interest in the man who is the husband of the one and son of the other, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law often become involved in a bitter struggle. What saves the family from being torn asunder by this conflict are the strong ties which bind a son to his parents. Nothing could be clearer than the precept that a man must place his parents' welfare before the interests of his wife. "A man's parents are like his arms and legs; his wife is like his shirt and pants." Although a man may occasionally sympathize with his wife's quarrel with his mother, he would never abandon his parents for the sake of his wife. If she would sever ties with the family she must do it alone, and it is therefore virtually impossible for her to do it at all. The strength of the relationship between parent and child thus serves to balance the potentially disastrous tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The situation is again very different in the case of the matrilocal marriage. Here also one finds that a great deal of tension is generated

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by the entrance of an outsider into the family circle, but this tension is not effectively counteracted by the strength of the parent-child relationship. The matrilocal marriage does not create a structure which is a simple inverse of the structure resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The dyadic relationships of the Chinese family are defined in terms of a patrilocal family, so that even when a woman marries matrilocally her husband takes precedence over her parents. As a result, the crucial parent-child relationship is much weaker in a matrilocal marriage than in a patrilocal marriage. While a son would be severely criticized for siding with his wife against his parents, a woman who has married matrilocally may be criticized for siding with her parents. We heard several caustic remarks about a woman who was apparently in the habit of taking her parents' side in their quarrels with her husband. For example,

> "That woman! She already has two children, but she still sides with her father when he and her husband get into an argument. Where else could one find a woman like that? He married into her family, and so her father and mother are always saying things to him, but she always takes her parent's side. It is as though she were just married, and she already has two children.

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The matrilocal marriage is also weakened by personal tensions between the parents and their daughter. Since most families who arrange a matrilocal marriage do so because the wife is barren and has borne no sons, the great majority of women who make such a marriage are adopted daughters. Of 26 women for whom a matrilocal marriage was arranged 20 (77 percent) were adopted daughters. While these women are generally obedient in their relations with their parents, they are nonetheless not as loyal to the family as a son or a daughter. They know that they

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4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
• 606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die.'" He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

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581 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brittle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

*583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

*583 591 588 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less

*583 591 581 stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the role-

121 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old
182 the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society
182 are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also
593 seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they
592 give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be
621 aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of
602 affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential
[604] advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pûa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

the sīm-pôa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

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course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 818 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

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4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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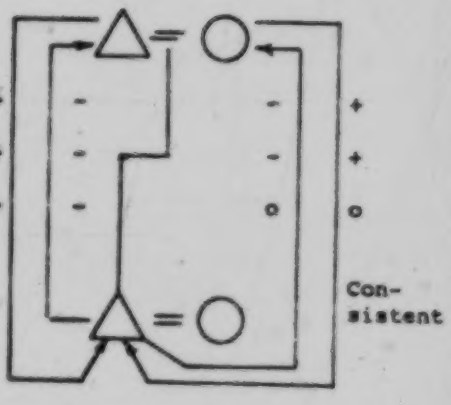
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations
12 - Between Age Levels
13 - Between Sexes

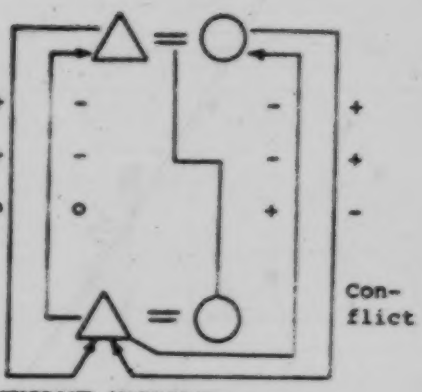
Summary: Consistent



REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations
12 - Between Age Levels
13 - Between Sexes

Summary Consistent



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in tne study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

• [606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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[606] a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT-dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lan' when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

"When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

"When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

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When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the work is divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

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*159 *596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

*159 *596 578 604 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

• 607 431 [626] How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him. "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
a 608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

599 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermfning of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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PREFACE

Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

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simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

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people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

123 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of
609 European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your
123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assess-
609 ed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some-
584 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order
584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my
123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had
[573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association).
[601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

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of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

584 less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists
593 have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one
597 of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one
602 the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

583 In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal
591 marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form [611] of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname [553]

*583 591 • 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kâ. In

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such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

*597 556 give their daughters out as sīm-pûà. The villagers themselves assume that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sīm-pûà and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

*597 *562 *121 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any particular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adoption. [735] But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. [611] [582] [842] The general preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

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[Information on the Lim family as a lineage will also be found in the category 596.]

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is [612] [602] paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[3] is between the two people. This is true even 571 for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose [602] *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin-Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed [264] "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

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MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

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Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
[835] same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
[827] ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinsiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *siaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *siaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *siaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *siaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *siaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *siaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 5, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsú* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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159 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when
• 612 they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active
628 part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have
621 been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give
628 only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the
62 matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for
[618] example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and
[612] also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the
[692] courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 178 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

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846 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can
• 612 afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go
784 outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under
845 other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do
784 not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the
782 husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

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593 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the
854 day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of
857 six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task
618 falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion,
• 612 when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he
883 still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

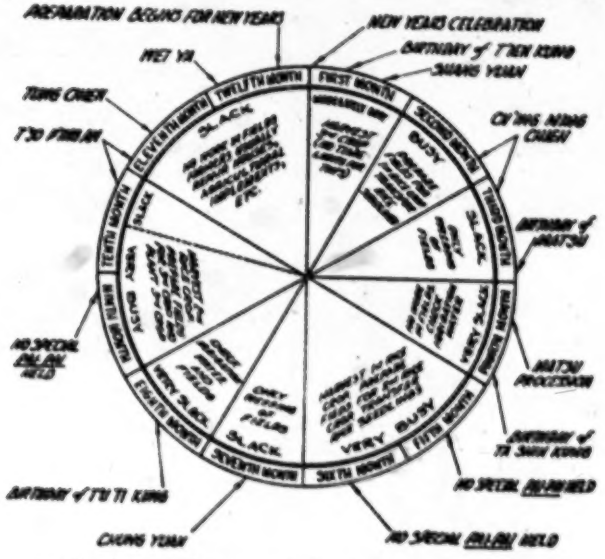

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

175 example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chuanchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits. [579] As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"[1]

175 • 613 Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

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1 George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

582 in such a situation tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may strain affinal ties, but their primary concern is the effect of such a situation upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship itself. They fear that the girl's having natural allies in the same community will exacerbate what is at best a relationship of restrained
*583 hostility. Our genealogies include only four cases of preferred marriages
*597 in which the man and wife were both residents of Hsiachichou prior to
582 their marriage, and these four cases are all exceptional in that the
• 613 parties were members of families belonging to the same lineage. While ordinarily considered incestuous, such marriages are permissable in one situation. If a family adopts a daughter to marry to one of their sons and for some reason this marriage does not materialize, the girl is then eligible to marry into families belonging to the same lineage as her foster family. As to why village families are willing to contract endogamous marriages within their lineage but not outside it, we can only guess, having not seen the significance of the question while we were still in a position to collect pertinent data. Perhaps the strength of the prior agnatic ties effectively precludes the tensions which are apt to arise when marriages are contracted between families who are not close kinsmen and who do not belong to a common kinship organization.

*584 Unlike the situation in many areas of China, preferred marriages in Hsiachichou seldom begin as infant betrothals. Occasionally, two women who are close friends will discuss the possibility of marrying an infant son and daughter, but such discussions are not ordinarily

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[Information on the Lim family as a lineage will also be found in the category 596.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 • 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

4: Barnett

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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[Information on tsu has been filed in category 618.]

621 592 Individual villagers are combined into chia (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 602 613 Although not listed in the official government records, a number of chia in the village are combined into several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
556 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
• 613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
• 613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

796 794 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
• 613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the boat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts (through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

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together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

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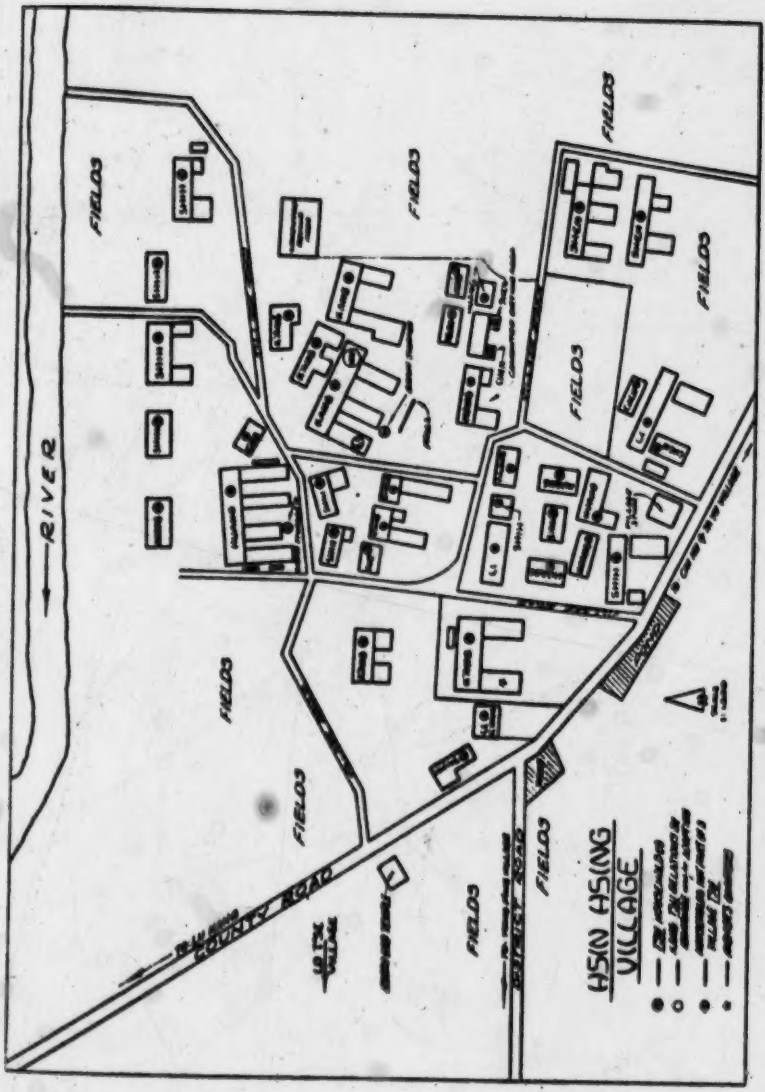

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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PLAN of the MAIN HOUSE of the HUANG TSU

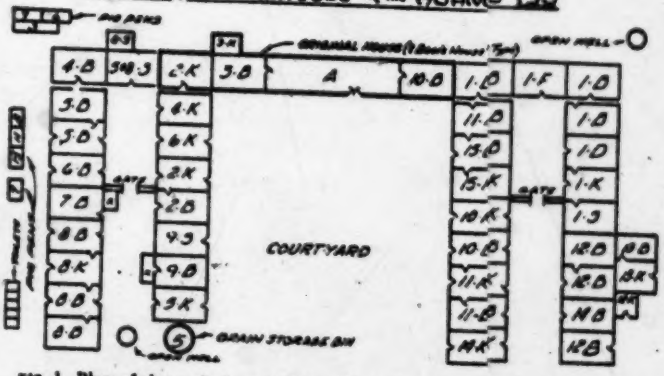

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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PLAN of K'ANG BROTHERS' HOUSE

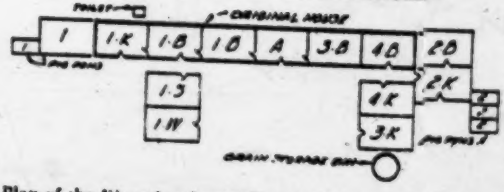

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

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landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work. 241 465

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested. 241 464

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second. 241 464 496

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this 241 496 618 464

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241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

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this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–163).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

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T [554] different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

T 622 829 The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

T [647] T 184 622 554 In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although T 622 554 they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and T 618 status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

A/ i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst/

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. I, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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was the institution that perhaps four out of every five persons were members of an organized *tsu* (Lang, 1946:173).

Tsu organization performed many important activities and functions, as Hu Hsien-chin (1948:10) has pointed out:

> The *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes a community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values with the family and the *tsu*.
>
> These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood.

These activities and functions were performed by a highly structured and highly segmented organization with a population of two or three thousand people, as Freedman (1958:132) has noted. The membership is characterized by broad social differentiation including

> families of bureaucrats, . . . some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various segments. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land, ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back.

In fact, Hu (1948:10) notes that although the membership of the *tsu* may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated."

The *tsu* as Hu (1948) and Freedman (1958) describe it is elaborate in structure, function, and activity. Freedman, however, suggests that loosely structured organizations are still to be considered *tsu* and accordingly constructs a scale on which localized lineages may be placed, differentiating them in social status along a "continuum from A to Z" (1958:131), representing "models of the polar opposities of the scale" (1958:131). Thus, the *tsu* pictured above by Hu and Freedman would be the "Z" model while "A" model is

> small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a plot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor. . . . Apart from domestic ancestor worship, which is conducted before the simplest instruments, and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of the lineage, there is no ancestor cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation (which is indicated by their personal names) and their ascription to one or the other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to co-operate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman, 1958: 131–132).

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The continuum can be even further extended to include the very small localized kinship organizations found in many villages in Taiwan (such as in the Hsin Hsing area) and probably also on the mainland of China. Before going on to a discussion of family I will attempt to demonstrate this. In both structure and function, these small localized kinship organizations go beyond what Freedman refers to as "inflated families" [1] and which he warns us not to confuse with lineages (1958:2). Such kinship organizations as exist in Hsin Hsing do not quite approach either the size or structural complexity even of Freedman's "A model" *tsu*. Nevertheless, these kinship organizations —on the basis of their activities and functions—are *tsu*, since they are more than simply patrilineally related families. They do operate as local organizations which are aligned on the basis of patrilineal kinship and attempt to wield sociopolitical influence in the village and area.

*The Single-*Tsu *Village*

The general social organization of a village made up exclusively of one *tsu* group is likely to be rather different from a village like Hsin Hsing, which contains a number of smaller *tsu* and unrelated family units. The village with a single large *tsu*, as has been pointed out (Hu, 1948:9–11), tends to have a unified organization which dominates most of the village's activities. No matter how many village "social associations" a villager belongs to, he finds that the members of each are all part of the same kinship group. While this does not necessarily eliminate interfamily or interfactional rivalry and friction within the village, such *tsu* organization nevertheless does tend to create an unusually firm basis for group solidarity. The *tsu*, in effect, is the village and is thus very easily able to present itself as a unified

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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by one *tsu*. The single-*tsu* village is known locally as "*yi hsing ts'un*" ("one surname village"), and in the literature is commonly called a "clan village." 618

*The Multi-*Tsu *Village*

Today, most of the villages in the Hsin Hsing area are populated by several *tsu* groups, plus a number of families not affiliated with any of the village *tsu;* these are called "*tsa hsing ts'un*" ("mixed surname villages") and are sometimes referred to in the literature as "multi-kin villages" or "segmented communities." In the Hsin Hsing area they are of the type with a marked tendency toward local exogamy. In these villages, unlike the single-*tsu* village, no individual *tsu*'s activities coincide with those of the village organization.

Hsin Hsing, a multi-kin village, was first settled by immigrants from Fukien who came to Taiwan in small groups of three or four men. After examining the area, these men finally founded the village of Hsin Hsing. Soon after this, and throughout the years that followed, people of other surnames came to this easily accessible plains area and settled down in the village. As time passed, the families of some of the earliest arrivals grew into what now comprise the several village *tsu* groups. Of these, the larger *tsu* are the ones which go back to the early period of the village founding and have therefore had the time as well as advantageous circumstances which have enabled them, relatively speaking, to increase their number of member families and population. Others with perhaps equally long village histories are still small because circumstances somehow prevented their expansion. Some of these have few members in a small number of related families; several are still in individual unrelated family units. The latter have simply produced too few surviving children, so that they have never expanded their numbers sufficiently to have more than a single male heir in a generation to carry on the male line. Others are of relatively recent origin in the village, some only three generations, not yet long enough to have expanded their membership and number of associated family units. [167]

However, in Hsin Hsing village even the relatively older and larger *tsu* are far simpler and less elaborated organizations than Freedman's (1958) somewhat less complex "type A" *tsu*. But as we shall see, they share many features of structure and function which differ primarily in degree rather than in kind. The *tsu* organization of Hsin Hsing, in this respect, is rather representative of the general area and more than likely of much of the mainland.

The lack of elaboration of the size and organization of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* can be attributed to two main causes. The relatively short history of both the village and of the *tsu* organizations has meant a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lack of depth in generations and therefore a lack of breadth in collateral relatives. Then, economic pressures and the resulting rather high degree of out-migration, often of whole family units, has restricted the expansion of local *tsu;* in fact, the size of village *tsu* may have almost reached a point of relative stability.

Part of the lack of an elaborate *tsu* organization in Hsin Hsing can be seen in the absence of significant formal *tsu* segmentation, i.e. into *fang*—a sub-*tsu*—or *chih*—a *tsu* branch. The lack of formal segmentary organization is most likely a function of small size—even the largest *tsu* organization has a population of only over one hundred, and several others are considerably smaller. All village *tsu* embrace groups of families in several lines of descent (Freedman might call them "sub-lineages" since each traces its origins to a son of the *tsu* founder) within which are families of more closely related kinsmen, such as the families of brothers. However, these sub-lineages neither have nor attempt to exert sociopolitical influence in the village; they depend upon their *tsu* organization to do this in their behalf. Again, this is a result of their relatively small size; it has prevented the evolution within the *tsu* of broad social differentiation and thus of sub-lineages wealthy enough to form new or separate formal segments by setting aside or donating property as corporate lineage property or for an ancestral hall. The fact is, formal segmentation of *tsu* as small as those of Hsin Hsing would "reduce the groups below the minimal functional size" (Geddes, 1963:30).

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Before examining something of the activities of the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organizations, let us first turn to their composition. As noted earlier, there are twelve surnames among the ninety-nine family units in the village.[3] Four of these—Huang, Shih, K'ang, and Shen (in order of number of people)—make up 82 percent of the village population and 81 percent of the village households. Nearly every fourth villager is named Huang. Most of the Huangs belong to one *tsu,* tracing their common ancestry to one of the village founders. Aside from two small member households which live elsewhere in the village, the whole *tsu* membership lives in one large compound made up of two buildings, where each household has its own apartment. Three small Huang households do not belong to this *tsu* and live elsewhere in the village. (See Map 2.)

Each of the three other most common village surnames is found in at least two different kinship groups, some of large size and others of moderate size. But regardless of the number of member families, the members of such groups maintain themselves in some form of kinship organization and live in a compound together or in a small cluster of separate houses. Thus, the two kinship groupings with the surname Shih can be said to form two *tsu* organizations of an incipient form;

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

618 769 In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

618 171 114 476 But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:83). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

618 [171] To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a coincidence.[9] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 627 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

618 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 618 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect [648] on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic condi- [423] tions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money. 596 618 769

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate. 596 434 618 769 596 618 769

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment. 596 618 769 353 778

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unsusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [17] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 578 171 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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621 406 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 406 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity. [829]

628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[2] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work. 853 854 596 621 [618] [853]

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often. 862

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance. 863

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

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A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

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581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation [594] may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families.

584 465 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations [203] are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 764 793 804 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount [522] of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 764 536 793 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tzu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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there may be certain decisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Haing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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621 As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests
177 beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members
178 has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the
village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence
• 618 their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

621 The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic develop-
177 ments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even
more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social
178 organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there
[59] has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually
[618] conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

[128] The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

59 Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often
178 could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of
[171] family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 608 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
• 618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957: 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

• 618 or tenth, they do share the first. Given sufficient depth of generations and the fact that there can be a wide age spread between the youngest and oldest individuals in a single generation, there is little relationship between genealogical generation and physical age. For example, one of our assistants in his twenties found a man with the same surname in a nearby village. Although the villager was over seventy, he was numbered three generations later. They both read a newspaper which was delivered all over Taiwan and carried news items devoted to the activities of people with their surname. They considered themselves distant clan relatives (ch'in t'ang) and the old man, with a smile, referred to our young assistant as great uncle. Even within shallow-depth American families, a man will occasionally be older than his own uncle.

All of the men in Sanlei surnamed Liao considered themselves to be ch'in t'ang. The Liao group which founded Sanlei all came from the same village in Chuan Chou, Fukien and other Liao migrated later, some from the same village and some from communities in the same county but not in the same village area. For one larger group of Liao, descent was demonstrated but for the balance, descent was merely stipulated.

[262] One area difficult to classify according to the above scheme is due to the fact that several generations after the establishment of the Liao name an event occurred,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

• 618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of feng shui[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

[Additional information on tsu may also be found in category 613.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the [692] courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[1] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

794 778 778 794 623 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same manner. [542] Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

794 796 • 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shasans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. [435] [345] Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayoralty "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

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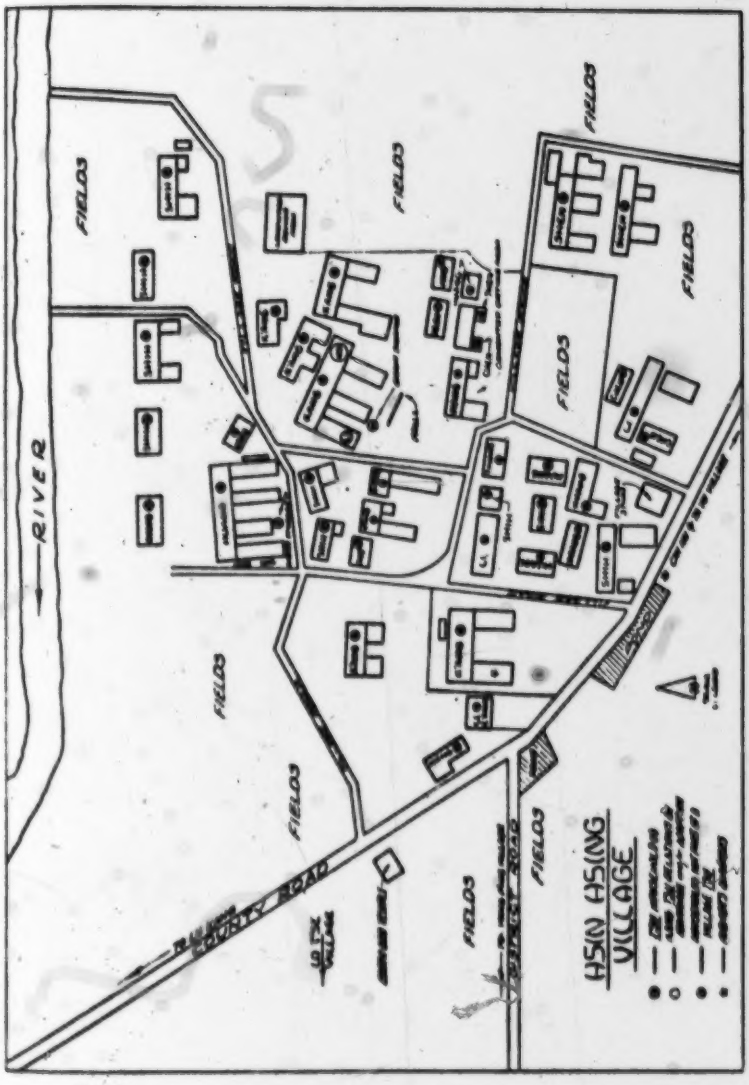

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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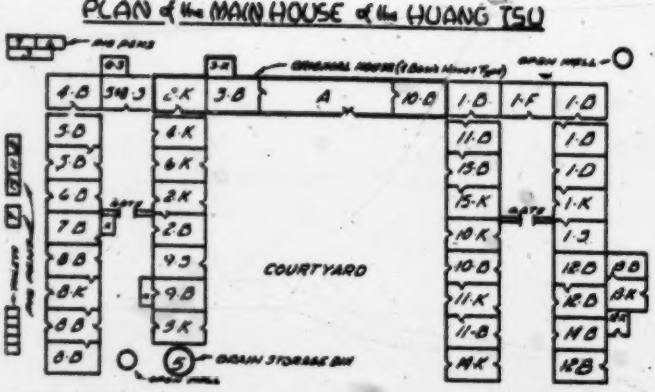

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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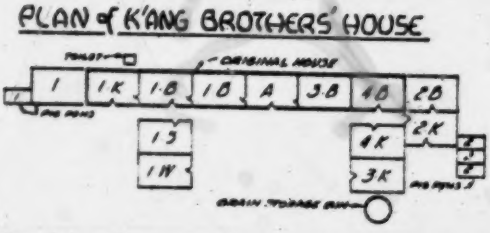

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 3 for a discussion of family division.)

• 621
575 Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, there is always the possibility that there might again be an expropriation of land in excess of three *chia* of paddy. Under this same section, there is a provision that "In the event that the purchaser cannot till the land himself before its purchase price is fully paid, he may request the Government to purchase the land for resale to other farmers. The Government shall, in such case, reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954: 191; the Law, Chapter IV, Article 29).

According to Article 8, tenant-cultivated land to be purchased by the government for resale to the present tiller or tillers falls into seven categories: (1) land owned by landlord in excess of the permitted retention acreage; (2) land under joint ownership (no matter how small the amount); (3) the private portion of any land owned jointly by private individuals and the government; (4) land under government trusteeship; (5) land owned by private individuals or family clans for purposes of ancestral worship and land owned by religious institutions; (6) land owned by the Shenming Hui (a popular religious association in Taiwan) and land owned by other juristic persons and corporate bodies; and (7) land which the landlord does not wish to retain and requests the government to purchase (T'ang, 1954:186; "the Law" Chapter II, Article 8).

LAND TENURE STATISTICAL DATA FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE

T 423 127

Analysis of the land tenure records covering the present period for Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area provides a fairly complete picture of the land tenure situation of the post-land reform period.[1] However, to obtain a similar picture of land tenure immediately before the inception of the Land Reform Program, it is necessary to work backwards, using the records of the post-reform period as a basis, plus those few pre-reform records which are available. One such pre-land reform record is the 1949 list of landlord-tenant contracts for Hsin Hsing village. Land tenure figures can be calculated from this list of contracts; these, not entirely accurate, still present a picture of the pre-1953 situation, which is valuable for comparative purposes.

T 423 31 [621]

Prior to the Land Reform Program (see Table 15) there were 92 farming families in over 100 households in Hsin Hsing village. These cultivated about 61.5580 *chia* of land (148 acres). Of this amount, 25.8204 *chia* (63 acres) was privately owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 35.7376 *chia* (85 acres) was leased. House lands and roads, then as today, made up an additional 2.9909 *chia* (7 acres) of uncultivated land owned by Hsin Hsing residents. (In the following pages this

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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:68). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:[illegible]) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the [692] courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 178 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

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As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[9] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 789 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

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158 159 755 [756] [782] The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 621 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1945 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

12 large the only decisions we will consider which took place before 1900
[101] will be those concerning adoption. Only a very small percentage of our total population reached marriageable age before the turn of the century.

• [b21] With the exception of the 20 members of 5 families who came to Taiwan from the mainland of China since World War II, the population of our genealogies includes all of the residents of Hsiachichou in 1960, a total of 72 families with a combined membership of 562 people. It is important to remember, however, that our genealogies do not include all of those people who lived in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. In many cases families who once lived in the village have moved away, and in these cases we do not have the information necessary to include them in our records. Moreover, our information concerning those people we have included is not equally detailed. In some cases we may know a woman's age and sibling order, the form of her marriage, her father's sibling order, and so forth, while in another all we may know is that she was born in Hsiachichou and that she was given away in adoption as a child. The reader should therefore not be surprised to find that the samples which we use to test various hypotheses vary considerably in size. If all we need to know is whether or not a woman was given away in adoption, we can use a much larger sample than if her sibling order is important to the particular test, and if we also need to know her father's sibling order still further cases must be eliminated for lack of necessary information. Finally, the reader should be warned at the outset that the information in our genealogies is not entirely free of error. Since our records were

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lün is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

796 798 634 621 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The 794 796 634 management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the 776 634 responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

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The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternatiely with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
• 621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiù: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiù:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

less fortunate neighbors as residents of the decaying Hsiachou. This imbalance of wealth between the two areas is reflected in the adoption rates. Of the 93 girls born into Hsiachou 32 (34 percent) were given out in adoption as compared with only 9 (14 percent) of the 66 girls born into Shangchou. Were our information detailed enough to permit a comparison of individual families, we would undoubtedly find that relative wealth is an even more important variable, but gross as it is, even this comparison clearly makes the point that her family's ability to raise her has become an important determinant of a girl's chance of remaining in her natal home.

We must therefore take into account two sets of factors rather than one in order to calculate the likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption in the post-1930 period. We must consider the composition of the family into which she was born, and we must also take into account the relative economic status of her natal family. When both sets of factors are considered a clear pattern of adoption emerges, with girls born into some situations being much more likely to become adopted daughters than girls born under other circumstances. The daughters of wealthy families who are born before the family has either sons or daughters are almost never given in adoption, and those born into families with both male and female children are only occasionally given in adoption. Of 39 girls born in Shangchou to families of the first type only 2 (5 percent) were given in adoption, and of 24 girls born into Shangchou families of the second type only 5 (21 percent) were given in adoption. The composition of the family into which a girl

is born is thus not an important variable among wealthy families, most of the families in Shangchou deciding to keep their female offspring regardless of the number and sex of their other children. In the case of the poorer village families living in Hsiachou, on the other hand, the composition of the family into which a girl is born does make a difference, the rate of adoption for girls born into some types of families being almost as high as in the years before 1930. We find that girls who are born into families which have both sons and daughters are much more likely to be given out in adoption than those born into childless families or families which have only sons or only daughters. Whereas only 6 (15 percent) of the 39 girls born into Hsiachou families who did not as yet have either male or female children were given in adoption, we find that 26 (48 percent) of those 54 girls born into families with both sons and daughters were given in adoption.

We are now in a position to answer some of the questions raised at the beginning of our last chapter. Whether or not a family living in Hsiachichou decides to give away one of their children depends primarily upon the child's value in terms of the family's economic and social needs. Males are less likely to be given away than females because of their importance as heirs and descendants, and girls born into childless families are less likely to be given away than those born into families with sons because of their potential utility to the family. The composition of the family is thus probably the most important single factor influencing decisions about adoption,

*121 *583 *597 182 511 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relationship within the kê is one of the considerations which enters into the choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sim-pûa marriage. Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the relative degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that economic considerations are an important determinant of human action, we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity, both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 *583 *621 182 554 626 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions derives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou, the event is something more than a public act; it is a public performance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family must always consider what the community is going to say about their decision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

121 prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment?
583 The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice
621 between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa form of marriage. The
182 sīm-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantage-
554 ous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it
626 may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

121 If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover
583 why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One
554 reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity
183 for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way
121 to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard
583 for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect
182 by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sīm-pûa marri-
183 age is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

121 182 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 182 593 592 621 602 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pua form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

121 182 583 592 621 602 seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the hê. Contrary to the *assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would* seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

121 583 597 592 182 The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the hê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Pe·hotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

3 Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

During the prime of his life, Lim Hue-lieng's activities were more open. Because of his position in the *lo mua*, he was able to round up gangs of workers on a moment's notice. It was from this source that he received the majority of his income: as long as a man remained on the job Lim Hue-lieng found for him, a certain percentage of his wages went to Lim Hue-lieng. Since his loyalty to clansmen and friends was strong, Lim Hue-lieng's power had a profound effect on the prosperity of Hotien. Besides finding jobs for fellow villagers, he contributed generously to village festivals and community projects such as road building, and he built the lovely Tu Ti Kung shrine that graces the entrance to Peihotien. Without this patronage, Lim Hue-lieng's reputation in his home village would not have been good. Against him remained the stigma of being an unfilial son. And still unmarried in his father's home remained Lim A-pou, the girl his parents had adopted to be his wife. Lim Han-ci made no attempt to arrange another marriage for the girl, and she was rapidly approaching the age after which it would be difficult for her to make a good match. When Lim Han-ci's wife brought home a small girl and Lim A-pou took responsibility for the child's care, there was no longer any doubt in the village about A-pou's future. She was not to marry out of the family. If Lim Hue-lieng did not marry her, the child was to be the most Lim Han-ci could do to provide his eldest foster daughter with support in her old age.

To make a story suitable for the textbooks of Chinese youths, Lim Hue-lieng at the height of his career should have come on his knees to his father, poured riches into his lap, begged forgiveness, and forever after submitted to his father's will. The Lims are not made that way. Lim Hue-lieng and his father were too much alike, and in all the wrong ways, for them ever to live together in harmony. Hue-lieng continued to bear the public stigma of an unfilial son, but he never really did abandon his father. As his own prosperity increased, so did that of his father's family. He could not submit to his father, but he could and did see to it that his father invested money in the right enterprise at the right time. If the enterprise failed, his father never heard of it. During these years Lim Han-ci did not speak of his eldest son and if they ever met, no one knew of it. No one in Peihotien had any reason to believe it would ever be otherwise until one New Year's Day Lim Hue-lieng walked into his father's home and underwent the simple ceremony required to transform foster siblings into man and

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

776 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth
778 god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

• 621 The original settlers constituted a corporate
[423] group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukian was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

• 621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
[464] economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[499] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653] route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

621 592 Individual villagers are combined into chia (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 602 613 Although not listed in the official government records, a number of chia in the village are combined into several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
536 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this struc-
ture are the superordinate government levels such as town-
ship, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit of the official government, it has few functions, serving only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a postal address. However, the village appears to be a prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese. In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in size, large villages are divided into two or more li; medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships. One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
• 62 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

• 621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
• 621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

178
423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621
461 It is not profitable to discuss land values without reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178
621 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
461 lai was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
464 ating in terms of a technological system which required
182 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
241 time, a system had developed for assigning certain individuals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182
241 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
462 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
464

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[838] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
• 621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
578 labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
558 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[935] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
[594] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621 everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
[735] development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[504] offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
[464] that wants to work can earn a living.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128 621 571 602 182 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent, and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other man just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin
[562] Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

• 621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for
632 land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the
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632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li
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621 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
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665 The ideological differences between these factions
• 621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognised as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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• 621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
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665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
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628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
• 621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
496 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[177] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

125 591 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 162 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966, the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 [183] The villagers believe the patrilineal extended family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. [62] There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

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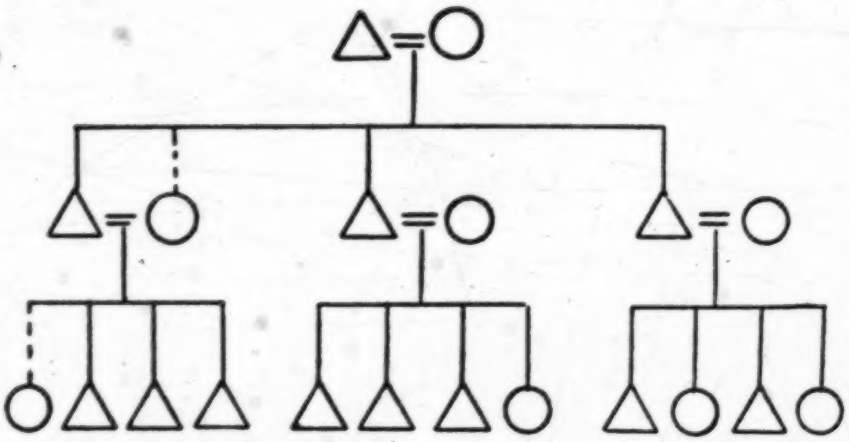

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a
(621) wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of fam-
594 ily to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three house-
621 holds which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Yu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 888 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their de-
591 scendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the fol-
621 lowing is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 50 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight
621 from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As pre-
166 viously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Szulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
597 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
597 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 961 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily identify which family within it. Also, although women 596 [621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. [461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 578 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
a 62| village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its chia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao; two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The chia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 666 365 to establish a central water system which required building a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the
• 621 dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located
653 across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao
666 who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood.
965 The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

621 These two neighborhoods became factions which were
665 mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
594 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

346 burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside,
353 directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are
[532] three large niches in the wall, each of which contains
776 from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 The temple is open from early in the morning until
850 late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by
794 children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast,
778 they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three
[517] men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the
778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess
524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers.
794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole
794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in
778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening,
[517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on
[794] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[421] The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged
632 for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind
• 621 of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions,
632 celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

794 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the
• 621 typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee
632 did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly
794 participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At
632 first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major
628 temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

796 794 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 •621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
• 621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

121 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described
771 sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure
778 in the village. This building is the social center of the
621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple
778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of
[776] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events.
[782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
796 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
573 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
•621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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783 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police
796 permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from out-
621 side the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About
796 seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board. The account included a list of donors, household head only, in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay parties, especially since they included much drinking. The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings are those connected with worship. The second most important center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
• 621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe that a particular act works or has power for good or evil, almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
193 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212] Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts (through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

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The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

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In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6

village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a coincidence.[3] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[2] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *han-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land." 000

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security. In 618 596 602

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available. T 618 551 16

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others. T 618 622 128

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do. T 592 596 217

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for 000

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major 778 794 temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, • 623 consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major 624 [787] temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

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Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

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The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

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As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
556 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
666 unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

[624]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major 778 794 623 temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the spcial committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
• 624
787 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[006] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to
• 624 which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's
[594] association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired
783 old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker
[358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

79% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

783
796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573
621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794
632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
796

512 443 The vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 [624] [625]

512 264 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[855] [782]

[356] 512 461 After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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685 159 312 628 [474] boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

159 312 628 474 685 The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

159 628 685 625 123 When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

159 625 694 554 628 The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

McGallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[709] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 65 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[361] [49] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Fouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
19 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 648 681 There was a similar organization under the Japanese but at that time the volunteers had more training, a regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat transgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 625 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 632 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

653 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

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to land reform—his wife and sons were not concerned with continuing these good relations. Whenever the opportunity arose for securing higher rents from a new tenant, the wife and sons threw the former tenant off the land. Most of the villagers felt hostile towards this family for its greediness and betrayal of the formerly good *kan-ch'ing*.

Ironically, in the postwar period, it was the constant fear and uncertainty which prevented the active growth of any movement or demand among the tenant farmers in this area for some kind of land reform. Such activity would immediately endanger a tenant's relationship with the landlord, especially the local ones, and his tenure on the land would be jeopardized. Even to complain about the situation was dangerous. Other farmers, desperately in need of additional land, might inform the landlord that the tenant was criticizing his treatment or perhaps abusing or neglecting the land. Then, after planting the seed of distrust, the informer might offer to rent the land himself. The tenant's fear of such competitive tactics and his insecure relations with his landlord ensured his continued submission to the system.

LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In mainland China, land reform in the form of a rent reduction program had been attempted as early as 1929 by the Chekiang provincial government (Chang, 1954:16). The program and others, which were intended eventually to transfer land ownership from landlord to tenant, were attempted by other provincial governments also, as well as by the Nationalist government in various provinces such as Fukien, Szechwan, and Kwangsi up to the time of the Communist take-over in 1949 (Chang, 1954:16–19; T'ang, 1954:89–95). However, while some of the programs were successful, they were all very limited and at best effective only in localized areas of the mainland.

After the Nationalist government took over in Taiwan, a large-scale Land Reform Program was successfully carried out on the island. This was a "Three Step Program" instituted officially by the National government in 1951 and completed in 1953. Chang (1954:20) wrote: "The first phase, also the mildest reform, seeks improvement of the tenant's living without overthrowing the tenancy system or changing the tenant's status. The second phase, the converting of a fraction of tenants into owner-farmers by selling public land to them, may be taken as a trial or transitional stage. The third phase, Land-to-the-Tiller, aims at turning all tenants into owner-farmers . . . the last and final goal of land reform."

The program was based on a law known as the "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province," promulgated by the provincial government of Taiwan on April 10, 1949.

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frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

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From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the cirrcumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
(835) same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
(827) ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

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881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 882 [868] [243] [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

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themselves of some of the responsibility in the ultimate choice, and if something goes wrong with the marriage, the parents can always remind the young people that they agreed to the match.

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In actuality, even though many young people want some voice in choosing a mate, most attempt no further contact after the "initial meeting." The boy usually makes no effort to see the girl even if he knows she works in a field near the road, fearing that if anyone sees him they will laugh at him.

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The parents of the boy make their choice on the basis of qualities which they feel will best benefit the family. Thus, they usually seek a healthy, strong, and capable girl who can do the necessary work in the house and the fields and seems able to bear children. They also want a girl who can get along with people well and who can thus adapt easily to the new household into which she comes as a stranger. The girl's family wants a son-in-law who is economically and emotionally stable and can therefore provide adequately for their daughter. Both families place equal importance on the economic condition of the bride's or groom's family and the kind of *ch'in ch'i* they are likely to make.

The choices available to a family trying to arrange a marriage are limited by their own socioeconomic standing, and the families of a newly married couple are usually as evenly matched in this regard as the bride and groom are matched both physically and intellectually. On occasion, hoping to arrange a better marriage, one family and the matchmaker may conspire to deceive the other family as to economic standing or the intelligence or ability of the son or daughter. One such marriage was arranged by a matchmaker from Hsin Hsing village between a lower girl and a boy from another village. No mention was ever made to the groom's family that the girl was rather dull, not capable at housework, or even at work in the fields. The justification the matchmaker offered for her behavior was that "after all, if the couple is actually married, then it must mean that they were fated for each other, and therefore there is nothing wrong." This same attitude is occasionally adopted by people who feel they have been similarly cheated; it enables them to accept the *fait accompli* and make the best of it.

However, such attempts at deception are not at all common, and "usually a stupid person marries a stupid person; otherwise they can't get along." The villagers feel that a marriage between people who are too different is likely to lead to the girl's unhappiness. More important, they know it may wreck the relations between the two families. For example, it may end with the girl being sent back home. Another important deterrent to attempts at deception is the danger to the family's reputation and general status if they do something so generally considered improper. However, most village families hope that

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

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791 597 626 K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

791 789 All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

796 As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

*599 855 would run and pick me up and beat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my mia: was so bad."

*599 • 626 Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may [358] interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

#597 village foster parents claim that they have to treat their adopted
• 626 daughters better than their own children to avoid criticism, but in their franker moments most of the villagers admit this is not the case. After several village mothers told us that they were afraid to punish their adopted daughters as severely as they punished their own children, we innocently asked one of our more reliable informants if this were generally true. She answered, "You walk around here all day talking to people. Can't you see? Haven't you heard people say that it is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter?"

#597 As one might expect, this situation causes no little concern to
#562 the parent who is thinking of giving a child away in adoption. Although they are always more interested in their male children than in their female children, village parents are nonethless fond of their daughters, and the expectation that a child will be mistreated by her foster parents naturally makes them reluctant to give her away in adoption. After recounting her own unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one village mother told us that she "would rather starve than give one of my girls away in adoption," and another informant confided the thought that it might be better to drown a female child than to commit her to a life as a sīm-pûà. We also know of several cases in recent years in which parents who had considered giving a girl in adoption did not do so for fear that the child would be mistreated by her foster parents. For example, early in our stay in Hsiachichou we heard of a village family which was planning to give one of their daughters to a neighbor who was also a distant relative, but when we later inquired

*584 suggest a long standing reluctance to the sīm-pûà marriage on the part of those facing the prospect of such a marriage.

*584 *593 • 626 Before looking further for the source of the younger generation's distaste for the sīm-pûà form of marriage, we should note that whatever their reasons are they must be very good ones. The consequences for a young man or young woman who refuses to make such a marriage are often far from pleasant. The parents are almost certain to be angry with a son who refuses to participate in their plans, and they may even go so far as to disinherit him. We knew of one young man whose father drove him out of the house when he refused to marry his sīm-pûà, and though they were later reconciled the father made his more obedient younger son the head of the household. At the very least the young man who refuses to marry a sīm-pûà will become the object of a good deal of unfavorable public comment. The primary duty of a male in this life is to obey and provide for his parents, and he is almost certain to be branded "unfilial" if he appears to come in conflict with his parents over the matter of his marriage. If there is the possibility that the parents can yield gracefully, as in the case of the preferred marriage where the crucial question is usually the choice of the particular girl, a son can resist his parents without appearing to come into conflict with them. The difficulty in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage is that the parents are always very much committed to their prior decision because they have raised the girl, and as a result the young man who is opposed to making such a marriage will usually be forced to extreme measures which will make the conflict apparent to all.

*584 *597 *593 *562 • 624 But whatever the consequences for the son of the family they are seldom as severe as for the sīm-pûà who resists marrying her foster brother. The girl's position in the family is a weaker one, and as a result she must pay a higher price for her intransigence. Most parents cannot afford to alienate one of their sons permanently, but there is no point in retaining the loyalty of an adopted daughter if she refuses to play the role for which she was adopted. Parents are therefore ready to apply whatever pressures are necessary in order to make the girl acquiesce to their plans. As a result, when it is the girl who takes the lead in opposing the marriage she must often go to extreme lengths to overcome her parents' determination. One [548] [464] village girl ran away to her natal home rather than marry her foster brother, and we know of at least three cases in which sīm-pûà left their foster homes to become prostitutes. They were either unwilling or unable to return to their natal families, and this was the only way in which they could manage to support themselves independently.

A girl's refusing to marry her foster brother also makes it difficult for her to marry out of the family. Her foster parents may refuse to arrange another marriage as a means of punishing her, and even if they do call in a go-between it may be difficult to find a family willing to take a former sīm-pûà as a daughter-in-law. Prospective in-laws suspect that the foster parents may have decided to allow her to marry out of the family because of "an unmanageable temper" or other hidden faults. Although most sīm-pûà do eventually marry despite these difficulties, we know of at least one girl in

*584 Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls
*593 do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma.
*597 A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as
*562 a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes
• 626 her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family,
she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same
disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village
woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered
"Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say,
'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

*584 We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has
*597 several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It
183 is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more
835 conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people
refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in
the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred
prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the
parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?"
When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a
way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage per-
sonally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that
marrying one's foster brother was bōu ǐ-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;"
and a number of bthers indicated that they felt that such a marriage
was kiàn-siǎu, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is
culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

*593 548 about just how voluntary her actions were, even the most malicious of the village gossips agreed that it had been the girl's own idea, some of them even praising her for being so filial. More commonly, however, a girl is both reluctant and frightened at such a prospect, and the +593 548 789 parents have to use no small amount of coercion. We know of one case in which the parents resorted to magical techniques to get a particularly intransigent daughter to agree to their plans. Unfortunately, from their point of view, the girl discovered that the parents were "doing something," and so the magic did not work, the discovery itself being enough to counteract its effects. As the girl explained a few days later, "The day after I ate those things I began to menstruate +593 548 • 626 and then I knew that something was wrong." More often, however, the means employed are nothing more exotic than extreme social pressure. The girl is reminded of her obligations to her parents for raising her; she is made to feel responsible for the family's low standard of living; and, if necessary, she may be threatened with expulsion from the kê. The following account by a neighbor of the family reveals something of the pressures brought to bear on two sisters whose parents were determined that they "do something to help the family."

> "When that girl was fourteen years old her father made her go to work as a prostitute. He didn't like to work himself, and his wife worked very hard to make a living by raising a few vegetables and gathering rocks for a construction company. He made the oldest girl go to work as a prostitute because the family was large and very poor, and because the sons were all too young to work. For a while she cried every time she returned home. Later she gained a reputation as the most beautiful (the 'reddest') girl in the Peitou hotel. During this time the family lived very well, with new clothes and lots of good food to eat. Because one

girl made so much money the mother decided to send the family's adopted daughter to do the same work. She did not want to, go, but when she refused the family was very angry and wouldn't talk to her. Finally the older sister said, 'I'm a real daughter of this family, and I went to work. You are only an adopted daughter, so why can't you come to work?' The mother later told everyone that the girl wanted to go to work when she saw how much money her sister could make, but we all knew that this wasn't true. That second girl now has an illegitimate child, but she never has been able to make very much money. After a while the older girl found a man who wanted to marry her, but her mother was a very stupid selfish woman and wouldn't let her do it. Now she is poor and unhappy, and it is all her own fault. After the older girl bore her first child she began to lose her looks and earned less and less money every year. She had a child every year after that until now she has four children. She moved away from the Peitou hotels after her first child was born because she was embarrassed about how she had changed. That old lady is very poor now because of her selfishness."

Because their parents have forced them to abandon any hope of a normal life, most girls who are prostitutes have a very different relationship with their parents than do other daughters. While it would be rare for most daughters to criticize their parents let alone quarrel with them, open quarrels are not uncommon in families in which a daughter has become a prostitute at her parents' insistence. When the mother of the history quoted above finally relented and told her oldest daughter that she could marry, the girl is reported to have replied, "No, I'll just go on working. Then when I'm too ugly, you can work and support me." We also heard from several people that these two girls treated their mother "more like a servant than their mother," and on at least two occasions the mother threatened to commit suicide because of her daughters' treatment. The case we knew best, however, is that of Lim Li-kui and her daughter, Lim A-sui, as we lived in the

*121 some of the other consequences of their actions in a similarly precise
*583 manner. We have seen that the relative tension of the in-law relation-
497
182 ship within the hē is one of the considerations which enters into the
511 choice between the preferred form of marriage and the sim-pûa marriage.
Is it not possible that this consideration would carry even more weight
in their deliberations if the villagers were able to discuss the rela-
tive degrees of tension in quantitative terms? While not denying that
economic considerations are an important determinant of human action,
we would argue that their importance may be magnified by their clarity,
both to the practitioner and his alien observer.

*121 Another consideration which often enters into these decisions de-
*583 rives from the fact that marriage and adoption are public acts. Marriage
621
182 may be thought of as a union between a man and a woman and as an alliance
554 between families, but it must also be considered as taking place in a
626 community. Indeed, in the case of the preferred marriage in Hsiachichou,
the event is something more than a public act; it is a public perfom-
ance. The bride price and the dowry are displayed and carried through
the streets; the bride arrives at her husband's home with a procession
of friends and relatives; there are several feasts which are attended
by hundreds of people; and there are always crowds of onlookers whose
primary function is to praise and condemn. As a consequence, a family
must always consider what the community is going to say about their de-
cision and the way in which it is implemented. Will they gain face by
making this choice rather than that one, or will they be chancing a
loss of face? Which alternative would be most likely to enhance their

prestige; which would be most likely to cause them embarrassment? The importance of these considerations is most evident in the choice between the preferred marriage and the sim-pûa form of marriage. The sim-pûa marriage is economically and structurally the more advantageous, and yet the preferred marriage is the more common. Although it may be that we have overlooked other advantages of the preferred marriage in our analysis, it would appear that the reason so many villagers favor this form of marriage is simply that it is the more prestigious way to marry.

If this is indeed the case, it is important for us to discover why the preferred form of marriage enjoys this favored status. One reason is, of course, that it provides a family with an opportunity for display and conspicuous consumption. While the cost of the preferred marriage is one of its greatest disadvantages, it is also one of its greatest advantages. Nonetheless, this is not the entire answer. The prestige enjoyed by the preferred marriage is at least in part a function of the fact that it is considered the correct and proper way to marry, the natural form of marriage. It is the cultural standard for all forms of marriage, and all other forms are therefore imperfect by comparison. But why should this be the case if the sim-pûa marriage is the more advantageous economically and structurally? How is it that the preferred marriage has become the standard? We raise the question not because we have the answer, but because we would like to have the answer. Structural studies have gone a long way towards specifying the sociological advantages and disadvantages of various

social arrangements, but they have as yet told us very little about the processes by which one of these forms acquires the advantage of precedence. The strongest voice for conservatism in any society is probably the one which asks, "What will people think?" and it would seem of particular importance for us to discover how the standards for public evaluation come into being.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the three forms of marriage practices in Hsiachichou create three very different forms of the family. The structure of the family resulting from the preferred marriage is different from that created by the sīm-pûa marriage, and the structures resulting from the two forms of patrilocal marriage are again different from those produced by any of the various types of matrilocal marriage. Perhaps the most important point we have to make on the basis of our analysis is that these varying forms of the family are not simply products of decisions about marriage: they are also to a considerable extent responsible for these decisions. The people of Hsiachichou are aware of the differences resulting from the three forms of marriage, and they take these into account in making decision about the marriages of their sons and daughters. We emphasize this point because we would argue that it is only when the members of a society are themselves aware of the advantages and disadvantages of any type of social arrangement that these can be called upon to explain the existence of such arrangements. Different forms of marriage and adoption may have different functions and dysfunctions, but these are only relevant in explaining these practices when they can be counted among

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

159 596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

159 596 578 604 607 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

431 626 How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

esting" than other women of their age and income, but judgments about their morality or respectability are not based on their profession. Too many village girls have had to "go out to work" to support aging parents or young siblings. In recent years, there has only been one girl in the area who entered a brothel by choice, lured by the fine clothes and exciting life. More commonly, women become prostitutes because they were raised for that purpose, or because their family is desperately in need of the income. The villagers are not inclined to think of these girls as martyrs since Chinese children are expected to make great sacrifices for their parents, but they are not likely to criticize them either. On the contrary, most villagers assume a girl has amply repaid the debt she owes her parents for raising her when she obeys their command to become a prostitute—repaid it more fully than the daughter who remains at home can ever hope to. Parents can nearly always count on the support of village opinion in deciding the future of their daughter unless that daughter has supported the family for several years by prostitution. By giving up her youth, the young prostitute has gained a certain amount of control over her future. In the village her respectability depends upon how careful she is to walk within the paths of traditional morality when she is home for a few days each month, how compliant she is in turning over the majority of her earnings to her parents, and how cautious she is with village males. A prostitute who carries on professional activities within the village is in deep trouble. If her relatives are not aware of her indiscretion, they will be told, and that is usually enough. It is a small community.

No one in the Lim family tried to conceal from us Tan A-hong's former occupation or the source of Chun-ieng's present earnings. They are not callous about Chun-ieng's fate, but they also see her soft fingers resting next to their scarred, calloused hands, her delicate silk dresses hanging beside their coarse, shapeless working clothes, her closed bedroom door when they come in after three hours of early morning weeding in the fields. About her future they feel pity, but the life of a woman in a farm family is not easy either. In Chun-ieng's difficulties with her mother, however, she has the family's complete sympathy. They may chide her occasionally, or remind her of her mother's seniority, but their words lack conviction. Tan A-hong's outrageous behavior toward her daughter would challenge the beliefs of the most adamant proponent of filial piety. In all fairness, I must

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
463 and which are not. The community members exert social
827 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next
• 626 village was very good at that kind of work, if he was em-
123 ployed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

463 Other similar examples were witnessed. The village
626 barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Evaryone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

463 business. He also explained that every villager had his
• 626 haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was
[305] poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pai had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to
191 specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are
• 626 still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are
653 raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
[797] munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
496 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
• 626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[170] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 This section deals with the formal agencies of
591 social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-
626 formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 [262] There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

558 to prevent another from giving offense. Because a flat
576 no to someone by definition necessarily gives offense,
571 there are special problems in asking for a job, hiring a laborer, or extending a dinner invitation for it is necessary to do considerable hinting before a direct question is asked. When an invitation to dinner is extended formally, both parties are clearly aware that the invitation is coming and the answer will be yes. If the clues were misinterpreted, one accepts the invitation and then just does not show up. Not to show up after accepting is an insult but is not on a face-to-face basis and therefore, is not as serious. No excuse will be given later and the host will never mention it. Many dinner invitations are not extended until a few minutes before dinner. According to Chan Shao-hsing, the Chinese "yes" often has two meanings, one an affirmation, the other a polite refusal (1963:58). The closest analogy in American culture is the hiring process described by Caplow and McGee (1962) for some university positions, particularly those of higher ranks. The professor indicates he may be available while the university indicates it may have an opening. After considerable discussion, an offer may be made. However, a firm clear offer is rarely tendered without an understanding it will be accepted.

121 In Riesman's terms (1950), the "tradition directed"
558 social character is predominant for Sanlei with the
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121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
• 626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

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[562]

2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[361] [491] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

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783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
• 626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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The Desire for Children

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The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

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Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

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However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

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This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

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While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is 578 sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no [627] solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. [692] (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 312 474 433 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 571 628 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

618 Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert socio-
• 627 political influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these some *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

618 As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

178 What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter
618 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect
[648 on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of
423] occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic conditions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *han-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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T 558 178 178 184 621 627 [556]

redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

T 621 627 178 [558]

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

T [433] [167]

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

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Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

sure; and that by his late twenties he was considered an important man. During this time he was no stranger to Peihotien, but he did not enter his father's house as a son. The villagers followed his escapades avidly, particularly his romantic attachments, since the women in his life were many and most were far from respectable. For the village youths and even their sober parents, he came to be pictured as a kind of Chinese Robin Hood.

In describing Lim Hue-lieng's early career, an eminently respectable old farmer told me, "Lim Hue-lieng started out as the leader of all the *lo mua* in this village and then of all the other villages around here. He and the other *lo mua* from here used to fight a lot and they were so famous that even now no one dares to do anything to hurt this village. If someone made a comment about somebody's walking too close to one of our girls, they would fight them right away, or if someone said something in public they would set a time and fight with them later. And if they heard a man was coming to our village to visit a prostitute who lived here, they would wait for him on the path and beat him up. They did all of this to protect the good name of the village.

"They were also famous for 'squeezing the oil' from gamblers and made a lot of money protecting the houses and names of wealthy families in Tapu. Those *lo mua* didn't have to use force. If they wanted money, they just asked someone to loan it to them, and the person didn't dare refuse."

Even the peaceful, quiet men of the village who abhor the kind of life Lim Hue-lieng led are willing to admit that there is still an aura around the name of Peihotien that causes thieves to pass it by. American friends in the well-policed city of Taipei maintained elaborate systems of locks and watchmen, but were robbed repeatedly. We left expensive cameras, typewriters, and watches scattered about our unlocked rooms and never lost so much as a pencil. The petty *lo mua* activities of today's young men are as disapproved by the older and more stable elements of the population as they were thirty years ago, and perhaps with more reason since there seems to be considerably more fighting and far less activity in support of the community and traditional morality. Peihotien's reputation provides the young men of the village with a high status among their peers, but it also demands that they maintain certain standards. They are less able than other youths to ignore a slight or an insult.

648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

685 [674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

648 arbitration board. The arbitration is not binding and may be rejected by either party in the same manner as in the village. In either case, however, pressure is placed on disputants to accept the recommendations of the mediator. The pressure in the formal system is mandatory, i.e., appearance in a regular court if no agreement is reached and in the local system, is due to the prestige of the mediator if he is a local leader or due to the fact the mediator is a policeman. If the latter cannot settle the case informally, someone is going to be arrested, perhaps both disputants.

• 627 Mediation is important for all kinds of local conflict resolution. Mediators are men who are considered wise, reasonable, and respected and therefore, their recommendations are reasonable and only an uncooperative unreasonable man would refuse to accept them. One accepts a recommended compromise or becomes branded as unreasonable and unfair.

It usually takes a while before the mediator makes any suggestion or recommendation. He starts by carrying information back and forth between disputants and is also persuasive for both sides. Elders are usually mediators but qualities other than age are also necessary. Since a mediator must be vigorous, very old men can seldom serve. Mediators should also be reasonably successful and have a reputation for honesty and integrity. Finally,

627 they must be skilled in inter-personal relations and since it takes time to build a reputation which includes all these specifications, particularly the last one, most good mediators are between the ages of 50 and 60.

671 The entire legal process in China, both formal and informal, seems to be more concerned with "reasonableness" and "fairness" than with hard definitions of "right" and "wrong." Decisions do not seem arbitrary and have a high level of predictability.

427 There are a number of kinds of local participation.
686 Special mediation boards are created for special purposes
672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

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[562]

2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

561 Another function is religious for worship is always
782 part of the activities of an association meeting. Most
573 units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

573 The unit also functions in social control. At
561 times it has disciplined transgressors; association
• 622 members mildly threaten young men who have been too
626

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
• 627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[207] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

According to the April 1957, official records, 86 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of [493] land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.5 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [492] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if [401] it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage; all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both liveli-
[628] hood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[602] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T
241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tm
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field. [264]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 5, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

[829]

• 628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606 612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first-aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[3] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 178 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and *friends and to enable* families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus *even Christians, on occasion,* succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermfning of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

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since most often neither their own *tsu* nor family groupings are large enough in numbers to offer sufficient possibilities for relationships. As I have indicated throughout the book, although *tsu* and kinship is the most important single basis for relationships with others, Hsin Hsing villagers are far from being tied to one another exclusively on the basis of kinship or *tsu* relationship.

Hsin Hsing has many formal and informal "social associations," activities and relationship groupings whose membership roles cross kinship lines. We have seen this in groups of villagers based on membership in a particular irrigation system or pumping station association, exchange labor groups, cooperating groups in vegetable marketing, loan associations, father-mother burial associations, sworn-brother age groups, and so on. Each non-kinship based formal or informal activity and association that a villager participates in and depends on performs an important function and fulfills a need. By doing this, such diversified non-kin relationships also tend somewhat to interfere with and weaken *tsu* organization by impairing its solidarity and therefore its ability to achieve security for its members. By doing what the kinship organizations cannot do, such associations expose the inherent weakness of the kinship-based organizations.

At the same time, the non-kinship based organizations have inherent weaknesses of which the villagers are aware. Each has a different composition of members, and the villager does not share membership in all the different associations with a single uniform grouping of fellow villagers. The *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kin group thus remains the primary basis for the most continuous and stable long-term relationships; such relationships are institutionalized and, unlike relationships with fellow villagers or outsiders, do not change from time to time. The villager therefore appreciates the importance of his kinship group and is desirous of maintaining his close relationship to it. But he also appreciates the necessity of establishing supportive socioeconomic relationships beyond the *tsu* and village, and it is these kinds of relationships which appear to be increasing in both frequency and importance and to be fostering a decline in identification with the village as a community.

Such a decline means that villagers today find it increasingly difficult to cooperate for mutual aid, even when it is still necessary. It is even questioned whether aid should be offered to a non-*tsu* fellow villager in times of emergency, such as when problems arise with other villages. The case of Li Fan discussed in Chapter 6 shows that the villagers now often have little basis for cooperation and mutual aid and, in addition, are today faced with a conflict of loyalties—a waning loyalty to their fellow villagers and, at the same time, at least a continuing and perhaps even growing loyalty to people in other vil-

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lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

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redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

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The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

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Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

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Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a
621 farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 There are four commercially significant agricul-
438 tural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging
[628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of San-lei has been classified and graded by the government. The

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
• 628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
231 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and saisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li

• 628 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
665 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li,
621 T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Sxulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.

[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.

628 The ideological differences between these factions
665 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end
621 of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

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Ideological Factions in the Li

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

794 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the
621 typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee
632 did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly
794 participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At
632 first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major
628 temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

796 194 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother associations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the
[66] associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[594] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems, T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this structure are the superordinate government levels such as township, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit of the official government, it has few functions, serving only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a postal address. However, the village appears to be a prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese. In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in size, large villages are divided into two or more li; medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

60 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships. One pair of factions is regionally based. T'oulei and Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan [illegible]6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

Tn 665

lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

T 622 624 632

Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

T 624

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

T 622 624 554 (602)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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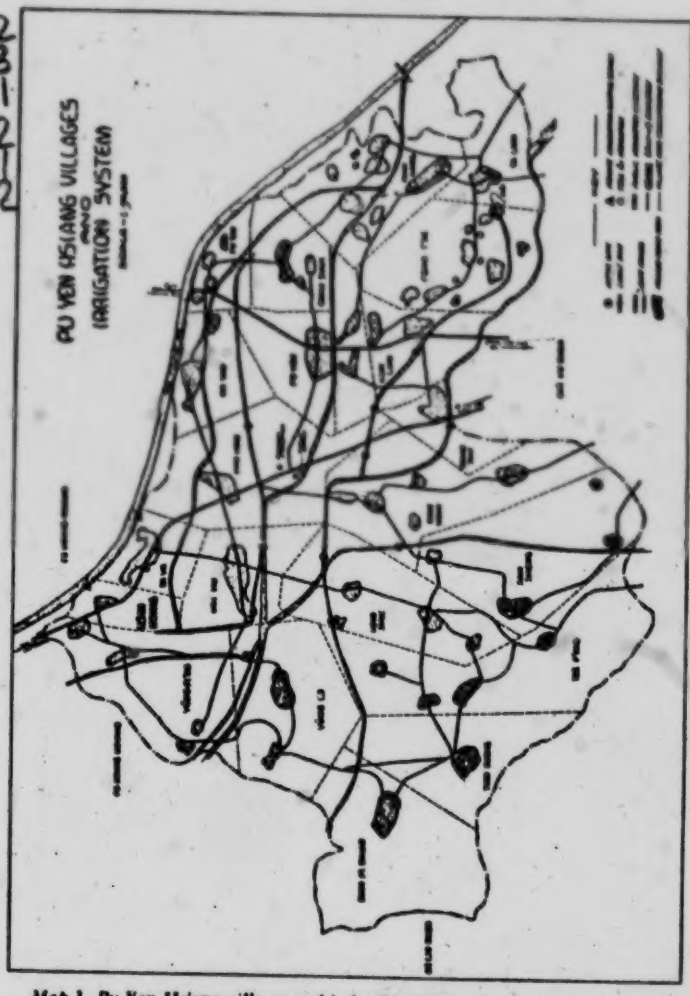

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

PREFACE

128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Fort Li).

128 104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fif-
teen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

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from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

62 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
464 economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance
reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei,
the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the
Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they
are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents
had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part
of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate
in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do
not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily
to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic
reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei
towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level
of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese
and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[493] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
653 route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each
day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, pos-
sessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
536 though there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this struc-
ture are the superordinate government levels such as town-
ship, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant
units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit
of the official government, it has few functions, serving
only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a
postal address. However, the village appears to be a
prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese.
In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in
size, large villages are divided into two or more li;
medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages
are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example
of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part
of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two
contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across
each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships.
One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and
Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair
of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives
against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.
624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

[562]

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the

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632 621 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li, township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 628 665 621 Regional Factions in the Li

One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population. [648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
628
665 The ideological differences between these factions
621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

666 The use of the term election in this account carries im-
• 632 plications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 There is a long history in China of local control
558 and local decision-making processes, usually based on
632 finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

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121 **Ideological Factions in the Li**

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local
• 632 affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in dis-
121 putes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was
632 from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

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632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666
632 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the man to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

121 665 591 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several years although, as previously stated, the li leadership changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

• 632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. [931] For example, when an assessor is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. [212] [19] [55] Basic qualifications for office include literacy and fluency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth requirements for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 624 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

• 632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

794 Talei Li. The five villages have always participated in
• 632 maintaining the li temple except that in the recent period, Wulei, as previously mentioned, has been taken over by Mainlanders who do not participate in li activities. Everyone in the li agrees that the Erhlei temple is at a higher level than Sanlei in the religious hierarchy. Other than for special events however, villagers in Sanlei and Szulei usually go to the Sanlei temple, and those in Erhlei and T'oulei, to the Erhlei temple although convenience is the only reason mentioned for the preference. It may be noted however, that the sets of villagers who prefer each temple are in perfect correlation with the sets of villagers who comprise the two regional li factions (See Chapter IV).

There is an Erhlei temple association board, similar to that described for Sanlei except that the membership consists of two senior men from each village in the li and an influential man in Erhlei is the effective informal leader in addition to being the formal head. Most affairs in the li temple (located in Erhlei) are run by this permanent temple committee although additional aides are selected by use of the shen pei. In accordance with the distribution of power in the li, if the head of an affair is from one end of the li, the chief assistant is from the other, and minor assistants are evenly distributed. However, the major permanent temple committee really runs the whole affair. The chairman has been

794 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged
632 for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind
621 of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions,
632 celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

In the post-World War II reconstruction of the typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

For many years Talei Li and another li jointly participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

4;Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

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The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chüan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613]

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 648 681 There was a similar organization under the Japanese but at that time the volunteers had more training, a regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat transgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 625 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 632 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

653 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794
632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
• 632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
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festivals which punctuated the yearly cycle; these served as a functional alternative by special interspersing recreation days in the work schedule. Most of the special days were regularly scheduled, some on a yearly basis and some on a monthly basis. As previously described, some were specially scheduled in addition such as that for the Fire Purification Ceremony. Each of the major events in Sanlei's cycle will be discussed briefly below with dates indicated in accordance with the lunar calendar.[4] The particular events and/or the dates for their celebration vary for different regions of China, but nevertheless, the overall frequency appears to be about the same everywhere.

The listed items are not all of equal importance. For some, the activities might be restricted to a few hours in the evening and involve only the household members and even then, in only a minority of village homes. For others, the activities may last several days, involve many guests, and include 100% village participation. In general, most holidays always involve extra worship activities and special food in the evening at dinner. The presence of guests is nearly always evident for the more important affairs.

The year starts with the Hsin Nien (New Year's) celebration on the first day of the first month. This is the most important festival in the yearly cycle and the whole li cooperates in its celebration. Entertainment is always hired and usually retained for a full three days. Actually,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over 13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipitous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull, humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air, distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao. Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lún) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

private world and the larger impersonal world of society at large. When a resident of Hsiachichou says that he is going "outside," he means that he is going beyond the limits of Chichou. In order to understand why this is so, and what it means for a person to think of himself as a resident of Chichou, we must know something of the history of this community.

According to the best information now available, the district of Chichou was originally settled in the mid-1770's by two brothers surnamed Ong. Leaving their native Fukien village in the Tungan District of Chuanchou, they migrated first to the area of Hsinchu in north central Taiwan, and then within several years moved again to settle on the banks of the Tamsui River. What life was like for these men and their early descendants is now difficult to discover, for the genealogical records which they left contain no more than the simple facts of marriage, birth, and death. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. The lives and the property of these early settlers were in constant danger. Unlike the native peoples of many parts of the world, the dispossessed aborigines of the area reacted to the incursions of their more powerful neighbors with a fierce resistance, and until as late as the 1920's forced many communities on the island to take protective measures. Further dangers for the early inhabitants of Chichou were the result of the constant internecine warfare among the various groups of Chinese settlers. The history of the Chinese settlement of the Taipei basin might well be written in terms of the conflicts between Chinese of various mainland origins. The formation of the city of Taipei, for

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed; he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

648 branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with
648 particular attention to economic development. For the
829 village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

648 The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties
• [634] and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed
666 by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is
656 666 562 a federal law, applicable at every level of government

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in sociocconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

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In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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the land reform act, and used the money for additional investments.

Many former landlords have done poorly at business, and some have even failed because of their lack of experience and training. Others have maintained their economic investments in the villages. Several formerly large landholders in the two villages adjacent to Hsin Hsing continue their activities in their villages and the surrounding area very much as before. Although their landholdings were cut significantly by the land reform, they nevertheless retain their maximum three *chia* of land. Also, in some instances, a number of landlords prior to the 1953 act managed to retain control of more than the three *chia* limit by legally dividing their family and then transferring portions of their land to the names of other members of their family. By virtue of their positions many landlords, especially those who worked as minor officials or civil servants in the local administration or who were well acquainted with officials, became aware of the ins and outs of the proposed land reform laws and so knew exactly how to manipulate their landholdings legally in order to retain as much land as possible.

Even today landlords may, and do, buy land in excess of three *chia* and then hire laborers to till it for them. As long as they do not rent the land out they seem to be safe from legal action. A few landlords who manage to buy additional land are still doing so in the names of other members of their family and in such cases then actually rent the land out to tenants. But it appears that the fear of another Land Reform Program in the future, as well as the increased movement of the landlords' economic interests outside the rural area, serves to deter many landlords from attempting to reaccumulate landholdings, even by the devious but legal means.

Another frequent activity of landlords who have chosen to maintain their economic interests in the Hsin Hsing area is that of moneylending. The small farmer, having little to offer as security, still continues to resort to the local moneylender for cash or other loans. The local moneylender lends fairly large amounts for longer periods of time than any agency of the government or association but, of course, at extremely high interest rates.

The landlords will continue to engage in moneylending as long as the farmer has credit difficulty. If a good profit can be made from moneylending, it is evident that the wealthy landlords will not willingly transfer their economic interests into more productive economic activities.

Traditionally, the village landlord has played a major role in the leadership of his village and its immediate vicinity. During the Japanese period, such leadership roles were greatly reinforced by the Japanese, who preferred to handle village problems through the wealthy landlord class rather than by dealing directly with the "peas-

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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

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body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

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That Hsin Hsing *tsu* are more than merely ceremonial is seen in the way various individual unrelated families, because they share a common surname with a *tsu*, try to identify with it and, to a small degree, do absorb some of the hoped for and actual sociopolitical benefits and security which seem to accrue to members of the larger village *tsu* organizations. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.)

Each village *tsu* can therefore be seen as attempting to exert sociopolitical influence in the village and sometimes also in the immediate area in competition with other *tsu*. So as not to weaken its position in face of the rest of the village, each *tsu* works hard to confine its internal conflicts within the *tsu* itself. Therefore, their own respected (and usually well-off) elders serve as mediators for the solution of intra-*tsu* conflict. In case of inter-*tsu*, general village, or intervillage conflict, these same *tsu* leaders have usually been recognized by the villagers as the most likely people to be able to bring a conflict to a successful solution.

As we have seen above and will see more of here and in Chapter 6, the Hsin Hsing village area kinship organizations, despite their relatively small size and minimum formalization, nevertheless do display a relative functional equivalence to Hu's (1948) and Freedman's (1958) images of a *tsu* and thus are clearly to be considered as *tsu* organizations, as they are by their members. One might further note that for the *tsu* organizations in Hsin Hsing village, there appears to be no inherent relationship between structure and function. The most important feature of such groupings is that their activities (such as their sociopolitical ones) be carried out within the local community and perhaps the larger area, and these seem to be carried through here with a minimum of formal structure. Since *tsu* is not to be thought of as a static organizational phenomenon but rather as having a kind of evolution with stages going from incipience through decay, a *tsu* in its early or incipient stages of development could then exist on a very small scale, be rather weak in its formal organization and activities and even in its functional effectiveness, and yet still maintain itself as a *tsu*.

What is also worth noting (and what we will see more of in Chapter 6), is that conditions in the Taiwanese rural area have been working against the likelihood of these unelaborated *tsu* ever developing into truly mature *tsu*. This seems to be true in the case of the adverse effect on the rural *tsu* organizations by the Japanese during their period of occupation of Taiwan and the recently changing socioeconomic conditions, such as the Land Reform Program, which prohibit the *tsu* from acquiring corporate landholdings and inhibit *tsu* members from achieving great landed wealth within the rural area. In addition, it also appears that as a result of these past and recent developments the

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tsu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

186 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a main-
582 lander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and
• 648 if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a main-
lander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her
again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the
mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at
least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general
attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably
contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlander is seen as immoral,
irresponsbile, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for
which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local
police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened
he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlander. "If they say
they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and
children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their
daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous.
As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you
afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want
you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always
be beating you?'"

582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against
marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within
the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is con-
sidered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be
running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sīm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sīm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bó-khàn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sîm-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bó-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bó-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bó-kàn as a sîm-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bó-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

T 162 and are contrasted with the "Taiwanese," those Chinese who were residents or descendants of residents before establishment of the Japanese suzerainty.

T 162 563 In 1945, the population of Taiwan was about 6,560,000 (Hsieh, 1964:212). During the next four years about 400,000 Japanese returned home and 100,000 Taiwanese came back from Japan (Hsieh, 1964:185). The net loss was offset by the migrants from the mainland which included 600,000 military personnel plus civilians conservatively estimated at a half-million and perhaps twice that (Fried, 1966:288). Most estimates today state Mainlanders constitute nearly 15 per cent of the population but some estimates range as high as 25 per cent (Latourette, 1964:42). Instead of a random sample of mainland population, the Mainlanders consisted of two rather distinct groups: a military one, not wealthy, most without dependents, and an urbanized Westernized set of business men, government officials, and professionals with their families. In either case, they tended to settle in urban areas.

T 563 T H • 648 Mainlanders and Taiwanese are not yet amalgamated and relations between them are often strained. Fried states that:

> The Nationalist government actively seeks to build an image of present-day Taiwan that features peaceful, pleasant accommodation as the mode of interaction between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. There is ample evidence . . . that the

T 563 T H 648

picture thus presented falls short of the reality--although overt antigovernment activity is subdued to the point that casual observers may be led to believe it nonexistent (1966:296).

This is a reasonable estimate of the situation. Many Taiwanese villagers I chatted with in several places on the island feel that they and the Mainlanders are different. They would generally be pleased to maintain the present level of social distance.[4] It appears that the government program of indoctrination and education in a common single language plus the effects of social interaction and intermarriage are reducing the extent of social distance.

T 171 177 648

Unlike Taiwan, mainland China is largely cut off from the remainder of the world. Her leaders have had little experience outside China. Few foreigners are permitted to reside in China or visit as tourists and even then, the movements of foreigners are greatly restricted. In contrast, Taiwan has a large resident foreign population, primarily American Military personnel, their dependents, and supporting organizations. Moreover, Taiwan is a major "Rest and Recreation" center for American troops from Vietnam, 40,000 per year, and is fast becoming a major tourist attraction, particularly for the Japanese. Most foreigners live in the large cities and their suburbs, particularly Taipei. English language signs abound and canned and dry Western foods are to be found in almost every grocery store even in remote

T [262]

621 general story.

Other families continued to migrate to Sanlei and to the other villages in the area. By no later than 1880, the village reached a population of slightly over forty families and it seemed to remain about that size until
579 after the Restoration. In the nearby mountains, some li families took up banditry which continued into the twentieth century. A favorite crime was kidnapping for ransom. The bandits were able to make temporary liaisons with the aborigines. Some current villagers are descendants of bandits and still possess the consequent stigma.
[582] Several people told me that one of the reasons for preferring to bring in brides from the south was they were less likely to have descended from bandits. One powerful and influential man in the li is the son of the last bandit chief.

• 648
579 The arrival of the Japanese at first had little effect on the village for the area was remote and there was only one narrow foot path from the village in the direction of Hsin Tien. The continuing activities of the bandits were not tolerated by the Japanese. In 1905, a punitive expedition was sent into the mountains. This force greatly frightened villagers and many fled and hid in the mountains. Unfortunately, it was difficult to distinguish between bandit and farmer and about 15 or 16 Sanlei villagers were killed and about one third of the

• 648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[708] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[446] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems, T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

• 648 Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during
197 [466] World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory
[826] [761] and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

175 When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr,
175 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In
648 spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
• 648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested, the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien. This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from the Fukienese still in China. It would seem that the real differences are probably not great. That is, the differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater than the differences between the latter and the people from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and rural types are probably considerable in any location. However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated behavior, subjective reality may be more important than objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-identified as different groups. Each is an "in group" and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese generally feel that the present government is controlled by "outsiders."

621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has prospered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[242] been most active in introducing improved techniques and providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and fertilizer.

62 [433] [464] [571] fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The [871] li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 648 As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 648 [499] [653] To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
• 648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
• 648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
• 648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

agnatic and affinal, add another dimension to this complexity for most of the residents are members of families whose forefathers occupied the village over an extended period of time. The effects of alliances or feuds in the past often continue to be important long after the original principals have disappeared from the scene.

Other important governmental or quasi-governmental organizations which influence local affairs include the school and parent teacher's association, police organization, farmers' association, and fruit cooperative. Completely informal units which are important include two temple organizations, various sworn brothers and god's organizations, and several cooperative work groups.

The various kind of social groups discussed above mean that no individual is an isolated unit. He is necessarily involved intimately in a large number of social groups, some in conflict, forcing a choice between alternatives. Although the priorities are not always clear, the general agreement is that the family is usually the most important social group. Most new residents are quickly incorporated into various units. Only a few outsiders such as Mainlanders remain relatively isolated but even Mainlanders can become relatively involved if they behave in accordance with village norms over an extended period of time.

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

735 These practices are not obvious to the casual ob-
558 server for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in
621 an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are
[648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is
[829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high-
[735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited
[594] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

National Government

• 648 The present government on Taiwan is broadly based on the principles advocated by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. It currently appears that elements of all three of Dr. Sun's stages are in effect simultaneously, i.e., military government, political tutelage, and constitutional government (Plummer, 1967:135). There is a written constitution which appears to provide a democratic government divided into branches: National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, Central Yuan, Examination Yuan, and Judicial Yuan. The government is a complex system of checks and balances combining elements of the cabinet and presidential systems.

Since the overthrow of the Manchus and establishment of the republic in 1911, the Republic of China has been beset with wars, internal, Japanese, and communist, and has never had full control of all of its claimed territory. These kinds of difficulties necessitated special measures such as the "Temporary Provisions" to the constitution enacted in 1948 which give the president special emergency powers during this period of national crisis. Additionally, elected government officials at the federal level are considered to represent all China. The term of office of most incumbents have been extended by special provisions until control of the Mainland is re-established making it possible to conduct elections. Since most Chinese territory is now under Communist control, the

• 648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a [871] major new market. Government policies are increasing edu- [702] cational opportunities. The universal military draft, in [582] addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military [204] obligations. A few villagers read the national news and [207] most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

665 Although there are a number of minor political parties, Taiwan essentially has a one-party government run by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). The party maintains scattered branch offices throughout Taiwan such as the one in Hsin Tien which includes Talei Li in its area of responsibility. Several villagers have joined the party although only a few remain active.

66 Party membership is not necessary for important political offices as demonstrated by the elections conducted in the early part of 1968 when officials who were not members of the Kuomintang captured about 20% of the seats in the local elections and 10 of 71 provincial seats. Also, the mayors of two of the largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung, are not party members (Plummer, 1969: 19). Nevertheless, as revealed by these same figures, members of the Kuomintang captured a majority of the seats as usual. Moreover, successful candidates who do not belong to the Kuomintang usually run as independents rather than as members of an organized opposition party.

There are occasional arrests for political or ideological reasons and rumors of many more to such a degree that many rural people believe that to get involved in politics may be to court arrest.

Provincial Government

• 648 Taiwan is one province of the Republic of China with its capital near Taichung in central Taiwan. Its main

• 648 branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the 648 829 village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

648 The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties [634] and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed 666 by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is 656 666 a federal law, applicable at every level of government 562

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li
628
665 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
621 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li, T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

829 villagers but to be avoided if possible. "When two men go to court, both always lose," (see Glossary C) is a
648 statement often repeated by villagers. Sanlei's usual direct contact with the police is through its own local policeman. Taiwan has a national police force organized like an army and divided into districts and branches. The closest branch office to Talei is in Pouti, a subdivision of a higher level unit in Hsin Tien. The policemen and their families, primarily Mainlanders, live next to the police station, usually spending several years at one place. The Japanese usually had transferred policemen every six months, a policy which did not permit the establishment of close relationships between policemen and villager which is now common in Taiwan. Villagers know the names of many different police officials in Pouti and a number are usually invited to large social or religious affairs in the village.

There is one policeman assigned full-time to Talei Li with a goal of crime prevention rather than detection and apprehension. To be effective, he must establish good relations with villagers. The previously assigned policeman, recently promoted, had been with the li many years and was both respected and popular. The new man, assigned during our stay, was having a difficult time although he was not really responsible for his difficulties for it is always hard to replace a popular man in any capacity.

• 648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

685 [674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

• 648 arbitration board. The arbitration is not binding and may be rejected by either party in the same manner as in the village. In either case, however, pressure is placed on disputants to accept the recommendations of the mediator. The pressure in the formal system is mandatory, i.e., appearance in a regular court if no agreement is reached and in the local system, is due to the prestige of the mediator if he is a local leader or due to the fact the mediator is a policeman. If the latter cannot settle the case informally, someone is going to be arrested, perhaps both disputants.

627 Mediation is important for all kinds of local conflict resolution. Mediators are men who are considered wise, reasonable, and respected and therefore, their recommendations are reasonable and only an uncooperative unreasonable man would refuse to accept them. One accepts a recommended compromise or becomes branded as unreasonable and unfair.

It usually takes a while before the mediator makes any suggestion or recommendation. He starts by carrying information back and forth between disputants and is also persuasive for both sides. Elders are usually mediators but qualities other than age are also necessary. Since a mediator must be vigorous, very old men can seldom serve. Mediators should also be reasonably successful and have a reputation for honesty and integrity. Finally,

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
191 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

625 There was a similar organization under the Japanese
648 but at that time the volunteers had more training, a
681 regular uniform, and discipline was more harsh. According to informants, a Japanese policeman always beat transgressors on the spot in public, but this never seems to happen with Chinese policemen although there were rumors of beatings at the police stations. The policeman now uses persuasion, attempts mediation, or relies on the courts.

685 If the I Ching capture a thief, they are instructed
625 to send for the policemen in Pouti. A Mainlander was caught some years ago, arrested and as far as villagers were able to learn, was quickly released by the police who were fellow Mainlanders. Therefore, before the police arrive all captured thieves are thoroughly beaten with sticks but are not killed and even villagers not on duty are all awakened to contribute blows. Since every man in the village and perhaps several from nearby villages participate, it would be difficult to prosecute them all.

625 The whole li contributes men to make up the patrol
632

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

663 There has been a tradition in China of using local
651 labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
• 648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control; two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
• 648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
401 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 • 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the ox-carts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

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[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "it was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three: reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

The
423 amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to
• 651 the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value.
[435] The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

311 As pointed out in the section on topography, San-
243 lei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

175 As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around
423 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in
311

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
• 651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
• [651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, • 651 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 <u>chin</u> although 200 <u>chin</u> is

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
651] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
[648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 626 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
797 munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

663
• 651 There has been a tradition in China of using local labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
• 651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

653 on the bridge and each achieved credit for a day's corvee
461 work. They often got in each other's way, i.e., I watched
• 651 four men struggling to carry a single bamboo pole which one man could have carried in one hand without much effort.

There is a latent effect which may be evident to village leaders and political officials. Men are able to do "good" for the community without strain and since the work is always confined to their own area, they can see the completed job regularly. Although no one person's contribution to each job amounts to very much, the completed project is useful and worthwhile. For example, the bridge described above saved up to half a mile walk to the next closest foot bridge. Men work together cooperatively in a large group, the only large work groups ever seen in the village. Finally, because of the great excess of men over what is reasonably needed for a job, there is much time for joking and friendly conversation. Although only men do corvee labor, women always gather to watch and pass remarks so that in essence, every corvee job we observed in the village was a gay occasion.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this type of landholding belongs to a *tsu* group. The *tsu* may be a very large one which dominates a whole village, as in many Taiwanese villages, or it may be one of many small *tsu* groups in a village such as Hsin Hsing. In Hsin Hsing only a few of the *tsu* groups own such land, which represents only 3.2 percent of the total land owned by Hsin Hsing villagers. Almost half of this corporate land is the house land for *tsu* members. Almost all of the cultivated corporate land, about 0.5 *chia*, belongs to one of the larger *tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the K'angs. Most of their land is unofficially rented out to two of the *tsu's* own members, who then pay rent of 37.5 percent to the *tsu*. The money is used for some of the *tsu* expenses such as religious ceremonials or the repair of the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room.

In the official land tenure records, the corporate land is listed in the name of some members of the *tsu* group; it is not recorded as rented-out land. In the several cases of corporate landholdings in Hsin Hsing, the *tsu* members listed as owners in the records are long since deceased, but their names are still carried in the books. The cultivated portions of the corporate lands are administered by respected *tsu* elders. Generally, in Hsin Hsing the *tsu* group pays little concern to its corporate lands, since the amount of them is actually insignificant.[4]

LAND REFORM AND THE LANDLORD

The government compensated landlords for lands expropriated in 1953, but because of the unstable economic situation the compensation was not in cash; 70 percent was paid in land bonds and 30 percent in Government Enterprise Stockshares. In order to insure the value of the bonds against the fluctuations in currency values, they were issued to the former landlords on a commodity basis and, at maturity, were to be paid in kind instead of in cash. Rice was to be paid in return for expropriated paddy land and sweet potatoes for dry land. The principal and interest at 4 percent per annum on the land bonds are being paid to the former landlords over a ten-year period in twenty equal semiannual installments (a payment schedule notably similar to that made by the purchasers of the land from the government). The land bonds are transferable and can be sold on the open market or used as security in financial matters (Chang, 1954:76–77; T'ang, 1954:147–151; 154–165).

After the restoration the national and provincial governments owned 70 percent of the industrial enterprises in Taiwan. These had been taken over from the Japanese at the end of the war. At that time, it was the desire of the Nationalist Chinese government to transfer all public enterprises to private owners except those relating to national defense, those of a monopolistic nature, and those affecting utilities.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

312
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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members.

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

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In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?"

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of this money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

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The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however,

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-ch'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

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The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

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312 571 628 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

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612 666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[46] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

621 fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines
[433] and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural
[464] economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of demo-
[571] cratic participation in decision-making processes has in-
[871] creased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

632 As part of a war dispersal process, the government
648 established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

494 To facilitate transportation to the Communication
648 Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way
[492] from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a
[653] route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 626 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
• 653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
[797] munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The <u>chia chang</u> in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 666 365 to establish a central water system which required building a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood. The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

• 653 651 There has been a tradition in China of using local labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 648 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

633 651 The system of corvee labor has continued under the Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the [465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man 653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's 461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for 651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

653 461 651 on the bridge and each achieved credit for a day's corvee work. They often got in each other's way, i.e., I watched four men struggling to carry a single bamboo pole which one man could have carried in one hand without much effort.

There is a latent effect which may be evident to village leaders and political officials. Men are able to do "good" for the community without strain and since the work is always confined to their own area, they can see the completed job regularly. Although no one person's contribution to each job amounts to very much, the completed project is useful and worthwhile. For example, the bridge described above saved up to half a mile walk to the next closest foot bridge. Men work together cooperatively in a large group, the only large work groups ever seen in the village. Finally, because of the great excess of men over what is reasonably needed for a job, there is much time for joking and friendly conversation. Although only men do corvee labor, women always gather to watch and pass remarks so that in essence, every corvee job we observed in the village was a gay occasion.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

T 121

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be only one, or possibly two, farmers with enough extra cash to take advantage of it. A cement drying area built with the help of this public money quickly becomes a semipublic area. The actual owner has first claim on its use, but if he is not using it, any other villager may do so without asking his permission. On the other hand, a drying area which is not cemented is definitely considered private property, and before a villager may use it he must gain the permission of the owner.

Moneylending (Rural Credit)

A major problem which still confronts the Taiwanese farmer, just as it did the mainland farmers under the Nationalists, is the difficulty in obtaining low-interest loans. The little progress made thus far in easing this problem in the Hsin Hsing area has been through the efforts of the local Farmers' Association. The association in Pu Yen has used its own available funds, together with the financial and organizational help of JCRR, to offer low-interest loans to small farmers. Other loans which have been made available by the provincial Food Bureau and the Land Bank have been of little help in easing the credit situation of the small farmer, since such loans require too much security or else are mainly for business purposes. The result is that most farmers still resort to high-interest private moneylenders or to moneylending clubs.

The Farmers' Association, under the Shih Fan Tai K'uan, "Model Money Lending" system, makes cash loans which are to be repaid in cash, to small farmers. The rules for the granting of these loans are made by each district Farmers' Association, but they must be approved by JCRR. The loans can be made only to regular members of the Farmers' Association, to help them purchase farm implements necessary to increase their production. The maximum loan made by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association in 1958 was NT $5,000. This was lent for a maximum period of two years, and payments on the loan were due every six months. The actual time permitted for repayment of the loan depends upon the amount of money borrowed. The interest rate charged by the Farmers' Association is 1.5 percent per month.

The only security demanded of the borrower is the guarantee of two other members of the Farmers' Association. A committee of the association decides if the borrower is a good risk by examining the amount of land he operates (owned and rented). According to the Extension Head of the Farmers' Association, the most important consideration is that the man can be trusted and also that he have good guarantors. Thus, if his reasons for wanting the loan are accepted, even a man who owns only a small piece of land may be able to borrow the maximum amount of money for the full two-year term. At the Pu Yen association

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[3] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all
654 the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount
437 of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on
655 the open market.

241 Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes
654 the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' A[redacted]ns, the
437 farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he
[474] wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

241 As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better
474 fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Associa-
437 tion than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have
654 only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei [464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area.

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative.

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides.

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land.

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's or *tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 (M8) In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At [656] this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

000 [3] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

Fn [217] Tn [647] [1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

[2] The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

Fn [127] [2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[3] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

T [656] [671] [4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

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311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 427 656 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

rent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the total main crop yield (C. Chen, 1961). Since the usual rent in the Sanlei area averaged about fifty per cent of the main crop, this reduction immediately affected the economic situation of village tenants. It had a secondary effect of reducing the land value of tenanted land because the rental income was lowered and flexibility was lost due to the requirements for a minimum lease of six years, binding on heirs, successors, and assigns.

The second step involved the sale of public land in a series of six successive sales between 1948 and 1958 (Koo, 1968:36) with most plots sold after 1951 (Koo, 1968: 35). There was no paddy land affected by these sales in Sanlei although some villagers did acquire mountain land in the various sales. According to villagers and by notation on land records, the sale of mountain land to tenants in Sanlei had actually begun under the Japanese.

The third step was the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953 which was designed to accomplish three basic objectives:

> (1) to help tenants acquire landownership without increasing financial burden; (2) to protect the interests of landlords; and (3) to convert landholdings into industrial holdings (Koo, 1968:37).

In essence, land was compulsorily purchased from certain landlords and sold on easy terms to their tenants. The

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence: qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
• 656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

ments to the government; the amount of these payments did not exceed the 25 percent of the crop paid in rent, but as an owner, the farmer was responsible for taxes and other charges. The financial benefits of ownership would thus not accrue to the new owner until the entire purchase price was paid off in ten years. The sale was important and contributed to the landownership of a few former tenant families in Hsin Hsing. However, it was far less important and attracted less interest than the Land-to-the-Tiller Act which went into effect in 1953 (Chang, 1954: 60–61).

The Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953

Under the act, the government was given authority to expropriate the land of landlords and to create owner-farmers. Basically, it provided for government purchase of certain tenant-cultivated lands for the purpose of resale to the tenant-cultivators. In the Hsin Hsing village area, where most of the land is of medium grade, most landlords could retain a maximum of three *chia* (7.2 acres) of paddy land or six *chia* (14.4 acres) of dry (nonirrigated) land. The purchase price of the expropriated land was "fixed at 250 per cent of the total annual main crop yield (the standard volume of main crop as stated in the earlier 37.5 per cent rent contract). Of the purchase price, 70 per cent paid to the landlord is in land bonds and 30 per cent in government enterprise stockshares" (Chang, 1954:65).

The government's "resale price" of the land to the former tenant "is the same as the purchase price, plus a 4 per cent interest per annum and is to be amortized by the purchaser in ten equal annual installments" (Chang, 1954:65–66). Former tenants make a total of twenty semiannual payments, one after each harvest. The payments can be in rice for paddy land, or in cash for dry land, based on the current value of sweet potatoes. According to the law, "the average annual burden to be borne by the purchaser shall not exceed the burden on the same grade of land presently borne by the tenant farmer under the 37.5 per cent rent reduction program" (T'ang, 1954:190).

There was a general restriction written into the Land-to-the-Tiller Act to prevent the reaccumulation of land by large landholders or the manipulation and shifting of ownership of land reform land. It stipulates that "any purchaser who has acquired land under this Act shall not transfer the land to any other person before the purchase price is fully paid; transfer of land, after its purchase price is fully paid, shall be permitted only when the transferee can till the land himself or can use it for industrial purposes" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Law, Chapter IV, Article 28). This means that technically there is no limitation on the amount of land that may be purchased and accumulated, except that the purchaser must have the ability to cultivate it.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 18 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.5	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

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128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

217 family, there is listed an identification number, rela-
659 tionship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, [127] family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
219 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

219 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
388 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[27] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

794 796 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity [435] [345] in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

632 unit. The various lin chang assist the li chang in carry-
631 ing out government policy. Connected through this struc-
ture are the superordinate government levels such as town-
ship, county, province, and ultimately, the Republic.

621 This account omits one of the most significant units for most residents, the ts'un (village). As a unit of the official government, it has few functions, serving only to bound areas, as a registration unit, and as a postal address. However, the village appears to be a prime identification unit for the typical rural Taiwanese. In the Sanlei area, there is a perfect agreement as to
621 who is and who is not a member of which ts'un. In Taiwan
632 as a whole, in order that li be approximately equal in size, large villages are divided into two or more li; medium-sized villages constitute a li; and small villages are combined to form a single li. Talei Li is an example of the last process, a combination of five ts'un.

66 Informal political activities vary at distinct
[632] levels. At the township level, the li is united as part of a minority faction. Within the li, there are two contrasting sets of factional divisions which cut across each other, i.e., there are some overlapping memberships. One pair of factions is regionally based, T'oulei and Erhlei against the other three villages; the other pair of factions is ideologically based, the young progressives against the older traditionalists. Kinship loyalties,

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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66 agnatic and affinal, add another dimension to this complexity for most of the residents are members of families whose forefathers occupied the village over an extended period of time. The effects of alliances or feuds in the past often continue to be important long after the original principals have disappeared from the scene.

571 Other important governmental or quasi-governmental organizations which influence local affairs include the school and parent teacher's association, police organization, farmers' association, and fruit cooperative. Completely informal units which are important include two temple organizations, various sworn brothers and god's organizations, and several cooperative work groups.

The various kind of social groups discussed above mean that no individual is an isolated unit. He is necessarily involved intimately in a large number of social groups, some in conflict, forcing a choice between alternatives. Although the priorities are not always clear, the general agreement is that the family is usually the most important social group. Most new residents are quickly incorporated into various units. Only a few outsiders such as Mainlanders remain relatively isolated but even Mainlanders can become relatively involved if they behave in accordance with village norms over an extended period of time.

[648]

665 Although there are a number of minor political parties, Taiwan essentially has a one-party government run by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). The party maintains scattered branch offices throughout Taiwan such as the one in Hsin Tien which includes Talei Li in its area of responsibility. Several villagers have joined the party although only a few remain active.

666 Party membership is not necessary for important political offices as demonstrated by the elections conducted in the early part of 1968 when officials who were not members of the Kuomintang captured about 20% of the seats in the local elections and 10 of 71 provincial seats. Also, the mayors of two of the largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung, are not party members (Plummer, 1969: 19). Nevertheless, as revealed by these same figures, members of the Kuomintang captured a majority of the seats as usual. Moreover, successful candidates who do not belong to the Kuomintang usually run as independents rather than as members of an organized opposition party.

There are occasional arrests for political or ideological reasons and rumors of many more to such a degree that many rural people believe that to get involved in politics may be to court arrest.

Provincial Government

648 Taiwan is one province of the Republic of China with its capital near Taichung in central Taiwan. Its main

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

245 433 439

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

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665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li

628 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
• 665 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li,
621 T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
628
665 The ideological differences between these factions
621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

121
621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

621 The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

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121 Ideological Factions in the Li

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

665
632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 632 121 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in disputes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 632 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

665
632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
• 665 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership
571 changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [931] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] [19] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [556] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

474 elected by the Assembly), and a General Manager hired by the elected officials. The general manner of operation is not unlike that of American communities with a council and a "City Manager" system.

Farmers' Association Factions

474 Competition for the Farmers' Association General
• 665 Manager's job is very keen. There are two major factions in the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which are regionally based in one sense but do carry different policy emphases.

The faction to which Sanlei belongs is called the "Inside the Mountain" group. Its members live in the more remote areas around Hsin Tien and appear to be less urban and more traditional in outlook. They generally feel the Farmers' Association should devote itself solely to direct agricultural activities and to maximizing high dividends.

The other faction is called the "Outside the Mountain" group and contains members who are generally more urbanized and progressive and who favor the recent trend to more extension work by the Farmers' Association and the like.

Individual members belong to units which elect officials to the overall Hsin Tien Association. Although the correspondence between the region and the factional affiliation are not absolute, there is a strong correlation. As the description of the two Farmers' Association factions suggests, they are related ideologically to the

474 665 factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

474 666 The election of the board member to a term of four years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood. The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
• 665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
574 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

612 .666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

621 556 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un although there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 613 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 624 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected 632 by consensus. The next larger significant government 666 unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of woman and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

666 562 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 666 183 The underlying principle governing the above pattern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
• 666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

121
621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

666 632 The use of the term election in this account carries implications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 558 632 There is a long history in China of local control and local decision-making processes, usually based on finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

665
632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

The election of the board member to a term of four years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

474 per month. The present board member is from Sanlei and
• 666 is serving his second term. He has been influential in various kinds of agricultural committees since he was a young man who was once chosen as a farm youth representative to visit Japan and honor the emperor. Six years ago, he defeated the incumbent, the important Erhlei man who was the son of the former bandit chief in a very close election. Two years ago, he badly beat the "progressive" faction member who had been the previous mayor, also from Erhlei. The incumbent's residence in Sanlei and identification with Sanlei's faction helped his campaign. Also, the Farmers' Association members tend to be engaged in agriculture and are more traditional in orientation. The "progressives" are much more influential among li residents in general than among those who are primarily farmers.

There are two additional elected representatives: one is from Sanlei and the other from Erhlei; the latter is the badly-defeated candidate described above. Within the li, Sanlei's faction has an overwhelming majority in the Farmers' Association and could easily control the entire election process. The fact that an outsider holds office once more illustrates the previously introduced principle that there should be balance and harmony. Only the mayor said this explicitly but operations of the system, as demonstrated, strongly suggest it. Several men

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
• 666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The shia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 to establish a central water system which required building 666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood. The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

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T 873 an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

T Tn 873 668 575 It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

T 873 178 571 621 [369] [573] A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 80 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ments to the government; the amount of these payments did not exceed the 25 percent of the crop paid in rent, but as an owner, the farmer was responsible for taxes and other charges. The financial benefits of ownership would thus not accrue to the new owner until the entire purchase price was paid off in ten years. The sale was important and contributed to the landownership of a few former tenant families in Hsin Hsing. However, it was far less important and attracted less interest than the Land-to-the-Tiller Act which went into effect in 1953 (Chang, 1954: 60–61).

The Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953

Under the act, the government was given authority to expropriate the land of landlords and to create owner-farmers. Basically, it provided for government purchase of certain tenant-cultivated lands for the purpose of resale to the tenant-cultivators. In the Hsin Hsing village area, where most of the land is of medium grade, most landlords could retain a maximum of three *chia* (7.2 acres) of paddy land or six *chia* (14.4 acres) of dry (nonirrigated) land. The purchase price of the expropriated land was "fixed at 250 per cent of the total annual main crop yield (the standard volume of main crop as stated in the earlier 37.5 per cent rent contract). Of the purchase price, 70 per cent paid to the landlord is in land bonds and 30 per cent in government enterprise stockshares" (Chang, 1954:65).

The government's "resale price" of the land to the former tenant "is the same as the purchase price, plus a 4 per cent interest per annum and is to be amortized by the purchaser in ten equal annual installments" (Chang, 1954:65–66). Former tenants make a total of twenty semiannual payments, one after each harvest. The payments can be in rice for paddy land, or in cash for dry land, based on the current value of sweet potatoes. According to the law, "the average annual burden to be borne by the purchaser shall not exceed the burden on the same grade of land presently borne by the tenant farmer under the 37.5 per cent rent reduction program" (T'ang, 1954:190).

There was a general restriction written into the Land-to-the-Tiller Act to prevent the reaccumulation of land by large landholders or the manipulation and shifting of ownership of land reform land. It stipulates that "any purchaser who has acquired land under this Act shall not transfer the land to any other person before the purchase price is fully paid; transfer of land, after its purchase price is fully paid, shall be permitted only when the transferee can till the land himself or can use it for industrial purposes" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Law, Chapter IV, Article 28). This means that technically there is no limitation on the amount of land that may be purchased and accumulated, except that the purchaser must have the ability to cultivate it.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 16 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2545	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.3	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownreship. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect [8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such purchases have a surface appearance of legality, but, strictly speaking, they are not. According to the 1953 law, land purchased from the government under the act can be sold by the original purchaser only after he has become a full owner by completing the twenty payments to the government. In current practice, the purchaser, using a middleman or a land broker, secretly gives the owner enough rice or money to cover the outstanding payments to the government. In addition, he gives him more money or rice to cover the payments already made, plus a substantial bonus. When all the remaining payments have been made, usually in one lump sum, the land is officially turned over to the new owner. By law he must be able to till the land himself. This should eliminate the likelihood of landlords engaging in such transactions. In Hsin Hsing village this method has so far been limited to the small landholder who through expanding financial resources has been able to buy additional land to support an expanding family. Such people cannot easily acquire land through completely legal means because of the decreased turnover of land since land reform.

However, some landlords in the area not only manage to purchase such land reform land by this method but manage to buy back their own land which, expropriated by the government, has since passed through several hands. They may then even rent it out, even though the law says that such expropriated land can only be sold to someone who will till the land himself. According to a reliable informant, this can be managed when the land has passed through several hands since 1953, so that the government agencies have lost track of it and are no longer aware of the history of its transfers. The Land Office responsible for such land can easily lose track of it. The land tenure data are recorded in the Land Office in so many different books and cards that it is difficult to maintain any adequate check on the transfers of individual plots of land. Besides this, not all the data are accurate, or even kept together in one office. In the Hsin Hsing village area for example, some records are kept in the Lukang Land Office and some in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office, according to a system for recording land tenure data prescribed by the provincial Land Office in Taipei. In addition, there seems to be little investigation by land agents of the ownership of lands in the area.

Probably the greatest source of purchaseable land since the land reform is private-ownership land which formerly belonged to large landholders. At the time of the expropriation in 1953, many landlords got their start in outside business or commerce, and many have since proved successful. As a result, many of them have sold more and more of the three *chia* of land which the 1953 law allowed them to retain, using the money for further investment in business or light industries. In the Hsin Hsing village area the lands of such former landlords have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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000 [8] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

Tn [217] Tn [647] [1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

[2] Tn [7] The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

Tn [127] [3] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[4] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

T [656] [671] [5] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

627 they must be skilled in inter-personal relations and since it takes time to build a reputation which includes all these specifications, particularly the last one, most good mediators are between the ages of 50 and 60.

671 The entire legal process in China, both formal and informal, seems to be more concerned with "reasonableness" and "fairness" than with hard definitions of "right" and "wrong." Decisions do not seem arbitrary and have a high level of predictability.

427 There are a number of kinds of local participation.
486 Special mediation boards are created for special purposes
672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

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With regard to divorce, Ch'ing law states that a man can divorce a woman for seven reasons which are known as the Ch'i Ch'u or Seven Ousts: (1) Failure to serve the husband's parents and disobedience to them. (2) Failure to give birth to a son. (3) Dissoluteness of manners. (4) Jealousy. (5) Malignant disease. (6) Loquacity. (7) Larceny (Chui, 1966:61-8). Adultery is not listed here but was also a compelling reason for divorce. However, in the same law may be found the San Pu Ch'u or Three Non-Ousts, reasons why a wife cannot be divorced by her husband except on the grounds of adultery: (1) Mourned her husband's parents for three years. (2) Husband's poor family became rich after marriage. (3) She has no home to return to (Chiu, 1966:69-71). Chiu makes the point repeatedly that according to the law, men have "an exclusive right of divorce in ancient China" (1966:58). Even in divorce by mutual consent, traditionally permitted in China, the divorce is "effected in the name of the husband" (1966:60). Other scholars consistently agree, i.e., "divorce became exclusively the man's privilege and was practically equivalent to repudiation of the wife by the husband" (Lang, 1946:40).

However, a careful reading of Ch'ing law together with analysis of a sample of court decisions, does not support the above argument. All of the above facts are true but important omissions were made. The usual presentation implies the husband had the power to divorce his wife on the

562 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San
586 Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all
671 such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

114 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect
562 of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have con-
586 sidered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the
671 primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 [114] 121 562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, potmaster,

648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

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[674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

• 674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced [558] to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

796 rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of
[556] items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

778 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its
• 674 opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Main-
782 lander soldiers. On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

625 Taipei along with a letter commendation. Additionally, the I Ching and pliceman have their pictures taken together at the station in Pouti and are presented copies later at the village temple by the local police chief. This custom helps to break down the natural antagonisms between police and villager by instilling the idea they are united in a task to prevent robbery and catch thieves.

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692 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *han-eh'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

and making their living by stealing." The boy himself told several villagers that he had to steal so that he would have money to buy food for his mother in prison. Whatever the reason for his activities, he was eventually arrested and briefly confined in a juvenile ward. When this news somehow reached his natal family which lives not far from Hsiachichou, the boy's father came to the village and angrily accused Ong Chun-ieng's mother of "not caring whether the child is in prison or not." He demanded that the family return the child to him "if they didn't care what happened to him," and Ong Chun-ieng's mother answered that "you just want him back now because he is old enough to work." After several such visits, each of which precipitated a bitter quarrel in the path before the house, the father did somehow manage to reclaim the boy, and he lived with his natal family a number of months before finally returning to Hsiachichou.

While it is difficult to estimate the frequency of such incidents they evidently occur often enough to make most people apprehensive about buying a male child. Those families who do make such adoptions always make every effort to conceal the fact of his adoption from the child himself, hoping in this way to prevent his becoming involved with his real parents. One village family who had bought a male child told us that for years they hid the boy's registration card from him, and another village family is said to have bribed the police to register the child as having been born into the family. People who want to sell a male child recognize these fears and try to counter them by traveling to an area of the island where they are not known so that they can

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 596 604 578 to reason with his nephew about the situation and to educate him in some of the subtle details of social relations, a subject the Chinese classify with their other art forms. He failed because of his own temper and because he was not aware of the real reason for A-bok's anger with the man. A-bok's younger brother, Masa, who is frantic to get out of the village and into a white-collar job, was sent to work in this man's pharmacy, a business concern in which the Lim family has invested a small amount of money. Masa often slept in the shop and one night, after obtaining the permission of the owner, three of his friends spent the night there with him. Sometime during that twenty-four hour period, a small sum of money was stolen from the shop. None of the boys were out of Masa's sight during their stay, and he knew them well enough to vouch for their complete honesty. The owner accepted his statement, but commented tactlessly, "When no one is here to guard, I don't lose money, but when I have four guards, the money disappears." This made Masa furious. He went out, borrowed the small sum that was missing, and presented it to the man who was graceless enough to accept it, still however agreeing to Masa's innocence in the matter. A-bok has never forgiven the man for this insult, but he cannot explain his anger to his uncle because relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his youngest nephew, Masa, are good only when they are out of each other's sight.

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159 596 593 578 As the senior male in his branch of the family, it is from A-bok that the formal request for a division of the joint family must come. Lim A-pou, whatever her other faults, is not the kind of woman who nags. She has nonetheless made it quite clear to her son that she would be happy to see them set up as an independent unit. A-bok's reluctance to take this step shows the good sense for which his uncle gives him too little credit. It also is an example of the pride that even his mother must admit does justice to his father and his grandfather. In his youth, A-bok showed some signs of following his father's way of life. He spent every evening with the local youths and, according to some, was involved in a certain amount of *lo mua* activity. Because of his father's career, A-bok's inclinations were taken more seriously than those of his peers, causing distress to his mother and whispers in the village. Lim Han-ci, however, turned out to be a much stronger force in A-bok's life than his father. Lim Han-ci was still a hard taskmaster in A-bok's adolescence, but his harshness had mellowed—not yet to the extent of spoiling his grandson as his own father had

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648 Moreover, he has little fluency in Taiwanese and since many villagers do not speak Mandarin, he had an especially difficult job communicating. Using another villager as an untrained interpreter presents its own unique problems.

• 685 [674] The police are in charge of crime when it does occur although crime is fairly rare in the village as compared with the city. Most crimes in the rural area are classified into two types: external, as when an outsider steals material goods, or internal, as when a resident steals near-ripe agricultural products or dried wood. About half the outsiders are caught and dealt with through the courts. Most of the internal thieves are caught but rarely do the cases reach the courts. Instead, they are treated in the same manner that applies to arguments and disputes among fellow residents, i.e., the thief and victim are merely considered to be two disputants.

Mediation and Legal Processes

627 Internal disputes are usually settled internally by a process of mediation. A mediator goes back and forth between disputants listening to the respective stories and repeating them. Eventually, the two sides are brought into each other's presence. If a compromise still can not be reached, they may agree to resort to the temple to have the gods make a settlement.[7]

648 Even outside the village, Taiwan's formal system of civil courts starts with a regular mediation or

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672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sǐm-pûà was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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but the stories they told me of his extra-marital activities are curiously loyal—vindictive only when they touch upon the behavior of his wife, the outsider. Chui-ieng's life is almost as bitter as she describes it, but the villagers believe she brought it on herself.

When we came to live with the family, Lim Chieng-cua had not kept a mistress for some time. Chui-ieng occasionally nagged her husband about past infidelities, but in general, relations between them were tranquil. Lim Chieng-cua's most recent affair, and the one which still seemed to worry his wife, was his liaison with Lau Kim-chiok, the adopted daughter of one of his neighbors. Lim A-pou told me, "A few years ago Lim Chieng-cua had a mistress here in the village. She was a prostitute who was living just then with a man who worked nights in the winery. I know she wasn't married to this man because I saw her police book and his name wasn't in it.

"Both Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have hot tempers and they have quarreled from the day they married. She would never just accept his having a mistress or try to find some peaceful means of getting him to stay home at night. Instead, she used to go to the woman's house at night and beat on the doors and make a lot of noise. One night she even broke a window in the house. This really made my brother mad. She ran home and hid in my room. My father was still alive then, but that night he was disgusted and said he wouldn't interfere any more. Lim Chieng-cua tried to break down the door of the room to get at his wife, and I'm sure he would have killed her if my son hadn't pulled him away and calmed things down.

"Then in the middle of the night he had to go and find a workman to repair the window in that woman's house so the man she was living with wouldn't find out what was going on.

"Not long after this both the man and woman got put into jail for using narcotics. His sentence was a very long one because he had quarreled with some powerful *lo mua* before he got caught. She was given a sentence of three and a half years. She should be getting out soon now."

When Lau Kim-chiok was released, she returned to her mother's home in the village. Friends and neighbors came to see her, both to welcome her home and out of curiosity. Lim Chieng-cua who was in Taipei on business didn't return to the village until late in the evening, but when he did, he also went to pay his respects to his former mistress. According to my interpreter, who was also there, he was

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-ch'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 578 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most [629] of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. [692] (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 312 474 433 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 571 628 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

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159 612 628 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyalties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu *ch'in ch'i* of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case. Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i* more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was realized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning their plans for the case.

159 621 628 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.[1]

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did nothing about the case.

159 62 [618] [612] As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the traditional process of mediation rather than take the case through the courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more important, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[3] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses cut of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

627 they must be skilled in inter-personal relations and since it takes time to build a reputation which includes all these specifications, particularly the last one, most good mediators are between the ages of 50 and 60.

671 The entire legal process in China, both formal and informal, seems to be more concerned with "reasonableness" and "fairness" than with hard definitions of "right" and "wrong." Decisions do not seem arbitrary and have a high level of predictability.

427 There are a number of kinds of local participation.
686 Special mediation boards are created for special purposes
672 such as dealing with disputes generated out of the various Land Reform Acts. A dispute between an owner and tenant over land illustrates the concept of justice. A villager owned .3 chia of paddy land which he operated primarily with hired labor while practicing a trade. He was drafted into the army and leased the land to another villager with several small children. The lease was up, his service was completed, and he wanted the land back although he was still unmarried and practicing his trade, but the tenant was poor and needed the land. Although technically the owner should have obtained the land, the board, recognizing the needs of the tenant, decided the lease should be extended for three more years. The lease is due to end again next year and there will be another board case because both parties still want the land. Since the owner

427 is not married and still earns a good income in his trade
686 and the tenant is still poor with small children, the
692 same outcome of another extension is expected. But since the owner is seeking a wife, he plans to argue that he too will soon have small children to support. He does not expect to regain possession of the land but rather, to minimize the term of the extension and set the stage for eventual control of the land after the next lease termination. The owner is annoyed but does not feel the decision was unreasonable. Other villagers agree the owner had the law on his side and a legal claim to the land. Nevertheless, they too agree the decision was the only "fair" solution. The owner and tenant are neighbors and although there are some hard feelings, overt expression of them was not observed.

674 There have been few formal arrests of villagers and few occasions in which villagers have appeared before a criminal court. The son of a villager with a repair shop in town is serving a six-month sentence on a bad check charge which he claims was caused by someone who stole his
689 "chop." Another villager was arrested twice for being drunk and disorderly in Hsin Tien and each time, spent the night in jail. In addition to a small fine, he was forced [558] to listen to a stern lecture which caused him a great loss of face.

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159 boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin
312 Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was
628 at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than pub-
lic water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan
[474] had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was
not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his
father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

159 The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is
312 located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most
628 of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several
474 members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing.
685 Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu
villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from
other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative
policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel
that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative
had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the coopera-
tive's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the
association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any
trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father
several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

159 When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word
628 quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once
685 incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be
625 punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to
123 treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I
was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and
also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

159 The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the
625 local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded
694 the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when
554 an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted
628 that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-
defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his
father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not neces-
sarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential
man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station
cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were
therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li
and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta
Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the
cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the
government district knew how to handle such matters. And although
the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt
in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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affidavits of injury from a notorious doctor in a nearby market town.

Meanwhile, the Hsin Hsing villagers faced problems. They did not have anyone who could help write up the accurately detailed letter of accusation required under Chinese law. When they finally found someone to write the letter, it was submitted through the local police and had to go through a long series of channels before it finally reached the courts.

Several days went by and nothing seemed to happen in the case. When the Hsin Hsing villagers—mainly the few relatives and close friends of Li Fan and his father—went to ask the police what was happening, they were told that such things take time and that it would perhaps be better if they tried to settle the case with the Ta Yu villagers through mediation.

About this time, the Ta Yu villagers who were in the pumping station cooperative and who represented the two assailants made overtures to mediate. The reason they offered was that since both sides were hurt in the fight, they should forget the whole matter instead of pressing further and going to court. To this suggestion there was, of course, no agreement.

The Hsin Hsing villagers were in an awkward position. Although most of them would have liked to help Li Fan and his father win satisfaction and compensation for their injuries and to teach their assailants a lesson, they could do little. One of the main problems was that they had no one who would or could act as their leader. They were an unorganized group, and did not know what to do or how to go about handling the case. This was unlike the men from Ta Yu, who not only had a large powerful pumping station organization to support them, but also had the wealthy and influential village landlord who was a key figure in the cooperative and an influential and powerful man in the area to act in their behalf. Hsin Hsing village no longer has capable and interested village landlords who can lead them in times of trouble. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this may well be a general problem in villages where land reform has at least indirectly caused the downfall in wealth and prestige and especially the community interest of many of the former landlords.

Had Hsin Hsing been a single *tsu* village, Li Fan and his father as part of such a *tsu* might have received more active support from the village as a whole. A *tsu* village's organization and leadership, which grow out of family relationships, would undoubtedly have been much more centrally structured than this small multi-*tsu* village with its highly devisive units. To make the matter even worse, Li Fan and his father are from one of the smallest family groups, which made it all the more difficult for the village to marshal and organize its leadership, since there is no formal organization to handle such matters.

Another problem was that many of the villagers who were at first

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159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 198 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

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171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

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the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is small[illegible]2) than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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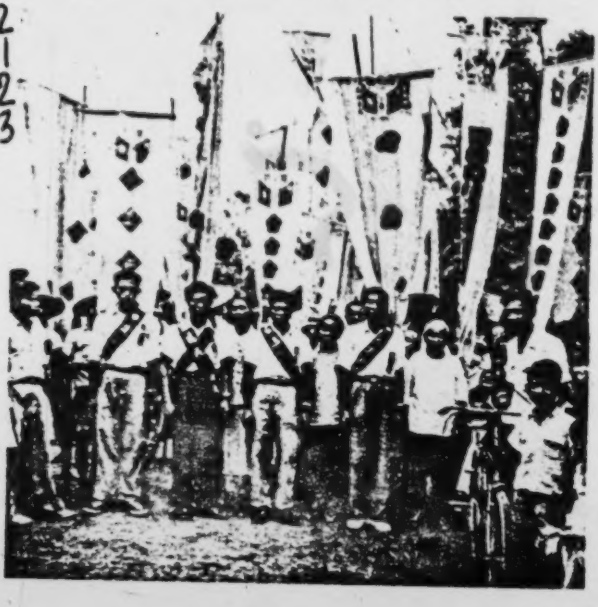

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 769 *t'ing* with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifice Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

796 [782] [574] [464]

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

796 182

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

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Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

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Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 582 [465] boys are not expected to marry until after completing service. This expectation has served to raise the average age of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

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584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[551] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

716 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
718 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great *increase of supplementary income* from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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427 571 entirely and finding a new tenant. Thus, while a tenant felt he would have some security on the land, if he could cement his relationship with his landlord or landlords, even such security was of questionable duration. And the tenants' problem was worsened by the small size of the fields, which meant that it was not uncommon for a man to have more than one landlord.

427 A good many landlords who rented land in the area to Hsin Hsing villagers did not live there. A number lived (as some still do) in relatively distant villages, and a few, usually businessmen, lived in Lukang or Taichung City. Since absentee landlords usually did not rely exclusively upon their land rents for a livelihood, they were often [731] not very strict with their tenants. In the event of a crop failure, the villagers recall that most of these absentee landlords were willing to allow a rent reduction, perhaps even more so than the landlord who lived in the village area. It was not, of course, easy for the absentee landlords to operate their land by themselves or to find a new tenant or hired laborer to take care of the land for them. The landlord who lived in the village area could operate the land himself with hired laborers or else easily find a new tenant.

427 571 The tenant whose landlord lived in the immediate area considered the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* an important factor in determining his tenure. He apparently realized, nevertheless, what a slender reed it was, since he admitted that absentee landlords were easier to deal with. Keen competition for land, especially in the postwar period, resulted in a constant danger that other would-be tenants might approach the landlord and offer him a higher rent or other concessions. Under such circumstances the tenant could only try to fulfill all of his obligations to the landlord with the hope of maintaining a precarious goodwill.

427 571 626 [464] [178] I heard of several landlords in Hsin Hsing village and the immediate area who switched tenants every year, with hardly a word of explanation, as they received better rental offers. Although such landlords were extremely unpopular in the countryside, there was little that tenants could do. These landlords were well known in the area for such practices, and when labor was in short supply during the extremely busy part of the agricultural season, many local farm laborers refused to work for them. This technique of getting back at unpleasant landlords is still used today. One landlord family in Hsin Hsing was greatly disliked by the villagers in the postwar period and to this day often has difficulty in obtaining labor at harvesttime.

The case of this family is an excellent example of the landlord-tenant problem in Hsin Hsing. Good feeling and mutual aid had existed between the old landlord, who was head of his family, and many of his tenants. After the death of the old man—which was prior

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 788 776 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 776 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
665 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership
571 changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [731] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [191] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one [554] resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth [132] year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [384] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

family is to have any security in either this life or the next, they must have children who are obliged to them as heirs and descendants. As a result, male children have an absolute value, their worth to their family being something which cannot be estimated in monetary terms. A family may be forced by extreme poverty to sell one or more of their children in order to support themselves and their remaining children, but they would never sell a male as a means of adding to their material possessions. To trade a male child for property would simply not make sense to most people in Hsiachichou, for it is with reference to sons and grandsons that property acquires much of its value. As one of our village informants put it when we asked him why so few people sell their sons, "There is no point in having money or land if you don't have children. Who will inherit these things if you have no sons or grandsons? And who will you have to carry on your family name when you are dead?"

Of 110 male children born into Hsiachichou before 1930 only 8 (7 percent) were sold as <u>biēng-liāng-kiá</u>:, and in every case the family selling the child was poor by local standards. We know that not one of these families owned land other than their own house site, and so far as their neighbors remember none had any income from a business or trade. Four of the eight children sold were sons of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-a whose family was probably the poorest in the village. According to Ong Chun-a, "We had to sell those children. We were starving then, and they offered a very good price. Besides, I had to sell my milk to make money." It is interesting to note that

182 children and thought they could use her help with household chores. If
*597 they could see that they would not have to resort to a matrilocal
*592
*562 marriage, and if they also had as much female labor as they could use and afford, they decided to give the child away as a means of conserving family resources. Personal attachment and other particularistic considerations apparently played little part in these decisions. This was probably due at least in part to the fact that it was the child's grandparents rather than her parents who made the decisions. They were naturally not as personally involved with the child as her own parents and were able to make the decision which was most consistent with the family's needs and goals. A second and probably more important reason was the press of circumstances and the tremendous importance of genealogical continuity. A family could not afford to give away a female child [735] if they had no sons because they could not risk dying without descendants, and yet most families were so poor that they could not afford to keep a child who did not have any real value to the family. A family was so constrained by their goals and by their limited means that they must of necessity think of female children as counters of varying value. The head of a family might feel that girls were something to lose money on and prefer to give them away in adoption, but if he did not have any other grandchildren he could not risk such a decision. On the other hand, a parent might become very attached to a second or third born daughter and want to keep her, but if he already had several children he could not afford to do so without straining the family's finances. There was little room for personal or idiosyncratic considerations, and

*597 556 give their daughters out as sīm-pûà. The villagers themselves assume that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sīm-pûà and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

*597 *562 *121 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any particular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adoption. But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. The general preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than their female children.

[735] [611] [582] [842]

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [54] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

585 589 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs, and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I' just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age."

[737]

548 589 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents' desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

*584 *597 589 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

• 735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[578] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

735 558 These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 621 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are higher, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621
everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
development of land and the industrialization nearby all
offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] 511 463 465 A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
• 736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[838] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
62 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[589] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and
[759] is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the
[743] *Hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They
[292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their
759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but
178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If
[217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is
759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend-
465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies
[757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1948 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1950's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	502	550	811	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	512	532	844	16	11	27	3	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,259	13,496	26,755	604	584	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,611	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the average rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[10] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *siaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *siaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *siaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *siaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *siaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *siaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
• 744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The
[177] fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

251 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively will-
262 ing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts,
744 the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their [241] load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many
756 distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who [562] furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
[797] munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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• 75 Often the cause of the illness is not so easily discernible nor is its cure effected so simply. Even when a Western-style doctor is summoned, the anxiety of the patient's family may be so great that while the doctor is attempting to cure the illness, they may resort to supernatural techniques to discover its exact cause and necessary treatment. On occasion, a village family may either go to a fortune-teller in Lukang or consult one who happens to pass through at the time to learn the cause of the trouble. More frequently, however, they call in a *t'iao t'ung* to communicate directly with a god to learn what kind of supernatural being is involved and exactly how it may be successfully appeased or exorcised.

755 The *t'iao t'ung* goes to the family's ancestral-worship room and
756 there sits among the people who, out of interest in the session or concern for the sick person, have gathered to observe the ritual. As those around him sit and talk, the *t'iao t'ung* stares into space; gradually, his hands, feet, and body start to shake. Usually, in fifteen minutes he is in a trance and possessed by the god. At this point he becomes extremely agitated and starts to scream and chant. He springs high into the air and blindly staggers around the room. One or two men hold a special cloth apron he wears in order to prevent him from injuring himself or those around him while he is convulsed. Within minutes his paroxysm subsides, and he is brought to the altar where he begins to chant in the language of the gods. An assistant (a *fa shih*), sits at a table in front of the altar and asks the pertinent questions in the special language. Through the medium of the *t'iao t'ung*, the god gives his answers. These are recorded by the assistant, who in some cases is known to be illiterate. The assistant writes certain characters with a brush and ink on a special paper. Once the god's words have been recorded he is presumed to depart, and the *t'iao t'ung* comes out of his trance. He usually is wet with perspiration and sometimes bears injuries incurred while he was convulsed.

In some cases of illness, the instructions the god gives to effect a cure can be carried out immmediately by the family itself. The god tells the cause of the ailment and gives directions for the appeasement of the spirits, e.g., the family must burn a specific amount of paper money as an offering for them. In addition, the family may be directed to feed the patient some herbal medicine prescribed by the god to eliminate the fever caused by the presence of the demon.

[789] In some cases of illness, however, the god will inform the people that a cure can be effected only if the demon is not only appeased but also exorcised. In such an instance, it is necessary to call in a *fa shih* who has powerful means at his disposal to accomplish this feat, such as charms, a sword, and a whip with a handle shaped like a snake (symbolizing a mythical white snake which helps the gods fight the demons). In addition, the *fa shih* may make an agreement with the

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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[757] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 757 177 178 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors, the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

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fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relationship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be surprised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hȏu miā: and pāi miā:, "good fortune"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

776 everyone prosperous but she argued that then there would be no one left to carry her sedan chair. She won the argument and many people therefore remain poor and consequently, villagers refuse to worship her. They all agree that most women do have a similar ability to influence their husband's behavior.

Miscellaneous Holy Places

778 Some years ago, a set of human bones was found under the bridge at the border of Erhlei and Sanlei. A general collection was made and the bones were interred on the site in a small shrine where people worship periodically as [753] needed, especially women who have sick children. The attitude seems to be that the spirit causes trouble such as sickness unless periodically propitiated.

In back of Liao Kan-yi's house (head of the major temple committee and owner of the oldest village store) is a special holy rock installed by his grandfather. No one remembers the reason for worshipping the rock, but on the first and fifteenth of each month, his family worships it with food sacrifices and three incense sticks. A younger grandson is often delegated the task. There are several trees and other rocks at which special worship is made. For example, some years ago a boy fell on a rock and was [782] in a coma for several days. His mother worshipped at the rock on which he fell and promised that if her son got well

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[511] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[755] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

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6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[5] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[6]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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753 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed
755 in supernatural methods—the shaman.

There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly
755 diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in
757 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers
177 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates
178 which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when
[553 another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming
852] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and
[961 then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

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75 Often the cause of the illness is not so easily discernible nor is its cure effected so simply. Even when a Western-style doctor is summoned, the anxiety of the patient's family may be so great that while the doctor is attempting to cure the illness, they may resort to supernatural techniques to discover its exact cause and necessary treatment. On occasion, a village family may either go to a fortune-teller in Lukang or consult one who happens to pass through at the time to learn the cause of the trouble. More frequently, however, they call in a *t'iao t'ung* to communicate directly with a god to learn what kind of supernatural being is involved and exactly how it may be successfully appeased or exorcised.

755 The *t'iao t'ung* goes to the family's ancestral-worship room and
756 there sits among the people who, out of interest in the session or concern for the sick person, have gathered to observe the ritual. As those around him sit and talk, the *t'iao t'ung* stares into space; gradually, his hands, feet, and body start to shake. Usually, in fifteen minutes he is in a trance and possessed by the god. At this point he becomes extremely agitated and starts to scream and chant. He springs high into the air and blindly staggers around the room. One or two men hold a special cloth apron he wears in order to prevent him from injuring himself or those around him while he is convulsed. Within minutes his paroxysm subsides, and he is brought to the altar where he begins to chant in the language of the gods. An assistant (a *fa shih*), sits at a table in front of the altar and asks the pertinent questions in the special language. Through the medium of the *t'iao t'ung*, the god gives his answers. These are recorded by the assistant, who in some cases is known to be illiterate. The assistant writes certain characters with a brush and ink on a special paper. Once the god's words have been recorded he is presumed to depart, and the *t'iao t'ung* comes out of his trance. He usually is wet with perspiration and sometimes bears injuries incurred while he was convulsed.

In some cases of illness, the instructions the god gives to effect a cure can be carried out immmediately by the family itself. The god tells the cause of the ailment and gives directions for the appeasement of the spirits, e.g., the family must burn a specific amount of paper money as an offering for them. In addition, the family may be directed to feed the patient some herbal medicine prescribed by the god to eliminate the fever caused by the presence of the demon.

[789] In some cases of illness, however, the god will inform the people that a cure can be effected only if the demon is not only appeased but also exorcised. In such an instance, it is necessary to call in a *fa shih* who has powerful means at his disposal to accomplish this feat, such as charms, a sword, and a whip with a handle shaped like a snake (symbolizing a mythical white snake which helps the gods fight the demons). In addition, the *fa shih* may make an agreement with the

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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158 159 755 [756] [782] The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 621 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*ja feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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755 154 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

796 755 789 182 [787] A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

[621] [52]

771 178 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

755 177 178 622 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

declining years, and it is of the utmost importance for a person to see that he will have many sons and grandsons to take him to the mountain when he dies. If, then, the son's wife does not become pregnant within the first year or two of marriage, her husband's parents begin to fear that the girl is barren. Her failure to show signs of pregnancy at the earliest possible time is also inevitably noticed by the family's neighbors, and someone is certain to suggest that this is a punishment visited upon the family for some former misdeed. Such gossip naturally arouses the husband's parents, and further exacerbates their own worries about their daughter-in-law's fertility. The man's mother then begins to chide her daughter-in-law who is already anxious for her own reasons. The result is a state of tension which grows in intensity as the months pass. If it is true that anxiety about fertility serves to make conception less likely, as psychiatric studies have suggested, the chances of the daughter-in-law's bearing children decline as the tension and anxiety around her increase.

If after eighteen or twenty months the girl is still not showing the signs of pregnancy, the family will often consult a shaman or fortune teller. Human fertility is thought of in Hsiachichou in terms of an arboreal analogy. Every woman has a tree with a number of red and white blossoms, the white blossoms representing the number of female children she will bear, and the red the number of male children. Should a woman fail to conceive and bear children it is probably because the tree is dying, the buds withering before they can come to blossom. There can be various reasons for this. It may be that the tree is

842 unhealthy as a result of a lack of nourishment, or it may be that the
• 755 tree is being attacked by some kind of ghost. If these baneful in-
715 fluences can be counteracted, the tree will flourish and the woman will be fruitful. The remedy in the case of an unhealthy tree is usually to prescribe herbal medicines for the woman, while ghosts are more often dealt with by means of rituals intended to elicit the aid of a benevolent
842 supernatural. One thus finds that the young married woman spends a
755 great deal of time and money seeking the proper herb and the intervention of potent deities. In observing the activities of a local shaman over several months we noted that only physical illness outranked worries about fertility as a reason for a person's seeking his services.

*597 If a family tries these various herbal and ritual remedies and
755 their daughter-in-law still does not conceive, a shaman or fortune
842 teller may suggest that they adopt a daughter. As we have already mentioned, it is commonly believed that the adoption of a female child will stimulate a pregnancy. How the villagers rationalize this belief in terms of their own conceptions of physiology and fate we were never able to discover; they simply say that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." But whatever the rationalization, the belief is held with the greatest confidence. Even our more sophisticated informants agreed that the adoption of a female child will improve a woman's chances of bearing a male child. The reason for this confidence is not hard to see. Of a total of 27 village women who adopted their first child 19 (70 percent) did later bear children. One reason for these favorable

results may be that the adoption serves to alleviate the anxiety which is partially responsible for the woman's failure to conceive. At least this has been suggested by several studies of adoption and fertility in this country. What is more likely in the case of Hsiachichou, however, is that most of these adoptions occurred before the woman had really tested her ability to conceive. Most village wives are strong healthy young women, and given time they conceive and bear children. While most adoptions do therefore lead to the eventual birth of a child, it is not always for the reason suggested by the shaman. Shamans and psychiatrists share the good fortune of practicing an art in which it is often difficult to separate the results of their good works from the effects of time and patience.

It would thus seem reasonable to assume that many adoptions by childless families were motivated more by anxiety about barrenness than by the intent to arrange a matrilocal marriage. The importance of children in the society gives us reason to assume that any childless couple will be anxious about the fact, and this assumption is confirmed by the amount of money and time spent on ritual and medicinal cures for barrenness. Given then that one of the cures in which most villagers have the greatest confidence involves the adoption of a female child, it would seem reasonable to conclude that many adoptions by childless couples were undertaken in the hope of stimulating a pregnancy. Several village families told us that this was their primary reason for adopting a child, and the timing of the adoptions seems to indicate that similar motives were responsible in a number of other cases. While

000 midwives are invariably females.

757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

757 Certain diseases and injuries are considered best
759 treated by particular kinds of practitioners. There is considerable agreement on diagnosing and recommended treat-
[177] ment in the village. For example, a Chinese herb doctor is Hsin Tien is best for a broken bone and a Western doctor, for eye infections.

755 In addition to technical treatment, religious worship and sacrifices are regularly added. If one practitioner of a certain type is not immediately successful, transfer to a different type is quickly effected. On many occasions, people will go to two or three different types at once for it is felt best not to take chances.

757 Self diagnosis and treatment is common. Although several older people in Talei Li are considered to have special medical abilities, most adults are amateur health practitioners. Itinerant salesmen leave bags containing

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien
(master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually
appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which
are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively
hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter
may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
• 755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick,
many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both
medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male
and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not
been vigorous recently because after 60, death is consid-
ered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only
due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness,
the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are con-
sulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for mar-
riage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[765] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that de-
scribed for the fortune sticks in the village temple except
the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a
fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific per-
sonal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." [785] (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.) [517] [364]

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.) [788]

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.) [784] [753] [755]

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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

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621 578 797 778 554 422 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

[775] [753] [761] [777] [756]

Fate and Divination

777 787 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

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793 two, or even three full days at a time when a funeral or some other ceremony must be performed. It would, of course, be impossible for a farmer to engage in activities which might call him away from the harvest or other such imperative activity. Furthermore, most farmers lack the modicum of literacy necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies.

The *tao shih* in Lukang received their training from older members of the priesthood. These men do not belong to an organized church, for there is none in Lukang. In fact, the priesthood itself is loosely organized and informal, although all its members in the area do wear a special signet ring. A man who wishes to become a *tao shih* declares his intention to an established priest and, with the latter's permission, joins his group as a novice. He is given instruction in the various ceremonies and learns how to use the special ritual instruments. As his training progresses, he accompanies other members of the group on their trips into the countryside and assists as they perform ceremonies. Eventually, he either becomes a member of the group in which he received his training or conducts ceremonies as a independent priest.

• 756 There are three *fa shih* and three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing village serving it and neighboring villages. Actually, these men seldom perform outside the village, and shamans from other villages are occasionally called into Hsin Hsing by people who were not helped by their village shaman or who, for personal reasons, prefer a shaman from another place. This is especially true in the case of a nonresident *fa shih*, an older man, who is considered more powerful than the ones in Hsin Hsing. However, such cases are infrequent, and most people find their own village shaman sufficiently able to meet their needs.

756 Too, most villagers find it economically advantageous to engage the
465 services of a local shaman rather than an outsider. When the *fa shih* or *t'iao t'ung* is a fellow villager, one is not expected to pay him any fee for his services, but need only feed him after he performs. The food is usually a simple noodle dish or rice and meat soup. Although it is prepared in large quantities in order to feed all the villagers who were present during the shaman's ritual, the cost to the host is small. But when a shaman is called from outside, he must be paid a fee in addition to being fed with the other participants. The money is normally wrapped in a packet of red paper and handed to the shaman. The villagers usually know how much they are expected to pay, and both parties assume that the amount will be adequate. If the family does not give the shaman enough money, the villagers note that "the shaman probably will say nothing, but will not return should he be called."

Most families make every effort to compensate the shaman amply

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and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

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makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural.

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself.

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes.

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms *and assume that the* cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

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75 Often the cause of the illness is not so easily discernible nor is its cure effected so simply. Even when a Western-style doctor is summoned, the anxiety of the patient's family may be so great that while the doctor is attempting to cure the illness, they may resort to supernatural techniques to discover its exact cause and necessary treatment. On occasion, a village family may either go to a fortune-teller in Lukang or consult one who happens to pass through at the time to learn the cause of the trouble. More frequently, however, they call in a *t'iao t'ung* to communicate directly with a god to learn what kind of supernatural being is involved and exactly how it may be successfully appeased or exorcised.

755 The *t'iao t'ung* goes to the family's ancestral-worship room and there sits among the people who, out of interest in the session or
• 756 concern for the sick person, have gathered to observe the ritual. As those around him sit and talk, the *t'iao t'ung* stares into space; gradually, his hands, feet, and body start to shake. Usually, in fifteen minutes he is in a trance and possessed by the god. At this point he becomes extremely agitated and starts to scream and chant. He springs high into the air and blindly staggers around the room. One or two men hold a special cloth apron he wears in order to prevent him from injuring himself or those around him while he is convulsed. Within minutes his paroxysm subsides, and he is brought to the altar where he begins to chant in the language of the gods. An assistant (a *fa shih*), sits at a table in front of the altar and asks the pertinent questions in the special language. Through the medium of the *t'iao t'ung*, the god gives his answers. These are recorded by the assistant, who in some cases is known to be illiterate. The assistant writes certain characters with a brush and ink on a special paper. Once the god's words have been recorded he is presumed to depart, and the *t'iao t'ung* comes out of his trance. He usually is wet with perspiration and sometimes bears injuries incurred while he was convulsed.

In some cases of illness, the instructions the god gives to effect a cure can be carried out immmediately by the family itself. The god tells the cause of the ailment and gives directions for the appeasement of the spirits, e.g., the family must burn a specific amount of paper money as an offering for them. In addition, the family may be directed to feed the patient some herbal medicine prescribed by the god to eliminate the fever caused by the presence of the demon.

[789] In some cases of illness, however, the god will inform the people that a cure can be effected only if the demon is not only appeased but also exorcised. In such an instance, it is necessary to call in a *fa shih* who has powerful means at his disposal to accomplish this feat, such as charms, a sword, and a whip with a handle shaped like a snake (symbolizing a mythical white snake which helps the gods fight the demons). In addition, the *fa shih* may make an agreement with the

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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158 159 755 756 782 The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 621 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[588] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The
[969] head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago
in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife
die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and
relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[302] [746] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the
Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve
as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy
sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty obser-
vances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[794] [776] [778] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of
Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung
temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in
charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two
Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and
irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has
begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

251 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively will-
262 ing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts,
744 the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasion-
[241] ally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many
756 distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who
[562] furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823
787 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

[354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally
[764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit
[464] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason
[434] and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien (master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick, many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not been vigorous recently because after 60, death is considered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness, the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are consulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for marriage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[755] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that described for the fortune sticks in the village temple except the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific personal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

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PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 759 178 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 759 465 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attending several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

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realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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MAGICAL RITUALISM

As indicated earlier in this chapter, magic requires a distinctive type of ritual in Hsin Hsing village supernaturalism. Perhaps the most important single use for magical ritual in the Hsin Hsing area is the curing of illness. As we noted above, the increased availability of Western medicine, especially since the early 1950's, the accessibility of practitioners trained in these ways, and the evidences of their success have turned the villagers more and more away from traditional practices, at least as the major and usually the initial source of help. Thus, the villager now tends to turn to the magical ritual only when he feels that modern science has failed him. However, it remains true that the traditional ritualistic patterns fulfill social, psychological, and even therapeutic functions beyond what is possible for the scientific.

The Diagnosis of Illness

Nowadays, when illness strikes, the villagers observe its symptoms and try to determine its nature. From experience with certain basic sets of symptoms, illnesses are distinguished as being either in the realm of the physiological or supernatural, and therefore requiring a cure within that particular realm. Thanks to the villagers' new awareness of the germ theory of disease, most illnesses are immediately classified as physiological and, therefore, within the domain of science and medicine—primarily modern, Western-style medicine rather than Chinese herbal medicine. Such illnesses as measles, rashes and skin diseases, trachoma, colds, stomach disorders supposedly resulting from bad food or water, and the like, all fall clearly into this category. To treat these illnesses, it is now customary for the villagers either to call in a Western-style practitioner or to choose their own drugs or patent medicines.

There are still a few illnesses or symptoms, however, which are likely to be considered of supernatural origin—caused by a demon or one of the many spirits which are believed to inhabit numerous natural places and objects. These supernaturally caused ailments are best treated by supernatural means. Some forms of insanity, and the frequently unexplained crankiness in children—especially in cases where the child's spirit is believed to have been affected by a "frightening" incident—fall within this area.

It is a commonplace among villagers that "No medicine can help if a person runs into something evil," for example, one of the demons known as *kuei* or *mo shen*. Consequently, when the practitioner of Western medicine is unsuccessful in curing an ailment, the illness is

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753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in 757 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers 177 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates 178 which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when [553 another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming 852] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and [967] then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she hobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes. She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

000 midwives are invariably females.

757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

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759 treated by particular kinds of practitioners. There is considerable agreement on diagnosing and recommended treat-
[177] ment in the village. For example, a Chinese herb doctor is Hsin Tien is best for a broken bone and a Western doctor, for eye infections.

755 In addition to technical treatment, religious worship and sacrifices are regularly added. If one practitioner of a certain type is not immediately successful, transfer to a different type is quickly effected. On many occasions, people will go to two or three different types at once for it is felt best not to take chances.

757 Self diagnosis and treatment is common. Although several older people in Talei Li are considered to have special medical abilities, most adults are amateur health practitioners. Itinerant salesmen leave bags containing

757 a variety of different traditional and modern medicines hanging on the walls in houses. People use what they desire and when the salesman returns he replaces missing items and charges for them although there is no charge if none have been used. Different salesmen provide different combinations of drugs. There are 134 such medicine bags distributed among 59 of the 66 village households.

758 Health care has greatly improved in recent years. People go to a doctor much more often than previously. A contributing stimulus is the care received by miners and their families under health insurance programs. A Western-style doctor, a Mainland army officer, started a part-time practice in a rented room in Erhlei two months before we left Taiwan. Sanlei has a mid-wife responsible for most births. However, in the past five years, a few women in the village have traveled to the hospital in Hsin Tien after the onset of labor, usually returning about four hours after birth. Births in a hospital are common among the women living in Erhlei. The half-hour ride on the bouncing bus with a laboring woman is sometimes most exciting, especially if she has already given birth to several children. On more than one occasion, a woman in labor has gotten on the bus and had the baby during the one hour round trip without ever getting off.

758 844

262 The final factor contributing to improved health and longer life is diet. Fish and pork consumption is at

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[057] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

852 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[23] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Othewise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30-40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

the rural people. Some forms of improved sanitation reached the rural areas through the schools and, perhaps more effectively, through the publishing of government edicts enforcing practices of sanitation. Semiannual government inspections forced villagers to clean up their houses and the villages twice a year. The inspections were carried out by the Japanese police and civil officials, and any family which did not pass the inspection was subject to fine and to reinspection, which meant that "the party was punished by having to clean up all over again." The policy of inspections instituted by the Japanese has been continued under the Nationalist Chinese regime.

During the latter part of the war, and especially after the restoration of Chinese rule to Taiwan, there was a marked increase in the incidence of disease, particularly communicable diseases. There was even a recurrence of cholera. This was a direct result of the poor living conditions brought about by the war and, with the coming of the Chinese government, a chaotic administration which was unable or unwilling to deal with health problems. However, the situation gradually began to improve after 1948 and 1949 when Taiwan became the new stronghold of the Nationalist Chinese regime. This improvement is evidenced by the general situation in the Hsin Hsing area. Beginning in the early 1950's the number of Western-style doctors practicing in the area increased. At this date, there are a number of such doctors, and the villagers consider their fees reasonable and within their means. The reason for this great increase lies in the different licensing practices of the Japanese and the Nationalist governments. Under the Japanese a man had to be a graduate of a medical school before he could practice medicine; under the Chinese government, the applicant is required only to pass a practical examination. This means that people who have worked in hospitals as aides or technicians and have had some opportunity to observe others practicing medicine may have accumulated enough knowledge to pass the examination and obtain a license. Therefore, while there are now a large number of licensed doctors practicing in the Hsin Hsing area, only a few who went to school in Japan have had formal medical training.

In addition to the great increase in the number of doctors practicing in the local area, in recent years there has also been a marked expansion in the number of private and public hospitals in the cities. These hospitals, which are sometimes very large, can accommodate many patients, house relatively modern facilities such as operating rooms, X-ray and other equipment, and provide modern drugs for patients. Although most of the patients treated in these hospitals are city people, village people sometimes go to them for treatment. They are usually referred there by a local doctor who is capable of diagnosing an illness as one requiring hospital care or who is honest enough to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

realize the limitations of his own medical knowledge and so recommend that his patient seek medical care in the hospital.

Besides these hospitals, the government has established a clinic or public health center in each district. The center in Pu Yen Hsiang has usually been understaffed or lacking a doctor entirely for long periods of time thus making it impossible for villagers to be sure they can obtain treatment at the center. The result has been that since some villagers wasted time going to the center without receiving treatment, most have come to ignore it completely.

The advent of modern drugs has also helped improve health conditions in the local area. Western-style doctors practicing in the area utilize a great many drugs in treating illness. Penicillin is now so plentiful and inexpensive that most of them are almost automatically expected to administer the drug to their patients. Indeed, the drug has become so well known in recent years and is so readily obtainable in Lukang drug stores that it is not unusual for ordinary villagers to buy it and administer it with a hypodermic needle to their own family members or, more often, to a sick pig. The drug stores in Lukang and other towns and cities which sell penicillin and other Western drugs also usually have a counter in the shop which features Chinese herbal and root medicines. These are still used by many Taiwanese as well as mainlanders.

In addition to the drugs or antibiotics, village families keep various kinds of Western-style patent medicines in the house for treating stomach upsets, headaches, colds, backaches, and so on. These are left with them on consignment by traveling medicine merchants. The medicines are separately wrapped and placed in a kit or bag, and every few months the peddler comes through the village, examines the contents of each bag, collects for what medicine has been used, and replenishes the supply. Many village families have several medicine bags on hand, each supplied by a different company.

A few times a year medicine shows featuring music, comedians, and even snake charmers, also visit the villages in the area. The companies which sponsor these shows sell two or three medicines for special illnesses. Such groups usually draw great village crowds, and their sales are large.

However, in spite of all the improved medical facilities available and the somewhat better sanitation practiced in the local area, there is a high prevalence of disease. Skin diseases are common, especially among children, and intestinal parasites plague both young and old. Trachoma is not uncommon, but the villagers do little to counter it. The disease usually strikes older villagers who are unwilling to spend the time and money necessary to obtain proper treatment. One trachoma victim, a woman of about forty, stated that although she

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

of the five lün, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty hall full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

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757 In addition to the professionals, there are local village amateurs. I cut my bare foot on a piece of bamboo in a rice paddy and it became badly infected. Two old villagers, an unrelated male and female, collected certain grasses in the mountain, chewed them thoroughly to make a soft wet lump which they applied to the cut as a poultice. The wound healed very quickly. Old age seems to be a prime characteristic of local medical specialists (non-professional) who are consulted regularly as experts.

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305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
463 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is
• 759 teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 757 177 178 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[8] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[9]

606 open conflict which threatens the harmony, and indeed the very existence of the extended family. Although obviously biased in favor of the speaker's point of view, the following excerpt from a village conversation indicates something of the intensity of the conflict between [761] the two women. The conversation refers to a recent death which a shaman interpreted as the result of a death bed curse.

> "You didn't know my mother-in-law, did you? My mother-in-law was terrible at cursing people. She used every kind of curse. But I was very good to her just the same. I took her food to her when it was time to eat no matter how far away from the house she was. So when she died my husband's father said to me, 'All right, she is dead now. It doesn't matter how much she cursed you. You were so good to her that from now on you will certainly have good fortune and live very well.' The mother-in-law of that woman who died could really curse people, and so I think that what the god said is right. That woman really didn't treat her mother-in-law at all well. Her mother-in-law was blind and bedridden, and she seldom went to look after her or feed her. She wasn't filial to her mother-in-law, and so naturally what her mother-in-law said came true. I think that if you are filial to your mother-in-law it doesn't matter how much she may curse you."

An occasional good-tempered daughter-in-law will ignore her mother-in-law's provocations, and not all mothers-in-law are sharp tongued and unreasonable curmudgeons. Exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Our field notes include references to bitter quarrels or complaints involving nearly every mother-in-law and daughter-in-law living in the village during the period of our study. So nearly universal is the tension between the two women that the villagers themselves regard a peaceful relationship as extraordinary. When one village woman let it be known that she thought that her new daughter-in-law was both considerate and hard-working the situation became a

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sim-pûa for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.
787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally,
192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li
• 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi-
354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien
(master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually
appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which
are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively
hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter
may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick,
many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both
medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male
and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not
been vigorous recently because after 60, death is consid-
ered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only
due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness,
the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are con-
sulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for mar-
riage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[756] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that de-
scribed for the fortune sticks in the village temple except
the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a
fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific per-
sonal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

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761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 763 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
795 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unsusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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talents are up to her mother's ambitions is hard to say, but with this possibility in mind, A-hong was not likely to smile upon a promise of marriage, even from the son of a wealthy industrialist.

I never found out how Tan A-hong discovered the young people's plans, but it was probably through an intercepted letter. After telling the Lim family about her daughter's deceit, A-hong set out for Taipei to confront Chun-ieng in the wine house where she worked. Lim A-pou, fearing a serious outcome, accompanied her. When mother and daughter met, there was a violent scene. Chun-ieng tried to explain that she had been putting gold away for her mother's support and that she and her lover planned to send her a generous allowance, but A-hong was too angry, and perhaps too frightened, to pay any attention. She slapped Chun-ieng repeatedly, accused her of vile deeds, and told her to "go die." Chun-ieng ran out of the room, promising her mother that she would kill herself at once. Lim A-pou, who must have seemed wildly incongruous in this setting, sent A-hong away and searched the building for Chun-ieng. The girl was not to be found, so A-pou rushed back to the village to consult with Lim Chieng-cua. A young woman's threat of suicide is not taken lightly on Taiwan—their alternatives are too few. As soon as he heard A-pou's description of the encounter, Lim Chieng-cua hurried to Tapu where he phoned relatives and friends in Taipei to organize a search.

Thus began a long tense afternoon of waiting. Tan A-hong sat in A-pou's bedroom, her mood varying between remorse and fury at the "thankless girl." In the midst of this anxious suspense, Li Guat-ngo, Lim A-pou's adopted daughter and Chun-ieng's childhood playmate, arrived to pay a visit to her family and in particular to Chun-ieng. Li Guat-ngo is now the wife of a moderately prosperous shopkeeper; she has two children, good humor, and a tendency to speak her mind.

She listened with concern to her foster mother's account of the morning's events, casting looks of utter disgust at Tan A-hong. When A-hong began a tirade of complaints against Chun-ieng, Guat-ngo refused to listen. "Do you want her to die? What if she does kill herself? What will you do then? She has been very good to you. You must have a very bad heart to talk this way."

Angered, Tan A-hong answered, "I have a bad heart? You wait until your children get older and treat you like she treats me. Then you'll know what I'm talking about."

Guat-ngo: "If my daughter is like her, I will consider myself very

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not an adopted daughter, she wouldn't be that way. She doesn't know whether you really need money or not. You have lost every dollar you got from selling your house now. Sure, that was your own money to do with as you wished, but you think about that, too. She is getting older and she is going to take care of you after she's married, but she won't be able to give you so much money to gamble with. Married or not, she won't be able to make this much money in a few more years. If you had another NT$10,000 to gamble with, you wouldn't be in this mood today."

As he left the room, Lim Chieng-cua added: "It is a rule that a child *must* be good to his parents, but parents have to treat their children decently, too. That is also a rule. You can do many things to your children, but there is a point beyond which you cannot go. You have already gone too far. You must stop pushing her. If she is dead, your next daughter is too young to be of any use to you. What will you do?"

Tan A-hong, crying quietly, went home.

Late that evening, Lim Chieng-cua was summoned to Tapu to receive a telephone call. One of the children was sent to tell A-hong. She was a pitiful sight as she walked into the house. Her anger was gone and her terror reduced her to listing absurd reasons as to why Chun-ieng would not kill herself. When Lim Chieng-cua returned, he told the assembled group that Chun-ieng had been found and was in good health. He didn't even look at Tan A-hong and retired at once to his bedroom.

Chun-ieng returned to Peihotien late the next day, and I'm afraid the villagers were rather disappointed by her appearance. She should have looked wan and dejected, but instead she looked happier than I have ever seen her. She amiably satisfied the curiosity of her neighbors, saving the details of her adventure for the family. Her skill in story-telling did not suffer even when the story was at her own expense. After running out of the wine house, she bought some poison and went to a hotel. She gave us a humorous description of the delighted, if bewildered, pedi-cab driver to whom she gave the last of her money. Just as she was about to take the pills, she heard someone in the hotel being called to the telephone and decided she should phone her lover in Tainan so that he wouldn't think she had killed herself because of something he had done. The connection was, of course, bad, so the boyfriend made her promise to wait until he could

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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get to Taipei to talk with her. She then spent an entertaining hour trying to locate some relatives who would come and pay her hotel bill.

The source of Chun-ieng's unexpected happiness was revealed more slowly. Tan A-hong's complaints about her daughter were not completely groundless. Chun-ieng often answered her angry words with scorn and disrespect. She did not trust her mother and sometimes treated her honest need for money with disdain—understandable perhaps, but not behavior expected of a dutiful daughter. Unfortunately, Chun-ieng *was* a dutiful daughter. The anguish which prompted her toward suicide was as much the result of her own self-blame as of her mother's imprecations. Lim A-pou told me many months later that this was not the first time Chun-ieng had contemplated leaving her mother (always with adequate financial provision), but each time she had felt sorry for the older woman and returned. The interview that took place with her lover when he arrived from Tainan seemed to provide another solution. He generously proposed that she give up her plan of joining him, but also give up her work in the winehouse. He would send her a weekly allowance (the sum of which caused many round eyes) and visit her as often as possible until the day when they could be married. After their marriage, they would decide what to do about her mother. This was indeed a fairy-tale ending if it had been in fact the ending.

We had the pleasure of Chun-ieng's presence around the village for several months. Her boyfriend visited fairly regularly and she occasionally went to see him. Needless to say, each of her trips was preceded by anxious ill-temper on the part of Tan A-hong, but Chun-ieng always returned at the appointed time. Their quarrels were either less frequent or less violent because they came to my attention only rarely during those months. After awhile, though, I began to see more of Chun-ieng in the Lim house, often in tears, and I heard more of Tan A-hong's gambling debts. It wasn't long before Chun-ieng started disappearing from the village for two or three days at a time. I asked the family about her absences and received noncommittal answers until finally Lim A-pou admitted that she had returned to work. When I asked what would happen if her boyfriend unexpectedly turned up, Lim A-pou told me sadly, "We are supposed to tell him she has gone to work as a hostess in a coffee shop and we don't know where it is." Whether her lover discovered her deception or whether Chun-ieng

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's *or tsu'z kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

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761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an [illegible]ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

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[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

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The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally.

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However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores.

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income.

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

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775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

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On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 [M8] In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. [656] Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 575 Mother Societies" organized to provide help for member families at the time of a death. Membership in a society is a kind of insurance which helps the bereaved family through the ordeal. The members of a father-mother society stand ready to handle the many tasks which must be carried out for the funeral ritual and burial, and each contributes a sum of money to the family of the deceased. This amount is calculated on the basis of the current cash value of a given quantity of pork.

764 575 156 Usually one or two male members of the society take informal charge of the many arrangements and tell each person just which tasks he should perform. This "organizer" usually is self-appointed and assumes this responsibility "because he likes to run things, regardless of the amount of time and work it involves." The village storekeeper, a member of the Shen *tsu*, is such a man. He is also a part-time farmer, the elected head of the village Farmers' Association unit, and a shaman. He "pushes himself" into many such positions and, although the villagers feel that he is rather aggressive along these lines and not necessarily the most capable person available, they nevertheless accept his leadership since he handles so many unpleasant and time-consuming tasks.

764 621 In addition to those in the father-mother society, almost all the other villagers hold themselves ready to aid a bereaved family. While the members of the society are called upon to do the most time-consuming and hardest work, any villager must be prepared to help. If a death occurs at harvest time, the village farmers may have to postpone the harvesting of the crops, because if a man is requested to participate in and help with the funeral, he can do nothing but accept and do the tasks assigned to him. The time of death is therefore a time of village unity. No matter what feeling may have existed between a villager and the deceased or the members of his family, the villager, if called upon, cannot refuse to help. "One cannot have bad feeling toward the dead."

764 Among the tasks assigned to the helpers are: notifying relatives and friends of the death; constructing an outdoor altar for the funeral ceremony; buying, preparing, and cooking the food which is served to all who participate in the funeral; sewing mourning clothes; and bringing the coffin from Lukang to the village. Villagers also help in digging the grave and carrying the coffin to the cemetery later.

For the most part the members of the family have little work to do, and at most the immediate family may be found helping to make mourning clothes or preparing vegetables for the cooks. Usually, they are kept busy mourning and wailing and greeting relatives and friends who arrive from elsewhere.

[292] During the period of the funeral and attendant rituals, the family of

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the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 764 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 536 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have 793 the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thia̍: , while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thia̍: . If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thia̍: , the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thia̍: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thia̍: , and they leave by way of the kōng-thia̍: . It is also by way of the kōng-thia̍: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thia̍: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thia̍: , but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

her a married daughter in the eyes of her parents and a daughter-in-law in her family of procreation. One might easily argue that this is the reason her parents do not need to be present at the ceremony which gives her the status of wife. And yet there is other evidence which seems to suggest that while the adoption does give the foster family certain rights in a child it does not mean that she is married in the usual sense. If an adult woman's husband dies, she ordinarily remains a daughter-in-law in her husband's family, but in the case of a sīm-pûa the child's parents may demand her return if her prospective husband should die before the second ceremony. It is also generally recognized that the parents have more interest in the welfare of a child who is a sīm-pûa than they do in the welfare of a daughter who is married. When an adult married woman dies, her mother's brother may show his displeasure at the treatment she has received in her husband's family by knocking several of the male members of the family on the head with his cane when he comes to inspect the coffin, it being expected of the husband's family that they will wait kneeling at the door of their house for the arrival of the deceased's consanguineal relatives. But, as we have already pointed out above, it never happens that a married woman's family will take her back into their household, and they certainly do not have the right to remove her from her place as a wife and daughter-in-law in her husband's family. In the case of the sīm-pûa, however, the girl's parental family does have the right to demand her removal if they feel that she is being mistreated, and this does in fact happen upon occasion, although it certainly is not

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

618 following a poem. However, none of these groups are a
602 very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

602 769 In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large [764] lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of <u>feng shui</u>[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

791 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family
823
787 burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

[354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally
• [764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent
823 sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two
764 of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased
787 many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit
[464] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason
[434] and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien
(master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually
appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which
are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively
hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter
may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick,
many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both
medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male
and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not
been vigorous recently because after 60, death is consid-
ered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only
due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness,
the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are con-
sulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for mar-
riage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[755] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that de-
scribed for the fortune sticks in the village temple except
the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a
fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific per-
sonal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 763 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

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775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

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765 777 775 Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

76 182 The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 Peihotien

people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

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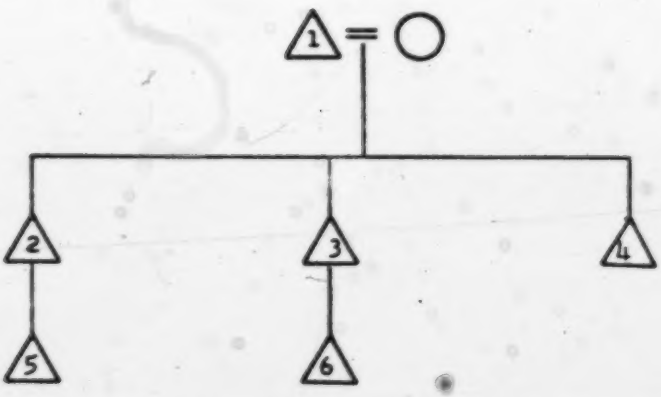

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

• [765]

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 165 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

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765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

765 in Sanlei Ts'un, one which possess good feng shui coordinates. A few bodies are placed directly after death in family burial plots but this is relatively rare. More often, if the family owns a burial plot with elaborate accoutrements, the body is first buried in the Wulei cemetery, exhumed after seven years as described, and the pot of bones is then placed in the family site rather than in an individual unique location.

769 Following the funeral, worship of the individual is directed towards a special side-wall table for the first twelve months. At the end of the year, the tablet, if any, and worship and objects are transferred to the regular ancestral table. The period following death is still considered a part of the normal life cycle for even though he is dead, the individual may continue to influence village affairs. He will probably be worshipped separately on his death anniversary for a number of years, the length of time varying in accordance with his age at death and the family status.

Eventually, worship directed towards an individual will be merged with that for the other ancestors and rather than on his own death anniversary, he will be worshipped on the regular days set aside for all ancestors in general. As the generations pass, memory of him will gradually be lost, and by the fifth descending generation, little more than his name will likely be left in the memory of villagers.

Decisions about the sîn-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

593 to punish him for being so unfilial. As one of our informants in
966 Hsiachichou explained,

> " When you have a child you want him to take care of you when you are old and bury you when you die, but it is just the opposite if you have to bury him. It is because you are mad at him for failing you that you beat him."

583 What, then, are the considerations which make a family more or
183 less likely to adopt a sīm-pûa rather than marrying their son in the
554 preferred way? Certainly one of the most important is that the preferred form of marriage is by definition the proper way for a man to marry. The sīm-pûa form of marriage is not disgraceful but neither is it as right, as natural, as the preferred form. The difference between the two is analogous to the difference between speaking a language with an accent and speaking without an accent. Both will do, but one is right. The very fact that it is the right form of marriage also makes the preferred marriage the more prestigious. It is favored for the same reason that a church wedding is preferred over a civil wedding in the United States. It is the socially correct way of marrying. Moreover, like a church wedding in the United States, it gives a family an opportunity for social display and conspicious consumption. Being able to pay a large bride price, receiving an ostentatious dowry, entertaining hundreds of friends and relatives, displaying to your neighbors and fellow villagers the extent of your social ties -- all of these give a family face. One might say that the preferred marriage is better than the sīm-pûa form of marriage for the same reason that a terazzo floor is better than a simple concrete floor.

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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

• 768 587 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

[464] [178] In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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594 stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go
618 through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and con-
596 tinues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged
618 kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group ex-
769 pands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets,
353 such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-
778 formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a
[167] family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

596 Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu*
618 remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical
769 unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious
[182] unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently
[182] necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

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596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not so interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

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According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new [782] home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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769 this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

797 769 177 178 The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life." [829]

769 597 Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor. [211]

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three
[525] brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[796] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
769 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[796] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

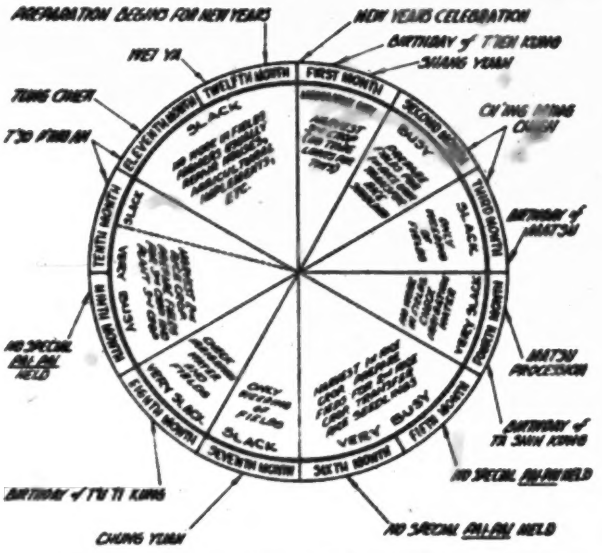

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1980–1981, has told me that Matsu is not considered

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[585] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[961] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The
head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago
in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife
die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and
relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the
Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve
as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy
sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty obser-
vances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[794] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[778] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of
Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung
temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in
charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two
Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and
irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has
begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

• 769 adults who died as members of the family. If two brothers of a previous
602 generation did not divide their parental household during their lifetime, one may find the head of the household's brother or his father's brother represented among the family tablets, or, if at one time there was a matrilocal marriage in the family, one may find among the tablets the names of the head of the household's father's sister and his father's sister's husband. In one unusual case we found hanging next to the family's altar a small red packet which was devoted to a man who had lived for a long time with a woman of the family after her husband had died. The family included this person's name among their tablets because he "had no family of his own and because he had been a member of our kê for a long time." The only deceased members of a family who are not represented among the tablets are those persons who died before they reached marriageable age. A person who dies as a child can only be included among the family's tablets after his own father and mother have died. If the family should happen to suffer some misfortune after their deaths, a shaman may suggest that this is because some previous member of the family who died as a child is angry, and it may then be necessary to add his name to the altar as a means of placating him. By this time, the person is always of a senior generation relative to the living members of the family, and so as a father's brother or a grandfather's brother it is only proper that he be honored as an ancestor. He cannot be so honored during his parent's lifetime because he is then of a junior generation, and also "because he was so unfilial as to die before his parents."

769 The ancestors are not considered gods, or, as one villagers
775 expressed it, "If they are gods, they are just little gods." Although they are thought of as having somewhat more influence over the course of events than the living, they are, like the elderly head of a kē, dependent upon the younger, stronger members of their family. Without descendants to make offerings of food and spirit money the ancestors are no better off than a man who has no sons to care for him in his old age. They are doomed to an existence as "hungry ghosts" who are vividly imagined as congregating outside temples where they beg for a living like destitute humans. A few villagers assured us that the ancestors "don't really eat those things," and that the offerings
769 are more "to show them that we remember them and respect them." But
[778] while such a conception of ancestral sacrifice has been common among the elite of China since Confucius, it is not the general conception
[774] of the majority of the population of Hsiachichou. Sacrifices made to a god are thought of as "gifts," or gestures of respect, but the sacrifices to the ancestors are generally considered a form of sustenance. The difference is nicely illustrated in the form of the two types of sacrifices. The sacrifices presented to a god never include rice or spices, only cooked but unchopped slabs of pork or a whole chicken or duck, but offerings to the ancestors are always presented in the form of a meal, the meat in various sauces, rice and rice bowls on the table, chopsticks, relishes, everything the same as it might be served to guests. Just how literally some of the villagers think of the offerings as meals is evident in the pains to which they

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors, the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

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709 602 577 their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

769 In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." [771] Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

769 fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relationship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be surprised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hŏu mĭ̄: and pāi mĭ̄:, "good fortune"

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
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589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[841]

589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."

[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

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Ong Mông-chi did not have to marry because he had the son given to him by his foster sister as a forfeit for marrying out of the family. His is an exceptional case, however. For most people remaining unmarried creates a very real problem. They must somehow provide for their old age and for their security in the next world. For men the most common solution is to attach themselves to a married brother's family, contributing their income to the support of their nieces and nephews. These children are then obliged to their father's brother in much the same way as they are to their father and will support him in his old age. This is the situation of the three unmarried elderly men who had no children, and, if they do not marry, the four younger men we have discussed will probably follow the same pattern. When we knew them in 1960 they were each included in the kê of a married sibling and contributed a large share of their income to that kê. The afterlife of these men is usually provided for by giving them a brother's child in nominal adoption. This child is then under ritual obligation to his foster father, and is expected to designate one of his own descendants to carry on the truncated line. If an unmarried man's brothers cannot spare a male child, he may be given a girl, in which case the girl is in the same position as any other only child and must make a matrilocal marriage that will allow her to fulfill her obligations to her foster father. This is what happened in the case of the man who did not marry because of a mental handicap. Unfortunately, the girl's husband later deserted her, and she was forced into prostitution in order to support herself and her children.

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*593 *562 *597 589 769 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different. Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as [604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent) adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter. The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their future they must do one or the other.

548 *597 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes. Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

[Information on kōng-thî̍a has been filed in category 778.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with [352] business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest [356] hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

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poor manager. Neither of these alternatives was agreeable to the Lims. They were too proud to divide, and the tension was too great for them to continue as they were. They chose instead to innovate, to compromise on an untraditional but still acceptable solution. Economically, the family now had two decision makers, but it remained one family, cooking joint meals on one stove.

For many months things were peaceful in the house of Lim. Lim A-pou no longer had reason to complain that Lim Chui-ieng was secretly buying special food for her own children. And, Lim A-pou was now free to reinstate the special sacrifices to the ancestors on their own death and birth days. Almost immediately after the compromise was reached, she also resumed the bi-monthly offerings of food and incense. For many village families these are the only days of the month when they taste meat, but the Lims can afford to eat meat without the excuse of a ceremony. Lim Chieng-cua had abolished the ceremony because he considered buying the required three kinds of meat on one day wasteful. To Lim A-pou, it was a necessity.

Even their neighbors noticed the new atmosphere amongst the Lims. Some of them noted it grudgingly, and some with real pleasure. But one woman, a woman who sincerely wished the best for the Lims because of her long friendship with the older generations of the family, told me, "A family is supposed to be like that, like they are now. The people in that family are all very good to outsiders, but they can't seem to get along with themselves. I'm glad that things have improved, but I fear that they are just getting along in the face and not in the heart."

Unfortunately, this woman's wisdom could not be denied. There soon was a quarrel between Lim A-pou and Lim Chui-ieng that revealed how thin the appearance of harmony really was. Again the relations between A-bok and his uncle seemed strained.

Why didn't the family simply separate and go their own ways? What possible good could outweigh the stress and dissatisfaction of their joint life? My husband and I have thought about this a great deal in the years since we left Taiwan and, as with any human predicament, have come up with no single answer. There is no formula for human behavior that takes the pride of the Lims into account. The very fact that most village families divide their household within a few years after their sons marry was a strong incentive for the Lim family not to do so. A-bok's concern about his fields, that he must keep other

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people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

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epilogue

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SEPARATE STOVES

A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

128 602 This chapter provides a picture of the family and larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal, [769] and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values, particularly the worship of ancestors, support continuation of the family along the male line.[1] Families are combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these general values are important, it will be demonstrated that compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and adoption are all processes which can be used to create and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units use these processes strategically to achieve certain goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of family head, particularly with reference to sex differences. A discussion of the forms and processes which change the family composition and their present distribution in the village completes the static picture of the family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific underlying values in the village, the cultural processes available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.
769

583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
861 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

597 562 842 improve her position in an extended household soon after marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

597 769 A second additional reason for the adoption of daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

589 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
162 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and
562

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of <u>feng shui</u>[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

602 of the deceased in the three lines were collected from
• 769 their various resting places and placed in the site and the subsequent burials of descendants of the three lines have continued, thus creating and maintaining a corporate group.

602 The meaning of the phrase, three descent lines, must be explained. In the original village in Fukien, a man had five sons. After he died, the five sons with wives and children separated into five families who all migrated to Sanlei. Descendants of each of the five continue to identify themselves as members of separate groups, each focused on one of the five brothers. Although villagers call each of the five groups a fang, the term has been translated in various ways in the traditional literature. Based upon work by Lin, Freedman calls fang a sub-lineage (1958:36) while H. C. W. Liu (1959:99) terms it a branch or sub-branch of a clan, literally "house." Use of fang in Sanlei does not seem consistent with these definitions but instead follows the pattern described by Cohen (1969: 167), i.e., fang is applied to patrilineal descent unit segments of various sizes and complexity even to the extent of labeling the nuclear family units in a single ta chia t'ing (extended household).

602 Villagers distinguish the collective descendants
769 of each of the five brothers as separate fang, each numbered in the original birth order of the brothers. Thus,

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
• 769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 596 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 596 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'ing) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 769 596 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58) since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

121
• 769 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by
596 Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

601 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure
596 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
596 by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307 1

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 842 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [574] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

769 596 782 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I, the founder of the compound, have certain rights of worship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events, 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

596 602 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

621 769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

596 841 620 Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

769 or special religious occasions, food sacrifices will vary in elaborateness according to the importance of the event. Paper money is often burned in a metal pot on the kung t'ing floor for the benefit of both gods and ancestors. Life crises events such as birth, death if not accidental, engagements, and weddings are all solemnized in the kung t'ing.

778 342 One should not believe however, that the kung t'ing is a cherished and sacred room which is always approached with reverence. It is a common room, second only to the kitchen in frequency of use. Bicycles and other valuable goods are kept in the room while pickled radishes and home-made soy sauce may be stored in crocks under the ancestral table. Children often play in the room and the ever-present chickens wander in and out leaving droppings. Since the room is frequently owned jointly by more than one household, no one person truly feels it is his responsibility to keep it clean.

771 In one sense, the room furnishes a clue to the general approach to religion found in the village; it is elaborate but not well-maintained. One performs all the proper rituals but one is skeptical about their efficacy. Everyone half-believes and half does not believe in ancestors, magic, and religion. Older people are more interested in religion than younger people and women are more interested than men although there is considerable variability related to personality in both instances.

Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

121 includes an incense pot but no ancestral tablets (1945:93).
• 709 Instead there is a general scroll on the wall to represent the ancestors. Hu (1948:32) notes that many people had no tablets, merely writing ancestor's names on pieces of paper and burning them in worship. Freedman remarks on the frequent absence of tablets in Hong Kong households (1958:83). In a general religious account, C. K. Yang (1961:39) also emphasizes the importance of tablets but claims that the simplest form of worship to ancestors might consist of the daily burning of incense to a symbol of the spirit "which was usually a wooden tablet or a portrait." Hsu states that every house in West Town has a household shrine (1967: 50) and that in every shrine there are two incense burners, one for ancestors and one for gods (1967:184). However, he also states that not every house has tablets; often there is only a large scroll (1967:184). Lang, too, discovered in a survey that worship of ancestors was performed by burning incense before either a tablet or a photograph (1946:162). She also cites an example of a retired official who worshipped ancestors after merely writing their names on a piece of paper (1946:163). Since these authors have not generally considered the direct significance of ancestral tablets versus the censer, the question can not be definitively answered at this time.

[728] My own data on the above point, both from Sanlei Ts'un and the City of Taipei,[7] reveals that the censers

121 but not the tablets are vital. That is, I viewed many
• 769 shrines that did not have tablets, but every shrine had
778 at least one censer and often had two or more. In place of the tablets, there may be nothing but quite often, there was the shou scroll which features 100 classical variations of the character shou (long life) or alternatively, a scroll with one large shou character in red.

769 In Sanlei, most shrines have at least two censers: one for gods and the other for ancestors. Each ancestral censer has a name, the family surname. Ancestral censers always have handles which villagers call erh tsu which means ears although alternative definitions of the word (Mathews, 1963:245-6) include ear, handle, and grandson of a great-great-grandson, certainly representing a long line of descendants. The censer contains the residue (ash) of burning incense sticks. It can be cleaned only on regular occasions with due reverence and is never fully emptied. It is believed thereby that the ash extends back to the first worship of the founder of the line. When a new worship center is established after a family division, the new censer will be endowed with some ash from the old censer (transferred from house to house in a red envelope) so that each censer maintains continuity with the past. If tablets are destroyed, new ones can be made. If the ash is lost--it is lost forever and misfortune is certain unless some can be obtained from the worship center of a cadet branch

• 769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

12] 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [n1] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

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769 (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines)
[171] are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

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592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 775

The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

181 842 554

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

[626]

581 842 597

876 of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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• 769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

765 in Sanlei Ts'un, one which possess good feng shui coordinates. A few bodies are placed directly after death in family burial plots but this is relatively rare. More often, if the family owns a burial plot with elaborate accoutrements, the body is first buried in the Wulei cemetery, exhumed after seven years as described, and the pot of bones is then placed in the family site rather than in an individual unique location.

• 769 Following the funeral, worship of the individual is directed towards a special side-wall table for the first twelve months. At the end of the year, the tablet, if any, and worship and objects are transferred to the regular ancestral table. The period following death is still considered a part of the normal life cycle for even though he is dead, the individual may continue to influence village affairs. He will probably be worshipped separately on his death anniversary for a number of years, the length of time varying in accordance with his age at death and the family status.

Eventually, worship directed towards an individual will be merged with that for the other ancestors and rather than on his own death anniversary, he will be worshipped on the regular days set aside for all ancestors in general. As the generations pass, memory of him will gradually be lost, and by the fifth descending generation, little more than his name will likely be left in the memory of villagers.

Ch'ing Ming Chieh (Clear and Bright) is celebrated during the third month sometime between the first and fifteenth.[5] The primary worship is of gods and ancestors with an important task of cleaning and decorating ancestral graves. At this festival, many kinship units larger than a single family gather to worship together and clean the common graves. Most people prepare and serve special cakes. Almost every household in the area participates with the exceptions made up of a few immigrants who do not have a family burial plot in the area. The day before Ch'ing Ming Chieh, about one third of the households build no fires and therefore, eat only cold food in remembrance, villagers say, of an event during the period of the "Warring States." On the day of Ch'ing Ming Chieh itself, many villagers who have migrated permanently to the city return to Sanlei Ts'un for worship and celebration.

The second most important yearly event in Sanlei is the Matsu procession which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month and as previously stated, is the only religious affair for which cooperative activities extend beyond the confines of Talei Li. Beyond the li boundaries, the cooperation in the touring entertainment and god's procession lasts only one day, but inside Talei Li as well as inside several other li in the Hsin Tien area, the celebration usually lasts three days. There are usually elaborate hired entertainment programs such as an opera, many dinners

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung
• 769 Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside
793 for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

796 known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and
• 769 any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a
775 common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

796 The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on
796 the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday
821 of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship
[782] affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful
[431] this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends
[562] and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event
[842] (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive
[875] long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to
[431] the 11 school teachers.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $580 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tru* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

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791 597 622 K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

• 791 789 All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

796 As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tzu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tzu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the lo *mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

121 The significance of religion in Chinese social life
• 771 has often been undervalued in the conventional analyses. In one of the first assignments in my formal university study of China, a noted sinologist had written:

> The Chinese have been less concerned with the world of the supernatural than with the worlds of nature and of man. They are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life . . . (Bodde, 1951:18).

Reischauer and Fairbank, in a classic work (1960:30), add that Confucianism was a "great ethical institution, which in a sense occupied in China much of the place filled by both law and religion in the West . . ." A similar thread of the insignificance of religion is woven throughout the accounts of Western scholars and is even more strongly a part of the literature of modern Chinese intellectuals (C. K. Yang, 1961:4).

The attitudes towards religion and the observances of religious rites and rituals found in Sanlei Ts'un would not support the above positions. I do not believe that Sanlei Ts'un is unique in its strong emphasis on religion as compared with other Chinese villages, i.e., I believe

121 most Chinese villages have a strong emphasis on religion.
• 771 I discuss below four primary reasons for this discrepancy between published accounts of its non-importance and the actual practice.

The first reason is identical to one contributing to the errors in interpretation of the role of women, the problem focus of this dissertation. In accordance with the concepts of Redfield (1956), every civilization has a "Great Tradition" found predominantly among the educated elite which is contrasted with a "Little Tradition" or series of "Little Traditions" found among the masses. The relationships between the two levels are problematical although almost all of the classical literature and historical records in China are devoted to the bearers of the "Great Tradition." In other terms, this has been succinctly stated by Reischauer and Fairbank:

> The common people who formed the mass of Chinese society did not bulk large in the cultural record, which has come down to us chiefly from the brushes of scholar-officials. Most Chinese were neither scholars nor Confucian gentlemen, and had very little, if anything, to do with officialdom. For the common people, Taoism and Buddhism still supplied the principle explanations of the cosmos and the family and village still were the focus of everyday living. But it is not yet possible to reconstruct with verisimilitude the daily life of the average Chinese villager in the pre-modern centuries. What we know most about is the educated, urban upper classes . . . (1960:383).

In respect to the practice of religion, it appears there is a significant difference between the elite and the masses. At least, even on Taiwan today, great differences

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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can be found between the religion of the masses, particularly in rural areas, and that of college-educated urban dwellers.

A second reason is due to a great difference in the structure of the typical Western as opposed to Chinese religion. C. K. Yang has discussed this difference on a structural-functional basis as the differences between "institutionalized" and "diffused" religion:

> In institutional religion, the theology, the organization of personnel, and the cultic symbols and practices are separate from the secular social institutions, thus making religion an independent social institution. In diffused religion, these factors have no separate institutional existence but are diffused into the concept and structure of several different institutions. In Nanching and in Chinese society as a whole, diffused religion represented the structurally stronger and more pervasive force in the lives of the common people (1965:192-3).

Western religion tends to be highly institutionalized as opposed to the strongly diffused Chinese pattern. An institutionalized religion is much more obvious to the cross-cultural observer. It will be demonstrated that religion in Sanlei Ts'un is diffused into many different aspects of social life as has been described in most ethnographic accounts of Chinese villages.

The third reason, also related to the difficulty of the Westerner in understanding Chinese religion and appraising its role in society, is due to the eclectic nature of religion in China. Eclecticism refers to the fact that Chinese religion is made up of elements from many

121 different sources including both Great and Little Tradi-
• 791 tions and also, that the Chinese are non-exclusive with reference to a commitment to a particular religion. It is not only possible to believe in two conflicting ideologies, it may well be prudent as I shall illustrate.[1] When exposed to a new religion, an individual may ask two central questions: (1) Is it the one true religion? (2) Should I become a believer? Man can never be certain of the answer to the first question but he does have control over his actions relating to the second. If the answer to the first question is no (the new religion is false), then the answer to the second is irrelevant (believing or not believing). However, if the answer to the first question is true (the new religion is the one true religion), then the answer to the second is crucial: a man can be a believer in the one true religion and be rewarded; or he can be a non-believer in the one true religion and be punished. Therefore since man has control over only one of the two questions, it is prudent to answer it in only one profitable way--be a believer.[2]

The above rational process could be applied to a series of individual beliefs or constellation of beliefs and in each case the outcome would be the same: become a believer. On several occasions, villagers asked how to be a Christian or perform Christian ritual. They had heard of Christianity and would like to add it to their belief

121 systems.
• 771

If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized: he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to
121 771 775 181 156 Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old son of the man who headed the largest extended family in

121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
• 771 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
795 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
181 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused
156 to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
771 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

121 but such an objective approach has not always been realized.
• 771 Many of the earliest Western studies were by Christian missionaries, a group not likely to be unbiased with regard to reports on religion. In one of the best known nineteenth century rural studies, Arthur Smith (1899:343) argued that the Chinese neglected the spiritual nature. Modern sinologists treat magic and religion as a single loose system (Gallin, 1966:232) or a complex of attitudes and beliefs (Kulp, 1952:284). The former separation of magic from religion and then labeling most items as magic and thereby superstition is not reasonable as a basis for declaring that religion is not important in China. C. K. Yang claims that because of the large numbers of magical practices and beliefs to be found in the study of Chinese religion which carry no ethical connotations:

> . . . The Chinese people were generally regarded as a superstitious lot who had yet to experience an ethico-religious life of a higher order. This view was most familiar to the Western world, as it was popularized for over a century by Western missionaries who found this situation to be wholly incompatible with the Christian faith and took it as the most convincing justification for their evangelical zeal (1961:3).

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that religion is very important in Sanlei village. There are few households in the village in which a religious act is not performed at least twice each day. Religion is used to bolster the family and the larger kinship organizations. Religious observances legitimize and mark key steps in the

121 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described
971 sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure
978 in the village. This building is the social center of the
621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple
978 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of
[796] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events.
[782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

769 or special religious occasions, food sacrifices will vary in elaborateness according to the importance of the event. Paper money is often burned in a metal pot on the kung t'ing floor for the benefit of both gods and ancestors. Life crises events such as birth, death if not accidental, engagements, and weddings are all solemnized in the kung t'ing.

778 342 One should not believe however, that the kung t'ing is a cherished and sacred room which is always approached with reverence. It is a common room, second only to the kitchen in frequency of use. Bicycles and other valuable goods are kept in the room while pickled radishes and home-made soy sauce may be stored in crocks under the ancestral table. Children often play in the room and the ever-present chickens wander in and out leaving droppings. Since the room is frequently owned jointly by more than one household, no one person truly feels it is his responsibility to keep it clean.

771 In one sense, the room furnishes a clue to the general approach to religion found in the village; it is elaborate but not well-maintained. One performs all the proper rituals but one is skeptical about their efficacy. Everyone half-believes and half does not believe in ancestors, magic, and religion. Older people are more interested in religion than younger people and women are more interested than men although there is considerable variability related to personality in both instances.

79 village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

791 One significant type of practice involves specialists in 823 feng shui (literally wind and water but usually 791 termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (negative) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs, 791 building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village 823 adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudi- 787 mentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
574 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
435 $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the cere-
[585] mony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for [78] pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

• 791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
193 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
79

771 183 182 79 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

182 771 796 Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-[554]overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

771 805 461 182 It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

• 771 182 Finally, during periods of ultimate crises, various aspects of religion and ritual emotionally support an individual. Although medicine may fail, religion or magic may work and if neither prove effective, there is the underlying concept of fate, i.e., all had been ordained at birth. By using magic and religion, one has attempted all possible avenues towards achievement of some goal.

805 sequence is repeated. Completion of life through the entire
791 cycle is a primary factor supporting the stress on the six-
805 tieth birthday for any person who lives longer than a full cycle is considered to have been necessarily favored by the gods. This belief in god's favor applies to males and females alike. The sixty-year cycle results from the interaction between three sets of factors which are each a complex religious concept with exceedingly intricate complexities and ramifications. Although each will be discussed briefly below in turn, it must be realized that little more than a cursory examination is offered.

805 The first set is related to the Chinese view of the
812 world as if it were bipolar for not only does everything have its opposite, opposites are both necessary and complementary to each other. "These opposites tended to merge into each other and even to become each the opposite of its former self" (Thompson, 1969:3). One of these principles, yang, stands for activity, light, heat, dryness, hardness, and masculinity; the opposite, yin, for quiescence, cold, darkness, humidity, softness, and femininity (Bodde, 1951: 21).

812 The eternal interaction of the above two general
82 principles, the yin and the yang, produce the wu haing (five
805 primary elements): fire, water, earth, wood, and metal (Bodde, 1951:21-2). The Chinese word haing, which sinologues have usually translated as element, is actually a

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

562 Avalokitesvara who "hears the complaints of mankind" (Eich-
776 orn, 1964:192). Although originally male, in about the eleventh century in China, Avalokitesvara becomes a female divinity who is the embodiment of beneficence (Eichorn, 1964:192).

562 In the practice of religion, although the majority
• 771 of religious functionaries are men, there have always been a number of temples and monasteries staffed entirely by women. In Sanlei, as in most other Chinese villages, women actually perform much of the ritual activities in spite of the value which specifies that they should be performed by men, especially the required ritual. One merely has to observe celebrants in any Chinese temple a few hours to find that a majority of the worshippers tend to be women.

Some writers have claimed that Confucius and Confucian doctrines are responsible for the lack of esteem in which Chinese women are regarded and the comparatively low position they are said to have in society (Smith, 1899: 305-6; Lang, 1946:42-6; Straelen, 1936:43) but the evidence is not certain. O'Hara, for example, cites a great body of Confucian teachings supporting the opposite position (1955; 1963). For example, O'Hara cites the stories of Confucius and his relationships with women (1955:163-4) in which he acceded to their wisdom. Confucius also taught that wives and favorite concubines were responsible for ruling the inner apartments and encouraging men to behave properly (1963: 79-80).

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's or *tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [792] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 546 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 764 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount [522] of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the [redacted] take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei
101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the
133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou
178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui
487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the
178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place
487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan
496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half
[829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down
823 track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place
775 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

775 that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this
823 time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

175 Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao.

175 Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally
634 unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political
[829] status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lǐn) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

769 The ancestors are not considered gods, or, as one villagers
• 795 expressed it, "If they are gods, they are just little gods." Although they are thought of as having somewhat more influence over the course of events than the living, they are, like the elderly head of a k?, dependent upon the younger, stronger members of their family. Without descendants to make offerings of food and spirit money the ancestors are no better off than a man who has no sons to care for him in his old age. They are doomed to an existence as "hungry ghosts" who are vividly imagined as congregating outside temples where they beg for a living like destitute humans. A few villagers assured us that the ancestors "don't really eat those things," and that the offerings
769 are more "to show them that we remember them and respect them." But
[178] while such a conception of ancestral sacrifice has been common among
[774] the elite of China since Confucius, it is not the general conception of the majority of the population of Hsiachichou. Sacrifices made to a god are thought of as "gifts," or gestures of respect, but the sacrifices to the ancestors are generally considered a form of sustenance. The difference is nicely illustrated in the form of the two types of sacrifices. The sacrifices presented to a god never include rice or spices, only cooked but unchopped slabs of pork or a whole chicken or duck, but offerings to the ancestors are always presented in the form of a meal, the meat in various sauces, rice and rice bowls on the table, chopsticks, relishes, everything the same as it might be served to guests. Just how literally some of the villagers think of the offerings as meals is evident in the pains to which they

769 fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relationship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be surprised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hŏu mĭ̍: and pāi mĭ̍:, "good fortune"

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

declining years, and it is of the utmost importance for a person to see that he will have many sons and grandsons to take him to the mountain when he dies. If, then, the son's wife does not become pregnant within the first year or two of marriage, her husband's parents begin to fear that the girl is barren. Her failure to show signs of pregnancy at the earliest possible time is also inevitably noticed by the family's neighbors, and someone is certain to suggest that this is a punishment visited upon the family for some former misdeed. Such gossip naturally arouses the husband's parents, and further exacerbates their own worries about their daughter-in-law's fertility. The man's mother then begins to chide her daughter-in-law who is already anxious for her own reasons. The result is a state of tension which grows in intensity as the months pass. If it is true that anxiety about fertility serves to make conception less likely, as psychiatric studies have suggested, the chances of the daughter-in-law's bearing children decline as the tension and anxiety around her increase.

If after eighteen or twenty months the girl is still not showing the signs of pregnancy, the family will often consult a shaman or fortune teller. Human fertility is thought of in Hsiachichou in terms of an arboreal analogy. Every woman has a tree with a number of red and white blossoms, the white blossoms representing the number of female children she will bear, and the red the number of male children. Should a woman fail to conceive and bear children it is probably because the tree is dying, the buds withering before they can come to blossom. There can be various reasons for this. It may be that the tree is

842 unhealthy as a result of a lack of nourishment, or it may be that the
755 tree is being attacked by some kind of ghost. If these baneful in-
• 715 fluences can be counteracted, the tree will flourish and the woman will be fruitful. The remedy in the case of an unhealthy tree is usually to prescribe herbal medicines for the woman, while ghosts are more often dealt with by means of rituals intended to elicit the aid of a benevolent
842 supernatural. One thus finds that the young married woman spends a
755 great deal of time and money seeking the proper herb and the intervention of potent deities. In observing the activities of a local shaman over several months we noted that only physical illness outranked worries about fertility as a reason for a person's seeking his services.

• 597 If a family tries these various herbal and ritual remedies and
755 their daughter-in-law still does not conceive, a shaman or fortune
842 teller may suggest that they adopt a daughter. As we have already mentioned, it is commonly believed that the adoption of a female child will stimulate a pregnancy. How the villagers rationalize this belief in terms of their own conceptions of physiology and fate we were never able to discover; they simply say that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." But whatever the rationalization, the belief is held with the greatest confidence. Even our more sophisticated informants agreed that the adoption of a female child will improve a woman's chances of bearing a male child. The reason for this confidence is not hard to see. Of a total of 27 village women who adopted their first child 19 (70 percent) did later bear children. One reason for these favorable

*583
*593 Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matri-
591 locally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male
556 children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sīm-pûa who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally de-
• [715] ranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be
[716] saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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775 this bit of local history: "Now I am a person who really doesn't believe in the gods, but sometimes I have to believe. Twenty years ago there used to be a lot more water in the river behind the village than there is now and a lot of people drowned there, but the people who drowned were always people from other places. No one from this [776] village ever drowned in the river except Ong A-cu's husband. This was all because Shang Ti Kung took care of us. When a boat turned over in the river another boat would set out to save the people from the capsized boat. It wasn't that they looked first to see if the people were from this village before they pulled them in, and yet the people from this village always were saved and the people from other places were the ones drowned. The reason Ong A-cu's husband drowned can be easily explained. He was a boatman and you could say that he caused a lot of other people to drown because his boat turned over several times. He broke one of Heaven's laws and so naturally he had to be punished. Besides, if he hadn't died then, the ghosts of the people he had caused to die would be coming back to call him all the time. So, wasn't it better that he drowned himself than to have all those ghosts coming after him all the time?"

The son of another boatman told me of an incident he remembered from his childhood: "Twenty years ago at the end of the eleventh month, the people living here kept hearing someone calling from the other side of the river for the boat to come and get them. This was always at night. But when we went to the river to answer the call, there wouldn't be anyone there. Finally, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, my father and I and some workers going to their fields were in the middle of the river when the boat suddenly sank nose first. An old man, a child, and one of the boatmen were drowned. After that, we no longer heard anyone calling at night for the boat. The ghosts had what they wanted."

Peihotien's ghosts are not confined to the river. Several have been seen near a particular bamboo grove, another has repeatedly been seen combing her long hair in the ruins of a pig pen. A quite comfortable room in a house near the village is rarely rented and then only to outsiders because of the unpleasant habits of the ghost of its former owner. According to the druggist in Tapu, ghosts don't really like people and avoid them as much as possible. It is because of this distaste that they are more frequently found in isolated bamboo groves than in busy streets, and in villages rather than in cities.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
837 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the [245] fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the [775] center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

121 systems.
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If a man were to apply the above approach to a series of beliefs, he would be required to accept and internalize some beliefs which are in direct conflict with others. This does not seem to present the problems it might require of a man socialized in terms of Western culture. That is, there does not seem to be the same strong drive for belief consistency, i.e., construction of what has been termed an integrated personality. Francis L. K. Hsu (1953; 1963) has characterized the Chinese personality as "situation-centered" by which he means that a Chinese reacts to his world as if it were compartmentalized; he possesses a segmented personality. "Principles which are correct for one set of circumstances may not be appropriate for another at all, but the principles in each case are equally honorable. In fact, the good Chinese tends to have multiple standards" (1963:2). "The individual feels no resentment against conforming and no compunction about behaving differently under contrasting sets of circumstances" (1963:2). This great difference in approach has seemingly confused Western scholars.

A man who repeatedly offers one opinion, then changes it to the opposite side and then again reverts to the original position is labeled "insincere" according to
121 Western principles. Liao P'o-li, the forty-two year old
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275 son of the man who headed the largest extended family in
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121 Sanlei, told me on many different occasions that he did
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715 not believe in ghosts or evil spirits. Nevertheless, I
181 saw him make sacrifices of propitiation to ghosts and evil
156 spirits and after an accidental death in Erhlei, he refused to come alone to my house to chat as long as he had to pass the body which was laid out in the courtyard. He said he was afraid of the evil spirits which were sure to be lurking near the body. When I argued that he claimed he did not believe in spirits and ghosts, he told me not to be foolish and he would not come until the body was buried. Liao P'o-li was a sincere man who did not believe in spirits in one set of circumstances but did believe in spirits in another. He will continue to oscillate between
121 these positions as situations change. I believe the West-
771 ern scholar is incorrect if he labels China irreligious on the basis of this process. Even though an informant may tell him, "We do not really believe these religious things," the researcher should observe his activities and apply a behavioral yardstick to accurately assess the informant's attitudes.

The fourth and final reason is due to a Western distinction between religion on the one hand and magic or superstition on the other. Gallin points out (1966:232) there is "so complete a mixture of religious and magical belief [in the village he studied] that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins"

Hsiang Lu (Censer) versus Shen Wei (Ancestor Tablet)

Although ancestral tablets are common throughout China, they are relatively rare in Sanlei Ts'un as a direct result of the Japanese occupation. Many tablets were destroyed along with the houses when pacifying the bandits and others were individually destroyed later in a deliberate Japanization process as part of an attempt to destroy any continued roots to Mainland China. The lack of tablets has had little effect on ancestor worship for Sanlei data suggest the hsiang lu (ancestral incense pot) may be more important for ancestor worship than the ancestor tablets.

On this point, the literature is somewhat vague. Although the ancestor cult and rituals have been described many times, the concentration has usually been on the shen wei (ancestor or soul tablets) rather than the hsiang lu. Many accounts of ancestral worship specifically note that there are no shen wei, but conversely, no account seems to note the absence of the hsiang lu although some do not mention it in the description of a worship activity. Gallin emphasizes the presence of the god's statues and ancestral tablets in the kung t'ing (1966:239). He also lists the incense receptacles in a list of other items (op. cit.) but in another section (1966:220) claims that one of the three ancestral spirits lives in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room[6] which suggests the censer is necessary. Martin Yang's description of ancestral worship in Shantung

The Desire for Children

181 842 769 795 The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social 181 842 554 security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided 181 842 597 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant [626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be un- 581 likely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few 842 acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. 397 In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
• 775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. [262] In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves. [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 705 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot-masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $500 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hain Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 787 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is interesting that these same village men do come home in April to celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

.1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu[1] temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet these and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 794 82 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

[782] [574]

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

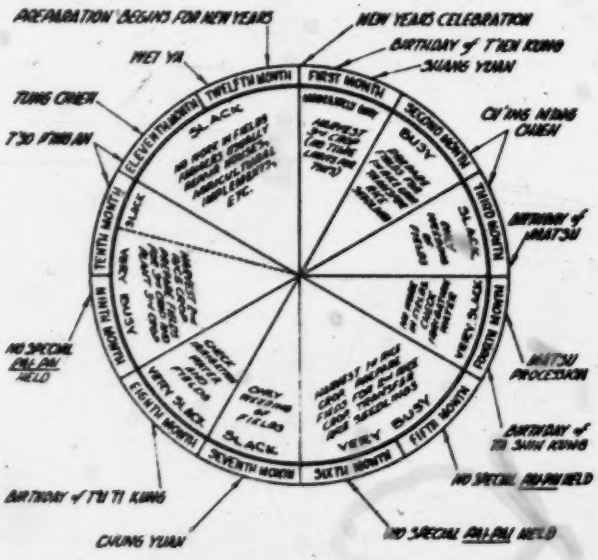

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[3] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[4] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[586] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[761] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[302] [796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[791] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[798] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

769 The ancestors are not considered gods, or, as one villagers
795 expressed it, "If they are gods, they are just little gods." Although they are thought of as having somewhat more influence over the course of events than the living, they are, like the elderly head of a k?, dependent upon the younger, stronger members of their family. Without descendants to make offerings of food and spirit money the ancestors are no better off than a man who has no sons to care for him in his old age. They are doomed to an existence as "hungry ghosts" who are vividly imagined as congregating outside temples where they beg for a living like destitute humans. A few villagers assured us that the ancestors "don't really eat those things," and that the offerings 769 are more "to show them that we remember them and respect them." But [778] while such a conception of ancestral sacrifice has been common among the elite of China since Confucius, it is not the general conception [774] of the majority of the population of Hsiachichou. Sacrifices made to a god are thought of as "gifts," or gestures of respect, but the sacrifices to the ancestors are generally considered a form of sustenance. The difference is nicely illustrated in the form of the two types of sacrifices. The sacrifices presented to a god never include rice or spices, only cooked but unchopped slabs of pork or a whole chicken or duck, but offerings to the ancestors are always presented in the form of a meal, the meat in various sauces, rice and rice bowls on the table, chopsticks, relishes, everything the same as it might be served to guests. Just how literally some of the villagers think of the offerings as meals is evident in the pains to which they

*583
*593 Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matri-
591 locally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male
556 children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sim-pûa who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally deranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be
[715]
[716] saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [591] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

3:Wolf E-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

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775 this bit of local history: "Now I am a person who really doesn't believe in the gods, but sometimes I have to believe. Twenty years ago there used to be a lot more water in the river behind the village than there is now and a lot of people drowned there, but the people who drowned were always people from other places. No one from this village ever drowned in the river except Ong A-cu's husband. This was all because Shang Ti Kung took care of us. When a boat turned over in the river another boat would set out to save the people from the capsized boat. It wasn't that they looked first to see if the people were from this village before they pulled them in, and yet the people from this village always were saved and the people from other places were the ones drowned. The reason Ong A-cu's husband drowned can be easily explained. He was a boatman and you could say that he caused a lot of other people to drown because his boat turned over several times. He broke one of Heaven's laws and so naturally he had to be punished. Besides, if he hadn't died then, the ghosts of the people he had caused to die would be coming back to call him all the time. So, wasn't it better that he drowned himself than to have all those ghosts coming after him all the time?"

[776]

The son of another boatman told me of an incident he remembered from his childhood: "Twenty years ago at the end of the eleventh month, the people living here kept hearing someone calling from the other side of the river for the boat to come and get them. This was always at night. But when we went to the river to answer the call, there wouldn't be anyone there. Finally, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, my father and I and some workers going to their fields were in the middle of the river when the boat suddenly sank nose first. An old man, a child, and one of the boatmen were drowned. After that, we no longer heard anyone calling at night for the boat. The ghosts had what they wanted."

Peihotien's ghosts are not confined to the river. Several have been seen near a particular bamboo grove, another has repeatedly been seen combing her long hair in the ruins of a pig pen. A quite comfortable room in a house near the village is rarely rented and then only to outsiders because of the unpleasant habits of the ghost of its former owner. According to the druggist in Tapu, ghosts don't really like people and avoid them as much as possible. It is because of this distaste that they are more frequently found in isolated bamboo groves than in busy streets, and in villages rather than in cities.

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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children
[245] among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her
[775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
• 776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
795 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[351] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

• 776 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
778 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

776 778 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

621 [423] The original settlers constituted a corporate group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[446] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
• 776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

• [776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

798 796 794 624 787 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple which belongs to the entire community. Each particular festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a committee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 624 794 Women have never been the pot master but they have regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

776 policemen. The originations of gods are diverse, some were pure spirits and some were real historical figures who have been deified. As stated by Gamble for North China and true for all China, "Buddhism, Taoism, Official, and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other" (1963:400). Certain gods are associated with certain purposes, i.e., they have functional specificity. However, across China as a whole there is a great deal of regional variability. "Even for certain national cults, the names and at times the functions of the same god vary from place to place" (C. K. Yang, 1961:10-11).

[532] There are 30 god's statues in the Sanlei temple. The names of all but two[3] are known by some villagers but only a few villagers could name the 28. On the average, men know more names than women and old people know more than the young. For some of the popular gods, everyone in the village knew the name, even small children. Associated with each known god is a story. The oldest temple god was brought to the village from Fukien with the original group of migrants while others have been installed periodically; some have been acquired out of surplus funds collected for a general festival; some have been donated by sworn brothers associations; and some have been donated by individuals.

776 787 During our study, a part-time miner was visited by a god in a dream who informed him not to go to work in the mine

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

121 562 79b I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

79b Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

Earth God Temple

• 77% According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) [184] is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods 77% (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui [34%] coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four [53%] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

77% It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. [184] Although there is great regional variation in details

776 there are hundreds of gods arranged hierarchically so
[194] that important gods have both attendants and troops. A villager approaches the gods much as he does ordinary governmental officials, i.e., gods and officials alike can be bribed, coaxed, tricked, etc., for gods are neither omniscient nor omnipresent.

T'u Ti Kung is the god in charge of the local community and thus, ranks low in the hierarchy. Villagers describe his status as somewhat similar to the local policeman. He keeps track of local events: births, deaths, farm production, business enterprises, marriages, etc., and has the power to influence the acquisition of
776 wealth. Therefore, supplications are made to him by farm-
782 ers before planting and thanks are given to him after harvesting. Some of the regular periodic religious events require worship at the T'u Ti Kung temple as well as the main temple and one event is devoted to his temple and the home. Some households make sacrifices at the Earth God temple as a regular part of their bi-monthly worship (1st and 15th or 2nd and 16th). About seven or eight times each month (estimated) individual villagers perform unscheduled worship activities for personal reasons at the T'u Ti Kung temple.

782 The usual form of worship is to face the altar, light three incense sticks, bow the head, hold the sticks between the two closed hands palms touching at chest level,

782 pai pai[4] three times, and then insert the sticks in the incense pot.[5] Then the whole ritual is repeated while facing away from the temple to invite any passing gods to come in and be worshipped except that the incense sticks are stuck in the ground about twenty feet from the shrine door. Worship at the main temple is nearly identical with the exception that three sticks may be placed in the pot in front of each of the three altars and the final outside worship is in the doorway with the sticks placed in the pot hanging on the wall outside. The twenty-foot distance at the T'u Ti Kung temple illustrates the general attitude towards gods for the sticks are stuck in the ground so far away from the earth god temple in order to make T'u Ti Kung think his temple is as large as the main Temple. If food and wine sacrifices are part of the worship, they are placed in front of the altar before the pai pai and are left long enough for the god or gods to eat as much as desired. All left-overs are returned home for family consumption, another indication of a rational and reasonable approach to religion. Statements to the gods are usually spoken but in a low voice. It is possible to stand close and hear the conversation but some statements are quite private and would embarrass the worshippers to have them overheard.

• 776 Legend states, according to most villagers, that T'u Ti Kung has a wife, T'u Ti Po. He had wanted to make

776 everyone prosperous but she argued that then there would be no one left to carry her sedan chair. She won the argument and many people therefore remain poor and consequently, villagers refuse to worship her. They all agree that most women do have a similar ability to influence their husband's behavior.

Miscellaneous Holy Places

778 Some years ago, a set of human bones was found under the bridge at the border of Erhlei and Sanlei. A general collection was made and the bones were interred on the site in a small shrine where people worship periodically as [753] needed, especially women who have sick children. The attitude seems to be that the spirit causes trouble such as sickness unless periodically propitiated.

In back of Liao Kan-yi's house (head of the major temple committee and owner of the oldest village store) is a special holy rock installed by his grandfather. No one remembers the reason for worshipping the rock, but on the first and fifteenth of each month, his family worships it with food sacrifices and three incense sticks. A younger grandson is often delegated the task. There are several trees and other rocks at which special worship is made. For example, some years ago a boy fell on a rock and was [782] in a coma for several days. His mother worshipped at the rock on which he fell and promised that if her son got well

796 than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu [776] festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin [535] Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

779 As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

79 There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

783 796 176 [171] [184]

frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

783 796 176

Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
796 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
513 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[782] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 There are many taboos for a pregnant woman such as 776 the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all [356] during pregnancy. The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of potentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place in the regular bedroom.

An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, religious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hospital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

There is a whole host of other taboos for the pregnant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes, etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decoratrd with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 705 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

796 796 821 the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

796 562 [801] The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

796 782 [262] Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

796 796 The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

return until after New Year although part of their responsibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

For most of the above events, although details vary, worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers, and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible, there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

562 well as illustrated by the fact that they have no "face" to protect and that only men were admitted to the traditional examination system. There are many notable exceptions however. Many women hold high political offices in Taiwan today and throughout history, there have been periodic Chinese empresses as rulers of the kingdom and more often, females existing as powers behind the throne, engaging in palace intrigues and influencing men.[7] To my knowledge, only one period in Chinese history prior to the present was witness to significant efforts to establish the equality of women to men. During the Taiping rebellion, the rebels claimed that:

> Women, like men, . . . could take the state examinations and could hold civil or military offices; there were special female contingents in the Taiping army. Foot binding, so common among the higher classes since the twelfth century, was strictly forbidden, as was prostitution; white slavery and rape was punished by death. Monogamy was obligatory; women and girls who did not have the protection of male family members were particularly taken care of (Franke, 1958:47-64).

Both the Nationalists in Taiwan and the Communists on the Mainland, following the lead advocated by Sun Yat-sen, are promoting the establishment of the equality of women.

562 • 716 As we have seen, there are several females numbered among the most important dieties in the Chinese pantheon of gods. It appears that currently, two of the most important gods in Taiwan are females, Kuan Yin and Ma Tzu. The degree of emphasis on female gods in China is revealed by the fact that Kuan Yin is the Chinese name for the male Indian god

[7] [This should be footnote 6--Analyst]

562 Avalokitesvara who "hears the complaints of mankind" (Eich-
776 orn, 1964:192). Although originally male, in about the eleventh century in China, Avalokitesvara becomes a female divinity who is the embodiment of beneficence (Eichorn, 1964:192).

562 In the practice of religion, although the majority
771 of religious functionaries are men, there have always been a number of temples and monasteries staffed entirely by women. In Sanlei, as in most other Chinese villages, women actually perform much of the ritual activities in spite of the value which specifies that they should be performed by men, especially the required ritual. One merely has to observe celebrants in any Chinese temple a few hours to find that a majority of the worshippers tend to be women.

Some writers have claimed that Confucius and Confucian doctrines are responsible for the lack of esteem in which Chinese women are regarded and the comparatively low position they are said to have in society (Smith, 1899: 305-6; Lang, 1946:42-6; Straelen, 1936:43) but the evidence is not certain. O'Hara, for example, cites a great body of Confucian teachings supporting the opposite position (1955; 1963). For example, O'Hara cites the stories of Confucius and his relationships with women (1955:163-4) in which he acceded to their wisdom. Confucius also taught that wives and favorite concubines were responsible for ruling the inner apartments and encouraging men to behave properly (1963: 79-80).

0007 As a term paper project in my undergraduate class, the late Joseph Payne conducted 50 surveys of ancestral shrines in the city of Taipei and found only 37 had ancestral tablets but all 50 had censers.

[776]8 The question as to whether or not Confucianism is a religion has not yet been settled (C.K.Yang,1967:26-7). Villagers believe that Confucius is a god who has the power to do good.

9 "Bad-hearted" is a literal translation. The idea which is conveyed seems to be a combination of insincerity and impropriety. On the other hand, a "good-hearted" person is usually one who does the right thing at the right time, quietly and modestly.

10 When invited to a wedding, the guest is expected to pay an amount in cash (enclosed in a red envelope) which is sufficient to cover the cost of his food and drink. The size of the donation which is proper varies but an informal communication system conveys the amount. I use donation advisedly for in practice, one often does not recieve the formal invitation until after the donation has been delivered.

Chapter VIII: The Life Cycle

1 Subsequent to the completion of the study, the change to nine years has been officially inaugurated.

2 The children sleep in bed with their parents until about age ten (See subsequent section of this chapter).

3 He was often consulted by other villagers with regard to the accuracy of some line of poetry or quotation from the classics.

4 Wine houses serve drinks and food along with entertainment by prostitutes. Although use is made of the prostitutes, many trips are merely to drink, eat, and joke with the girls while sitting at a table with male friends.

5 There are a very few wealthier families who celebrate a man's fiftieth birthday.

[886]6 Over age 60, everyone is considered to be old. Some people argue that old age commences at age 50.

7 This would mean that the 60th, 80th, and 100th are more important than the 70th or 90th although the increment of importance added by the greater age overwhelms the differences from the belief in numbers.

8 No one was sure what would be the nature of a ceremony for a married person who died young without having any children. The only cases of married barren people in recent memory were all those who married late in life and were both poor and with a small network of kinsmen. The ceremonies in each case were simple but this could be related to the latter two factors rather than the lack of descendants alone.

[illegible]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 574 [431] [272] ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

585 581 [581] [612] Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 [585] [799] On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] [484] [493] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

*597 *562 *121 their female children. A first born daughter in a childless family was of value because she might be needed to substitute for a male, but when there were male children a daughter's value in her natal home was very much qualified. We therefore find that while very few later born males were given away in adoption, the great majority of later born female children were given away in adoption. Of 79 later born male children only 7 (9 percent) were given away, as compared with 41 (70 percent) of 59 later born female children. The only important exceptions were those female children born into families with male children but no female children. Although such girls were not valued for their potential of bringing a son-in-law into the family, they were often needed to help with household chores and child care with the result that they were not given in adoption as frequently as other later born females.

When asked why they gave female children in adoption villagers will occasionnally mention what seems to be impractical and sometimes personal considerations. One woman told us that she gave away one of her girls "because she was such a difficult child," and another woman said that she had given away two of her daughters "because everyone was teasing [me] for running a girl's club." There were also several villagers who told us that they had given away a female child because the girl "was sick all the time and must have had a sīm-pûa mī:" it being a common belief that a child with an "adopted daughter fate" will become ill if her fortune is not recognized. But while these and other such reasons are mentioned, one is much more impressed by the pragmatic way in which

*597 *562 178 recent years the rate of female adoption has dropped considerably, but it still remains much higher than the rate of male adoption. Among 144 boys born after 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou we find only 4 (3 percent) were adopted sons, while by comparison we find that of 160 village girls born during the same period of time 38 (24 percent) were adopted daughters.

*597 When asked why they had adopted female children village informants gave a variety of explanations. One village mother told us she had adopted one of her daughters simply because she was fond of the child, and as best we can judge this probably was her primary reason for the adoption. The woman was reputed to be particularly fond of children, and as she had been the child's wet nurse she had had a chance to become attached to her. In several other instances the reasons for adoption seem to have been loneliness and a fear of isolation on the part of elderly women. One woman told us that she had adopted a girl in her old age because all of her own children had grown up "and it was so quiet and dull around the house." We were also told that two families had adopted girls "in order to change the family's fortune" after several of their own children had died, it being generally believed that the adoption of a female child will somehow insure the good health of a family's later born children. But while these and a multitude of other considerations undoubtedly play a part in decisions about female adoption, the reports of the villagers and certain regularities in the timing of their decisions indicate that most adoptions are the result of one or more of three salient considerations.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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626 The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) 793 from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with nice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties
[431] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in-
[574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair
[180] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the
[777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:25) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

[P. 148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's *or tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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621 578 771 778 556 422 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers [775] more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned [753] Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a [761] bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the [777] supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. [756] It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

777 787 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

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796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

[211] The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor.

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

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796 788 776 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

796 798 634 621 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The 794 796 634 management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. 796 634 Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Maulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiⁿ:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
• 778
342 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a new house the kōng-thiⁿ: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiⁿ:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiⁿ:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
233 kōng-thiⁿ:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778
342 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ: is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiⁿ: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
654 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiⁿ:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thia̍: , the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thia̍: . When a house is new and inhabited by a single kè, the kōng-thia̍: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kè, the kōng-thia̍: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thia̍: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thia̍: . As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thia̍: and its

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tru Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[551] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

776 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
778 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

776 installed in a small temple. They also brought an earth
• 778 god statue (T'u Ti Kung) which was established in another very small temple. Both temples have remained important in the village through to the present. About 30 years after the settlement was established, a large temple was built. It was destroyed in a 1943 typhoon and rebuilt after World War II.

621 The original settlers constituted a corporate
[423] group who cleared and cultivated the land in shares. Some years passed before the jointly-owned land was divided among the 18 share holders. In essence, the community constituted a single surname village, not unlike the description furnished for many communities in Southeast China where it may be considered to have originated (Freedman, 1958). No other village in the li was a single surname village. Moreover, it appears that the settlers in other Talei villages came from a variety of villages in Mainland China rather than one. Sanlei has always maintained a higher level of integration and cooperation than surrounding villages. Although almost all early settlers were surnamed Liao, they were not all able to specify their degree or details of relationship. The story of the eighteen shareholders and the problems they encountered are widely known to villagers although there is some dispute over minor details. Anyone who has lived in the village a year or two will be able to repeat the

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and parmanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[829] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major 778 794 623 temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the spcial committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

121 971 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure 778 621 in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple 778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of [796] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. [782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

778 some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.
[782]

778 On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin
554 board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list
203 of donations for its construction. A report of collections
794 and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

787 There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

793 There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

778 796 794 624 787 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple which belongs to the entire community. Each particular festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a committee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 624 794 [796] Women have never been the pot master but they have regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

796 rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of
[556] items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

• 778 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its
674 opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Main-
782 lander soldiers. On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

Earth God Temple

77% According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) [184] is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods 778 (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four [34%] [53Z] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

77% It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. [114] Although there is great regional variation in details

776 everyone prosperous but she argued that then there would be no one left to carry her sedan chair. She won the argument and many people therefore remain poor and consequently, villagers refuse to worship her. They all agree that most women do have a similar ability to influence their husband's behavior.

Miscellaneous Holy Places

778 Some years ago, a set of human bones was found under the bridge at the border of Erhlei and Sanlei. A general collection was made and the bones were interred on the site in a small shrine where people worship periodically as [753] needed, especially women who have sick children. The attitude seems to be that the spirit causes trouble such as sickness unless periodically propitiated.

In back of Liao Kan-yi's house (head of the major temple committee and owner of the oldest village store) is a special holy rock installed by his grandfather. No one remembers the reason for worshipping the rock, but on the first and fifteenth of each month, his family worships it with food sacrifices and three incense sticks. A younger grandson is often delegated the task. There are several trees and other rocks at which special worship is made. For example, some years ago a boy fell on a rock and was [782] in a coma for several days. His mother worshipped at the rock on which he fell and promised that if her son got well

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently [illegible]nstructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

769 or special religious occasions, food sacrifices will vary in elaborateness according to the importance of the event. Paper money is often burned in a metal pot on the kung t'ing floor for the benefit of both gods and ancestors. Life crises events such as birth, death if not accidental, engagements, and weddings are all solemnized in the kung t'ing.

778 342 One should not believe however, that the kung t'ing is a cherished and sacred room which is always approached with reverence. It is a common room, second only to the kitchen in frequency of use. Bicycles and other valuable goods are kept in the room while pickled radishes and home-made soy sauce may be stored in crocks under the ancestral table. Children often play in the room and the ever-present chickens wander in and out leaving droppings. Since the room is frequently owned jointly by more than one household, no one person truly feels it is his responsibility to keep it clean.

771 In one sense, the room furnishes a clue to the general approach to religion found in the village; it is elaborate but not well-maintained. One performs all the proper rituals but one is skeptical about their efficacy. Everyone half-believes and half does not believe in ancestors, magic, and religion. Older people are more interested in religion than younger people and women are more interested than men although there is considerable variability related to personality in both instances.

includes an incense pot but no ancestral tablets (1945:93). [12] [769] Instead there is a general scroll on the wall to represent the ancestors. Hu (1948:32) notes that many people had no tablets, merely writing ancestor's names on pieces of paper and burning them in worship. Freedman remarks on the frequent absence of tablets in Hong Kong households (1958:83). In a general religious account, C. K. Yang (1961:39) also emphasizes the importance of tablets but claims that the simplest form of worship to ancestors might consist of the daily burning of incense to a symbol of the spirit "which was usually a wooden tablet or a portrait." Hsu states that every house in West Town has a household shrine (1967: 30) and that in every shrine there are two incense burners, one for ancestors and one for gods (1967:184). However, he also states that not every house has tablets; often there is only a large scroll (1967:184). Lang, too, discovered in a survey that worship of ancestors was performed by burning incense before either a tablet or a photograph (1946:162). She also cites an example of a retired official who worshipped ancestors after merely writing their names on a piece of paper (1946:163). Since these authors have not generally considered the direct significance of ancestral tablets versus the censer, the question can not be definitively answered at this time.

[728] My own data on the above point, both from Sanlei Ts'un and the City of Taipei,[7] reveals that the censers

121 769 778 but not the tablets are vital. That is, I viewed many shrines that did not have tablets, but every shrine had at least one censer and often had two or more. In place of the tablets, there may be nothing but quite often, there was the shou scroll which features 100 classical variations of the character shou (long life) or alternatively, a scroll with one large shou character in red.

769 In Sanlei, most shrines have at least two censers: one for gods and the other for ancestors. Each ancestral censer has a name, the family surname. Ancestral censers always have handles which villagers call erh tsu which means ears although alternative definitions of the word (Mathews, 1963:245-6) include ear, handle, and grandson of a great-great-grandson, certainly representing a long line of descendants. The censer contains the residue (ash) of burning incense sticks. It can be cleaned only on regular occasions with due reverence and is never fully emptied. It is believed thereby that the ash extends back to the first worship of the founder of the line. When a new worship center is established after a family division, the new censer will be endowed with some ash from the old censer (transferred from house to house in a red envelope) so that each censer maintains continuity with the past. If tablets are destroyed, new ones can be made. If the ash is lost--it is lost forever and misfortune is certain unless some can be obtained from the worship center of a cadet branch

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
621 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
79

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
79% less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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We will also see that although some religious or magical act is performed in the village almost every day of the week, either by a family or by the village as a whole, this is not necessarily an indication of piety and veneration as the West understands religion. For the Taiwanese villager, the observances are not necessarily sacred only; many villagers have pointed out that they "make life interesting and exciting, and the people look forward to them with great enthusiasm." Not only do such activities have a significant function in Taiwanese society but, as we shall see, many villagers are extremely aware of the importance of many rituals to the continuity of their society and patterns of living.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AND ACTIVITIES

The villagers' practices are not based on a strong belief in any single concept of the supernatural. There is, in fact, so complete a mixture of religious and magical beliefs in the village that it is often difficult to determine where one form ends and another begins. While elements of popular Taoism and ancestor worship are the strongest and most apparent, there is a clearly Buddhist influence, and the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are extremely evident. There are also important elements of animism out of which has "grown a complex of attitudes and values" (Kulp, 1925:284) and a system of divination by which the "spirits of wind and water" (Kulp, 1925:284) may be controlled; this is referred to as geomancy (*feng-shui*).

The funeral ceremony (described in Chapter 7) clearly shows the presence of this admixture in the villagers' beliefs. There are elements of Taoism and Buddhism in the ritual of the journey of the spirit of the dead to the underworld for final judgment, punishment, and rebirth in the next world, but there are also evident Confucian teachings and even remnants of animistic beliefs. It is perhaps most accurate to say that all these beliefs have been combined into a single loose system, and the average believer makes no attempt to define or distinguish the different elements of the whole.

Confucianism

While Confucianism is closely integrated within the religious system, there is no formal cult or official Confucian ritual in Hsin Hsing village. Although there is a Confucian temple in Lukang, usually only residents of that city worship there.[1] However, the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism are present in the rules of correct behavior which have been passed down from generation to generation of villagers. Filial piety, respect for age and authority, and worship of

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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*ja shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain decisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble. 231 435

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner. 231 782 796 [594]

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats. 235 [262]

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplesly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called. [136] [232]

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the [462]

-1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

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[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P.148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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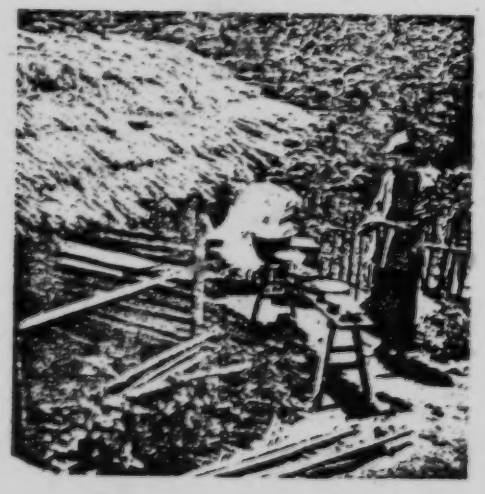

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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846 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can
612 afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go
784 outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under
845 other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do
784 not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the
782 husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Haing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[9] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo [782] pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 484 178 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is interesting that these same village men do come home in April to celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 769 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work. [525]

796 782 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[796] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 768 [796] The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 776 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [778] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [782] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 794 627 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each [782] village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable [574] dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[5] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[6]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

*583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. *583 591 606 578 Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he [782] recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

159 291 over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of 159 Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled 302 tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

596 159 782 769 [115] Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for [776] each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve 159 what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-753 cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the 776 almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the [787] Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

159 596 Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

769 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I,
596 the founder of the compound, have certain rights of wor-
782 ship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events,
562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

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[562]

2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

121 771 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure 778 in the village. This building is the social center of the 621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple 778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of [796] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. [782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily.

778 some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

778 554 203 794 On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

787 There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

793 There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

796 rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of [556] items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

• 782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

778 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its
674 opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Main-
782 lander soldiers. On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

776 there are hundreds of gods arranged hierarchically so
[184] that important gods have both attendants and troops. A villager approaches the gods much as he does ordinary governmental officials, i.e., gods and officials alike can be bribed, coaxed, tricked, etc., for gods are neither omniscient nor omnipresent.

T'u Ti Kung is the god in charge of the local community and thus, ranks low in the hierarchy. Villagers describe his status as somewhat similar to the local policeman. He keeps track of local events: births, deaths, farm production, business enterprises, marriages, etc., and has the power to influence the acquisition of
776 wealth. Therefore, supplications are made to him by farm-
• 782 ers before planting and thanks are given to him after harvesting. Some of the regular periodic religious events require worship at the T'u Ti Kung temple as well as the main temple and one event is devoted to his temple and the home. Some households make sacrifices at the Earth God temple as a regular part of their bi-monthly worship (1st and 15th or 2nd and 16th). About seven or eight times each month (estimated) individual villagers perform unscheduled worship activities for personal reasons at the T'u Ti Kung temple.

782 The usual form of worship is to face the altar, light three incense sticks, bow the head, hold the sticks between the two closed hands palms touching at chest level,

782 pai pai[4] three times, and then insert the sticks in the incense pot.[5] Then the whole ritual is repeated while facing away from the temple to invite any passing gods to come in and be worshipped except that the incense sticks are stuck in the ground about twenty feet from the shrine door. Worship at the main temple is nearly identical with the exception that three sticks may be placed in the pot in front of each of the three altars and the final outside worship is in the doorway with the sticks placed in the pot hanging on the wall outside. The twenty-foot distance at the T'u Ti Kung temple illustrates the general attitude towards gods for the sticks are stuck in the ground so far away from the earth god temple in order to make T'u Ti Kung think his temple is as large as the main Temple. If food and wine sacrifices are part of the worship, they are placed in front of the altar before the pai pai and are left long enough for the god or gods to eat as much as desired. All left-overs are returned home for family consumption, another indication of a rational and reasonable approach to religion. Statements to the gods are usually spoken but in a low voice. It is possible to stand close and hear the conversation but some statements are quite private and would embarrass the worshippers to have them overheard.

776 Legend states, according to most villagers, that T'u Ti Kung has a wife, T'u Ti Po. He had wanted to make

776 everyone prosperous but she argued that then there would be no one left to carry her sedan chair. She won the argument and many people therefore remain poor and consequently, villagers refuse to worship her. They all agree that most women do have a similar ability to influence their husband's behavior.

Miscellaneous Holy Places

778 Some years ago, a set of human bones was found under the bridge at the border of Erhlei and Sanlei. A general collection was made and the bones were interred on the site in a small shrine where people worship periodically as [753] needed, especially women who have sick children. The attitude seems to be that the spirit causes trouble such as sickness unless periodically propitiated.

In back of Liao Kan-yi's house (head of the major temple committee and owner of the oldest village store) is a special holy rock installed by his grandfather. No one remembers the reason for worshipping the rock, but on the first and fifteenth of each month, his family worships it with food sacrifices and three incense sticks. A younger grandson is often delegated the task. There are several trees and other rocks at which special worship is made. For example, some years ago a boy fell on a rock and was [782] in a coma for several days. His mother worshipped at the rock on which he fell and promised that if her son got well

778 she would worship there twice each month the rest of her
[782] life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

778 The final set of holy places are the various tombs
764 for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excel-
[435] lent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was con-
structed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.).
[769] villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the vil-
778 lage (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main
769 door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long,
353 and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

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[171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

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592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorganized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[182] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 There are many taboos for a pregnant woman such as the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all during pregnancy. [356] The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
a [782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 705 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[078] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

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[518] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443]
[782] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.
[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

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782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls.
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
871 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

512 The vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

562 624 [794] in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker [358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

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Temple Gods

796 There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

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796 frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for
176 two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent
[171] increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly en-
[184] joy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

783 Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire
796 after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more
776 powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
776 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
513 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 796 794 632 621 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member of the committee because of his experience and knowledge and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants. Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 796 621 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible

783 796 621 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from outside the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 796 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

783 796 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the [834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would [534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in 783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the 787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three 796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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787 and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would be one possessed. If the touching is rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 796 787 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the ceremony started again. The temperature was now much hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.

783 796 784 626 787 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 796 787 The gods spoke through two different young men at various times while they were in trances. Both were surnamed Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried woman's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

The first chair, after a false start running beside the fire down its length, was carried the length of the fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

783 796 789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

783 796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet [782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and [574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and [628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

796 585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
293 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

593 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

769 fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect 769 and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relation- 842 ship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important 775 for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be sur- [753] [784] prised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," 842 begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hǒu mĭ: and pāi mĭ:, "good fortune"

return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black-faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children
[245] among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her
[775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
• [784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
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796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[517] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[756] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a successful call for rain.

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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

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sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

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756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 787 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural.

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself.

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes.

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the

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The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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158 159 755 [756] [782] The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 62 787 789 756 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activities frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually believed to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thiâ:, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

584 match she is suggesting. The go-between is called in for consultation; relatives and friends are queried for any information they may be able to provide; and the other party's house and property are carefully surveyed for signs of prestige and prosperity. One informant told us jokingly that having a daughter reach marriageable age was like putting your house up for sale. Nor are more esoteric sources of information
584 neglected. The women of the family will always submit any marriage
787 proposal for the approval of the gods, and sometimes a family will hire a shaman in order to obtain a more reliable estimate of the advisability of a match. So sensitve are many families to the need for favorable supernatural signs that any unnatural or untoward event may result in the rejection of a particular marriage proposal. During the period we were living in Hsiachichou one woman rejected a proposed match for her daughter "because all of our chickens died suddenly and for no apparent reason. How can one expect a marriage to turn out well if the gods are not in its favor?"

Should both of the families turn out to be satisfied with their inquiries, the first public step toward the completion of the match will then be undertaken. This is the so-called "matching of the eight characters." Through the medium of the go-between the two families exchange slips of red paper on which are set out the time, day, month, and year of the bride's and of the groom's birth. These data are then submitted by each family to a fortune teller who interprets the information to determine whether or not the two parties to the marriage are compatible. Although a fortune teller will occasionally give a negative

584 answer to such an inquiry, a marriage will seldom founder at this
787 point. If one fortune taller gives an unfavorable response, a family will sacrifice to a god or to their ancestors, and then consult a second fortune teller; and the rules of the fortune teller's art are not so carefully defined as to preclude a favorable response. When a family is still undecided about the advisability of any particular match, magical considerations may deter them, but once they have decided that a match is good they are not likely to be dissuaded by supernatural indications. The "matching of the eight characters" is perhaps best understood as a public determination of what both families have already discovered to be the case in private.

584 After the exchange of the "eight characters" the marriage negotia-
583 tions enter their most difficult stage. The arrangement of the preferred patrilocal marriage in Hsiachichou involves the exchange of a variety of gifts. Some time prior to the engagement the groom's family must send to the future bride several pieces of gold jewelry, and at the time of the engagement they must provide her family with cakes to distribute to friends and relatives as a means of announcing the marriage. More importantly, the groom's family is required by custom to pay a bride price "to thank the girl's family for raising her," and the bride's family must respond by preparing a dowry to accompany their daughter to her new home. The negotiation of the values of these various gifts requires all the skills of the most gifted go-between, and it is one these shoals that the careers of the less adept founder and end in disaster. The typical villager sees both his fortune and

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 291 over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of 159 302 Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

596 159 782 769 [115] Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for [776] each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve 159 753 776 what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the [787] Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

159 596 Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

342 in winter.

351 Most of the dwellings of farmers have a pounded
[243 earth courtyard for drying rice and as a place to work.
[474 Recently, the farmers' association has provided half the cement necessary to cover the courtyard and many villagers have taken advantage of the offer, the first in 1961. Borrowing the use of a cemented courtyard is now quite
343 common. Farm outbuildings such as pig pens are extremely crude with only partial walls and a thatch roof.

342 A dwelling typically has a regular sequence of development. The first step is a rectangle 15 feet deep and 20 or more feet wide. The main room will be the kung t'ing which is a combination of sitting, dining, ancestral worship, and general main room in the house. The usual room dimensions are a 15 foot depth and a width of 10 or 15 feet. Extended out on either side are other rooms, each 10 or 15 feet wide. Such rooms will be added as needed until the building is three or five rooms long with the kung t'ing in the center accessed through a central door. One of the rooms is a kitchen but if there are only two rooms, the kitchen may be a temporary attached leanto.

• 787 It is best to have a geomancer orient the house for good luck (see Chapter VII). Many people skip this step by copying the orientation of nearby houses although this is contrary to the theory of geomancy (ti-li or feng-shui).

• 787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.

787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally, 192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi- 354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

794 778 778 794 623 temple is the central focus for various religious festivals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [788] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple which belongs to the entire community. Each particular festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a committee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

Women have never been the pot master but they have regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

776 policemen. The originations of gods are diverse, some were pure spirits and some were real historical figures who have been deified. As stated by Gamble for North China and true for all China, "Buddhism, Taoism, Official, and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other" (1963:400). Certain gods are associated with certain purposes, i.e., they have functional specificity. However, across China as a whole there is a great deal of regional variability. "Even for certain national cults, the names and at times the functions of the same god vary from place to place" (C. K. Yang, 1961:10-11).

[532] There are 30 god's statues in the Sanlei temple. The names of all but two[3] are known by some villagers but only a few villagers could name the 28. On the average, men know more names than women and old people know more than the young. For some of the popular gods, everyone in the village knew the name, even small children. Associated with each known god is a story. The oldest temple god was brought to the village from Fukien with the original group of migrants while others have been installed periodically; some have been acquired out of surplus funds collected for a general festival; some have been donated by sworn brothers associations; and some have been donated by individuals.

776 • 787 During our study, a part-time miner was visited by a god in a dream who informed him not to go to work in the mine

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

One significant type of practice involves specialists in feng shui (literally wind and water but usually termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (negative) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs, building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudimentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

(master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien (master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter may be merely because sufficient time for medical treatment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick, many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not been vigorous recently because after 60, death is considered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness, the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are consulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for marriage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that described for the fortune sticks in the village temple except the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific personal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food.

791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and
796 veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the
[834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would
[534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in
783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the
• 787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three
796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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787 and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would become possessed. If the touching is rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 796 787 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the ceremony started again. The temperature was now much hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple. 783 796 784 626 787 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 796 787 The gods spoke through two different young men at various times while they were in trances. Both were surnamed Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried women's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

805 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying
787 the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 There are two important calendars which function
178 simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard
527 Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional
[795] form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties [931] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in- [574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair [780] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the [777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

000 3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.

4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."

5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).

6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.

2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.

3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.

[586] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?

5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).

[212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.

[787] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).

2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."

3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-H]

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Possessed *t'iao t'ung* and his assistant recording "god's words."

Matsu procession: a succesful call for rain.

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K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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75 Often the cause of the illness is not so easily discernible nor is its cure effected so simply. Even when a Western-style doctor is summoned, the anxiety of the patient's family may be so great that while the doctor is attempting to cure the illness, they may resort to supernatural techniques to discover its exact cause and necessary treatment. On occasion, a village family may either go to a fortune-teller in Lukang or consult one who happens to pass through at the time to learn the cause of the trouble. More frequently, however, they call in a *t'iao t'ung* to communicate directly with a god to learn what kind of supernatural being is involved and exactly how it may be successfully appeased or exorcised.

755 The *t'iao t'ung* goes to the family's ancestral-worship room and
756 there sits among the people who, out of interest in the session or concern for the sick person, have gathered to observe the ritual. As those around him sit and talk, the *t'iao t'ung* stares into space; gradually, his hands, feet, and body start to shake. Usually, in fifteen minutes he is in a trance and possessed by the god. At this point he becomes extremely agitated and starts to scream and chant. He springs high into the air and blindly staggers around the room. One or two men hold a special cloth apron he wears in order to prevent him from injuring himself or those around him while he is convulsed. Within minutes his paroxysm subsides, and he is brought to the altar where he begins to chant in the language of the gods. An assistant (a *fa shih*), sits at a table in front of the altar and asks the pertinent questions in the special language. Through the medium of the *t'iao t'ung*, the god gives his answers. These are recorded by the assistant, who in some cases is known to be illiterate. The assistant writes certain characters with a brush and ink on a special paper. Once the god's words have been recorded he is presumed to depart, and the *t'iao t'ung* comes out of his trance. He usually is wet with perspiration and sometimes bears injuries incurred while he was convulsed.

In some cases of illness, the instructions the god gives to effect a cure can be carried out immmediately by the family itself. The god tells the cause of the ailment and gives directions for the appeasement of the spirits, e.g., the family must burn a specific amount of paper money as an offering for them. In addition, the family may be directed to feed the patient some herbal medicine prescribed by the god to eliminate the fever caused by the presence of the demon.

• [789] In some cases of illness, however, the god will inform the people that a cure can be effected only if the demon is not only appeased but also exorcised. In such an instance, it is necessary to call in a *fa shih* who has powerful means at his disposal to accomplish this feat, such as charms, a sword, and a whip with a handle shaped like a snake (symbolizing a mythical white snake which helps the gods fight the demons). In addition, the *fa shih* may make an agreement with the

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158 The girl was eventually brought back to the village to live, and it
159 was during the period of one attack that I was able to observe the
755 techniques used to deal with the disturbance. Over a period of weeks a
[756] series of *t'iao t'ung* were called in an attempt to determine the cause of
[782] the problem. After each visit by a *t'iao t'ung*, a *fa shih* was employed and every time some more powerful master *fa shih* was called upon. Finally, the family of the girl asked the entire village to take part in a *pai-pai* in order to ask the gods to help. Four or five weeks after the onset of the attack the girl's symptoms seemed to disappear, and she resumed her normal village life. The only explanation the villagers could offer for the recovery was that perhaps the powers of the shaman, combined with the help elicited from the gods, rid the girl of the demons which possessed her.

Other Forms of Magical Activities

731 In addition to the healing rituals, there are other magical activi-
621 ties frequently carried on in the Hsin Hsing village area. When a
787 village house catches fire, prodigious energy is expended on rituals to
789 rid the village of the menacing "fire spirit" or "demon" usually be-
756 lieved to have caused the conflagration. On one such occasion, a *t'iao t'ung* was called in to help the villagers find out how to safeguard the rest of the village from fire, and a *fa shih* was called upon to exorcise the malevolent demon. The fire spirit ritual was held late at night, and practically the whole village turned out to watch the proceedings. The *t'iao t'ung*, assisted by about seven other men, held a large wooden chair which was normally used to seat the statues of the gods during processions, such as that held for Matsu. At the *t'iao t'ung's* initiative, the men began to shake the chair as an invitation for the god to come and sit in it. Gradually, the *t'iao t'ung* went into a trance, and while the god was trying to take his seat in the chair, the men shook it more and more violently, so that it appeared to take the strength of all of them to hold on to it. Once the god was seated in the chair the shaking diminished. At this point the *t'iao t'ung*, possessed by the god, began to chant. A *fa shih* was present to record the god's words, which told the people how they could get rid of the fire spirit and protect the other village houses. The god directed the people to appease the demon by burning paper money in different parts of the village and also advised them to place protective charms on each house. These charms were made by the *fa shih* who had been called upon to exorcise the demon.

By the light of several lanterns and torches, the villagers, the *t'iao t'ung*, and the *fa shih* began to proceed through the village as directed. At intervals during this march, a man carrying the chair suddenly would become possessed by the god. Eventually, all these men became

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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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a member of one's family to suffer and possibly even die without trying every available means to save him?"

As is true of the curing rituals, the ritual that usually follows a fire in the village also has the important function of alleviating anxiety over this constant threat about which the villagers can do little directly. And, similarly, for another ever-present concern, the taking water ritual serves as a form of health insurance. Thus, these rituals also do much to relieve the constant anxieties of the villagers.

The psychological value of the curing rituals to the patient is very obvious. In Western society, when doctors and medicines cannot cure an illness, there is usually little room for further hope except for the minority who believe in practitioners like Oral Roberts or some other faith healer or miracle worker. In rural Taiwan, however, no one need abandon hope at this point, nor feel totally helpless in the face of the unknown. It is always possible and culturally acceptable to attribute the trouble to some supernatural cause and call in a shaman.

There is a possiblity of real psychological benefit for the patient who can be made to believe that the supernatural is truly the cause of his illness and that it is being dealt with by time-tested, traditional means. If he is, in fact, suffering from some psychosomatic illness, the reassurance that everything possible is being done can have very definite value. The shamanistic curing ritual, of course, also focuses attention on the patient. Family, friends, and villagers join together in the hope that their participation will bring about a successful cure. The attention, and the knowledge that the family has willingly assumed a heavy financial burden to have these services performed, can well give the patient a real feeling of worth and contribute to his recovery.

This kind of reaction can be seen in the case of the village girl, discussed above, who "went mad" (*fa feng le*). From the villagers' point of view the powers of the shamans, combined with the help elicited from the gods, together rid the girl of the demons that possessed her. Yet, from the Western point of view, it seems reasonable to assume that the rituals may have brought about their purpose in quite a different way—by making her a center of the attention not only of her family but the entire village, they made her conscious that the entire community valued her and hoped for her recovery. Their solicitude could therefore have relieved some of her anxieties and given her the confidence she needed to get well.

Another contributing factor is related to the very nature of the ritual which is used to exorcise demons. The vehemence of the shaman as he attempts to exorcise a demon is impressive enough to hear, but to be the object of his vehemence must be traumatic indeed. The shaman performs alone in the dimly lit house with the patient, while the family and villagers listen nervously from outside, not daring to come near for fear they will be "hit head-on by the demon" as he flees the

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

*593 548 about just how voluntary her actions were, even the most malicious of the village gossips agreed that it had been the girl's own idea, some of them even praising her for being so filial. More commonly, however, a girl is both reluctant and frightened at such a prospect, and the +593 548 • 789 parents have to use no small amount of coercion. We know of one case in which the parents resorted to magical techniques to get a particularly intransigent daughter to agree to their plans. Unfortunately, from their point of view, the girl discovered that the parents were "doing something," and so the magic did not work, the discovery itself being enough to counteract its effects. As the girl explained a few days later, "The day after I ate those things I began to menstruate +593 548 626 and then I knew that something was wrong." More often, however, the means employed are nothing more exotic than extreme social pressure. The girl is reminded of her obligations to her parents for raising her; she is made to feel responsible for the family's low standard of living; and, if necessary, she may be threatened with expulsion from the kê. The following account by a neighbor of the family reveals something of the pressures brought to bear on two sisters whose parents were determined that they "do something to help the family."

> "When that girl was fourteen years old her father made her go to work as a prostitute. He didn't like to work himself, and his wife worked very hard to make a living by raising a few vegetables and gathering rocks for a construction company. He made the oldest girl go to work as a prostitute because the family was large and very poor, and because the sons were all too young to work. For a while she cried every time she returned home. Later she gained a reputation as the most beautiful (the 'reddest') girl in the Peitou hotel. During this time the family lived very well, with new clothes and lots of good food to eat. Because one

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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

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any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

783 signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has
786 been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

783 The first chair, after a false start running beside
786 the fire down its length, was carried the length of the
787 fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the templa, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[594] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 824 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

79 village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

791 823 791 787 One significant type of practice involves specialists in feng shui (literally wind and water but usually termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (negative) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs, building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudimentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

791 823 784

000 778 [353] important event: life crises, health, and economic. The home is the central focus of worship and in all but two village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings are those connected with worship. The second most important center is the temple which is the most elaborate and expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei village is highly integrated, only for religion does the community gather in one place to act cooperatively with any degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and religion serve a similar function except that in addition to religion, politics and the school also feature community-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of larger kinship organizations such as the compound and lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn brothers and god's associations.

Religious values support the dictums of social control. Although there are reasonably high levels of skepticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe that a particular act works or has power for good or evil, almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

There are so many kinds of religious and magical functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports

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771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular decision or action because he can then say the gods so order it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along with certain life crises events, almost the only periods of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly, monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is justified on a religious basis.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[5]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and [602] mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [481] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 791 756 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1968
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791 • [212]

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services.

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791 597 626

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

791 597 622 K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

791 789 All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

796 As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

79 village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

791 One significant type of practice involves special-
823 ists in feng shui (literally wind and water but usually
791 termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (nega-
787 tive) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs,
791 building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village
823 adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudi-
787 mentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

791 823 787 by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

[354] The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally [764] employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

791 823 764 787 As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit [464] [434] both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

756 Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

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As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [28]

Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-E]

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ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'ao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $880 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [798] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 775 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 764 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 536 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have 793 the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

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793 two, or even three full days at a time when a funeral or some other ceremony must be performed. It would, of course, be impossible for a farmer to engage in activities which might call him away from the harvest or other such imperative activity. Furthermore, most farmers lack the modicum of literacy necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies.

The *tao shih* in Lukang received their training from older members of the priesthood. These men do not belong to an organized church, for there is none in Lukang. In fact, the priesthood itself is loosely organized and informal, although all its members in the area do wear a special signet ring. A man who wishes to become a *tao shih* declares his intention to an established priest and, with the latter's permission, joins his group as a novice. He is given instruction in the various ceremonies and learns how to use the special ritual instruments. As his training progresses, he accompanies other members of the group on their trips into the countryside and assists as they perform ceremonies. Eventually, he either becomes a member of the group in which he received his training or conducts ceremonies as a independent priest.

There are three *fa shih* and three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing village 756 serving it and neighboring villages. Actually, these men seldom perform outside the village, and shamans from other villages are occasionally called into Hsin Hsing by people who were not helped by their village shaman or who, for personal reasons, prefer a shaman from another place. This is especially true in the case of a nonresident *fa shih*, an older man, who is considered more powerful than the ones in Hsin Hsing. However, such cases are infrequent, and most people find their own village shaman sufficiently able to meet their needs.

Too, most villagers find it economically advantageous to engage the 756 services of a local shaman rather than an outsider. When the *fa shih* or 465 *t'iao t'ung* is a fellow villager, one is not expected to pay him any fee for his services, but need only feed him after he performs. The food is usually a simple noodle dish or rice and meat soup. Although it is prepared in large quantities in order to feed all the villagers who were present during the shaman's ritual, the cost to the host is small. But when a shaman is called from outside, he must be paid a fee in addition to being fed with the other participants. The money is normally wrapped in a packet of red paper and handed to the shaman. The villagers usually know how much they are expected to pay, and both parties assume that the amount will be adequate. If the family does not give the shaman enough money, the villagers note that "the shaman probably will say nothing, but will not return should he be called."

Most families make every effort to compensate the shaman amply

778 [782] some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

778 554 203 794 On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

787 There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

793 There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

782 592 [869] [764] [993] one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

[621] On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. 527 592 594 There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien
(master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually
appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which
are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively
hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter
may be merely because sufficient time for medical treat-
755 ment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick,
many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both
medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male
and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker
761 than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are
755 rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not
been vigorous recently because after 60, death is consid-
ered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only
due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness,
the family patiently waits for death without treatment.

• 793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are con-
sulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for mar-
riage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (hung t'ou
[755] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that de-
scribed for the fortune sticks in the village temple except
the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a
fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific per-
sonal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform
[764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Poutí officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

783 frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for
796 two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent
176 increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly en-
[171] joy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the
[184] increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

783 Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire
796 after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more
776 powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

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353 778 [618] [407] sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

353 356 779 778 The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

776 778 In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

776 778 794 Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

776 794 787 The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

554 776 794 Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. Whereas the Tu Ti Kung is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials; a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[588] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[961] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[799] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[798] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

God's Associations

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794 A god's association is almost identical to the sworn brothers association and is seemingly formed in the same way with the same kind of membership but it always has an identification with a single god. The primary difference is that the sworn brothers association ends with the death of its members but a god's association membership is inherited by a man's oldest son or some other male relative if there is no son. Since there is a higher probability of adding additional members to god's associations, they tended to be much larger.

I was never able to determine exactly the differences distinguishing the establishment of each. It did seem that if a sworn brothers association prospered and its members lived a long time, there was a tendency to continue it by inviting sons as replacements and adding other members so that it eventually evolved into a god's association. In no case did a son and father both belong to the same association at the same time.

There were two god's associations centered in Sanlei and compared with the sworn brothers associations, both were larger, contained members dispersed over a greater territory, involved greater class distinctions, and of course, had members covering a greater age span. The two god's associations in Sanlei both had regional political leaders and wealthy men among its members although men of this type do not live in the village.

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [788] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
• 794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

• 784 Talei Li. The five villages have always participated in
632 maintaining the li temple except that in the recent period, Wulei, as previously mentioned, has been taken over by Mainlanders who do not participate in li activities. Everyone in the li agrees that the Erhlei temple is at a higher level than Sanlei in the religious hierarchy. Other than for special events however, villagers in Sanlei and Srulei usually go to the Sanlei temple, and those in Erhlei and T'oulei, to the Erhlei temple although convenience is the only reason mentioned for the preference. It may be noted however, that the sets of villagers who prefer each temple are in perfect correlation with the sets of villagers who comprise the two regional li factions (See Chapter IV).

There is an Erhlei temple association board, similar to that described for Sanlei except that the membership consists of two senior men from each village in the li and an influential man in Erhlei is the effective informal leader in addition to being the formal head. Most affairs in the li temple (located in Erhlei) are run by this permanent temple committee although additional aides are selected by use of the shen pei. In accordance with the distribution of power in the li, if the head of an affair is from one end of the li, the chief assistant is from the other, and minor assistants are evenly distributed. However, the major permanent temple committee really runs the whole affair. The chairman has been

794 632 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 621 632 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions, celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

794 621 632 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 794 632 628 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[796] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to
624 which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's
[594] association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired
783 old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker
[358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

7% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
796

783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
621

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 783 621 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were [869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and 796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay 783 parties, especially since they included much drinking. 273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

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When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

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There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

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At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

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Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 [1711] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

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K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daugher were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

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All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

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As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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category which will be labeled for convenience noncalendrical. Both categories, whether the rites are performed by the village or community, or by the family or *tsu*, are rites of intensification which foster solidarity and reinforce social and cultural values.

Of the recurrent rites whose timing is determined by the family rather than the village, one type of non-calendrical *pai-pai* consists of those connected with the agricultural cycle which are held regularly by most village families at the same general times of the year—the rites to the Earth God, T'u Ti Kung (usually following the transferral of rice seedlings into the paddy field), those following the sale of one's pigs, and the like. In the former instance, the hired field hands who helped transfer the rice seedlings join the male members of the family in eating the sacrificial food offerings, including "meat, fish, wine and other good things." In the latter instance, after propitiating the Earth God, the family eats its simple sacrifices which may include wine if friends or nearby *ch'in ch'i* are invited.

The other kind of recurrent rite is the ancestral-worship ceremonies; these are not included in the category of such rites commonly carried out according to the calendrical schedule of religious rituals. However, a number of rites associated with ancestral worship, such as those held on the lunar New Year, the fifteenth day of the first month, Ch'ing Ming Chieh, and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, are regular cyclic rites performed by everyone at the same time. It is the anniversaries of the death dates of a family's ancestors (determined separately for or by the individual family or *tsu*) which are not considered part of the annual calendar of the community. On such an occasion, either the individual family, several patrilineally related families, or a whole *tsu* group or religious family will worship the deceased ancestor. The worship is always held in the *kung t'ing*, since not even the larger village *tsu* have ancestral halls. The number of family units which participate in the worship depends upon whether the ancestor is held in common by many families or considered the progenitor of only one particular family. As already explained in Chapter 5, in Hsin Hsing village the women usually take the leading part in the ceremonies, even though they are in a sense outsiders worshipping their husbands' ancestors.

The ceremony usually begins with the burning of incense at the time of day at which the ancestor died. The food offerings "sacrificed" are later eaten by the participants. The amount depends upon the economic situation of the family or families. Well-to-do families will offer larger quantities of food than poorer families, which usually means that a greater number of relatives and friends will be invited to share the feast. However, the food considered proper for sacrifice on any occasion is relatively standardized regardless of the financial condition of the family, varying only with extreme wealth or poverty.

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796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

[211] The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor.

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

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many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is interesting that these same village men do come home in April to celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chia ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

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deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

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796 788 796 628 [178] in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included [554] in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit [178] through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining [178] and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

796 788 796 821 731 In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procesion as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

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The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

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The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

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pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

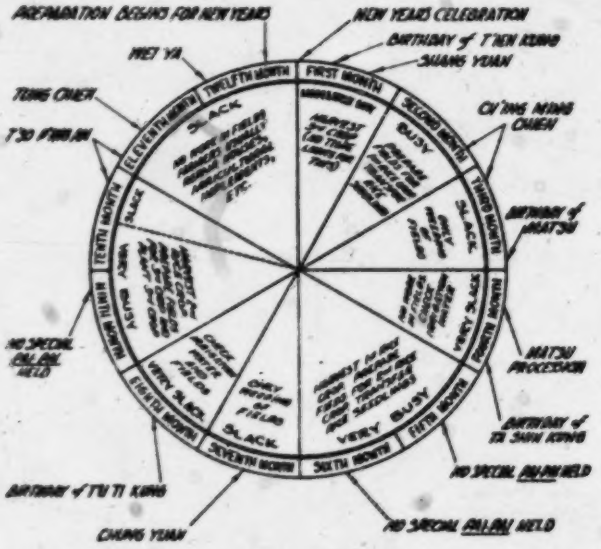

FIG. 5. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

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t'ing with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

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"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

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shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the treatment.

A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment" value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event. Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from surrounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus, although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the ritual act often serves to fill its place.

Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural. While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncertainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by the present government through the school system.) In addition, the villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their attempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the unknown.

Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

796 The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the reli-
798 gious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities
634 all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the
621 god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's
794 authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The
796 management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-
634 wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his
776 authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the
634 responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[685] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[969] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The
head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago
in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife
die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and
relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the
Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve
as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy
sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty obser-
vances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[794] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[778] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of
Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung
temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in
charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two
Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and
irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has
begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [746] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the spcial committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

794 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the
621 typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee
632 did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly
794 participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At
632 first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major
628 temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

796 794 632 628 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

121 621 182 794 [171] In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

[613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

life cycle. Religion supports the previously described sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure in the village. This building is the social center of the village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events. On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily.

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[796] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

121 562 79b I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chapter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

• 79b Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

796 [556] rare cases did any two lists exactly match. The number of items on a single list were closely related to the socio-economic status of the household, i.e., the richer the household, the longer the list, undoubtedly due to the fact celebrations are always an expense. Rarely is a religious specialist hired and rarely is entertainment provided for minor events but if entertainment is hired, it is much less expensive than that for a major event, a puppet show rather than an opera for example.

782 A yet smaller percentage of the population use the temple for the regular bi-monthly special sacrifices (first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of the lunar calendar).

778 674 The temple is rarely empty at any period from its opening just before sunrise until its closing at bedtime. In the past, the temple was open all the time, but villagers claim it is now necessary to lock it at night because of the many thieves, particularly wandering retired Mainlander soldiers. 782 On a typical non-special day, about 20 people, more than half of whom are women, perform some religious act in the temple such as an offering of incense. These acts are for three major purposes: thanking the gods for a past action, begging for a future favor, or merely asking advice. The most frequent underlying cause is health and second, is economics.

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

• 796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

796 than the li in which there is cooperation for religion is the territory around Hsin Tien at the time of the Matsu
[776] festival. Matsu is one of the most important dieties on Taiwan and some scholars feel she is almost a focus of a separate cult. During the celebration dedicated to Matsu, her statue, together with other god's statues, are carried on sedan chairs in a procession to each village near Hsin
[535] Tien. Each village contributes money for the cost of the dragon dance team and sword dance team which accompanies the procession and also provides young men to carry the chairs. It is a gay occasion, especially since the li also provides its own additional ceremonies and entertainment during the same day and one or two days which follow.

Formal Religion

799 As far as the other formal religions are concerned, the village has a mixture of Confucianism,[8] Buddhism, Taoism, Official and local folk religions. These are so intermixed that it is impossible to fully extract individual sources and any attempt to do so would be worthless because the people do not care. Most of the larger temples scattered through Taiwan have similar admixtures of gods and rituals.

Religious Specialists

79 There are a variety of kinds of religious specialists consulted by villagers although none live in the

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

• 786 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

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Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
796 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
573 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
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783 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police
• 796 permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from out-
621 side the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About
796 seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

783 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and
• 796 veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the
[834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would
[534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in
783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the
787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three
796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would become possessed. If the touching is rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the
796 ceremony started again. The temperature was now much
787 hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.
783 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the
796 chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly
784 angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and
626 do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the
787 knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 The gods spoke through two different young men at
796 various times while they were in trances. Both were sur-
787 named Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

[785] 1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

[511] [364] 2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

[755] 3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

[784] [753] [755] 4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried woman's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

783 signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has
796 been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

783 The first chair, after a false start running beside
796 the fire down its length, was carried the length of the
789 fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
783 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

796 524 435 [585] The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare [178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan- 782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular deci-
183 sion or action because he can then say the gods so order
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Additionally, religious events are fun and along
182 with certain life crises events, almost the only periods
771 of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It ap-
796 pears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

771 It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion
805 also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly,
461 monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is
182 justified on a religious basis.

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787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

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527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

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[796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

thirteen months according to the year's position in a nineteen-year intercalation cycle (Carroll, 1963:4-5). The extra month is assigned the same number as the month immediately preceding it. Villagers would say, for example, that 1966 had two "third" months. Although religious holidays based on a monthly cycle would be celebrated during the extra month, those based on a yearly cycle would only be celebrated during the first of the duplicated months.

Because of the differing length of the months and the differing number of months in any one year, the lunar and solar calendars do not match. Lunar New Year commences sometime in January or February of the solar calendar. Without exception, villagers were all aware of the current date at any moment in time according to the lunar calendar. On the other hand, most villagers were not aware of the current date according to the solar calendar. The awareness of solar dates was related to structural factors. As would be expected, those who worked in businesses or factories as well as those who did business regularly in the city were more knowledgable and therefore, on the average, men were more aware of both kinds of dates than women.

The Yearly Religious Cycle

In traditional China, there was no custom of a five-day or six-day week followed by one or two days for rest and recreation. Nevertheless, an equivalent relief period was provided by the celebration of various religious

• 7% festivals which punctuated the yearly cycle; these served as a functional alternative by special interspersing recreation days in the work schedule. Most of the special days were regularly scheduled, some on a yearly basis and some on a monthly basis. As previously described, some were specially scheduled in addition such as that for the Fire Purification Ceremony. Each of the major events in Sanlei's cycle will be discussed briefly below with dates indicated in accordance with the lunar calendar.[4] The particular events and/or the dates for their celebration vary for different regions of China, but nevertheless, the overall frequency appears to be about the same everywhere.

The listed items are not all of equal importance. For some, the activities might be restricted to a few hours in the evening and involve only the household members and even then, in only a minority of village homes. For others, the activities may last several days, involve many guests, and include 100% village participation. In general, most holidays always involve extra worship activities and special food in the evening at dinner. The presence of guests is nearly always evident for the more important affairs.

The year starts with the Hsin Nien (New Year's) celebration on the first day of the first month. This is the most important festival in the yearly cycle and the whole li cooperates in its celebration. Entertainment is always hired and usually retained for a full three days. Actually,

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• 796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties [831] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in- [574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair [780] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the [777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

Ch'ing Ming Chieh (Clear and Bright) is celebrated during the third month sometime between the first and fifteenth.[5] The primary worship is of gods and ancestors with an important task of cleaning and decorating ancestral graves. At this festival, many kinship units larger than a single family gather to worship together and clean the common graves. Most people prepare and serve special cakes. Almost every household in the area participates with the exceptions made up of a few immigrants who do not have a family burial plot in the area. The day before Ch'ing Ming Chieh, about one third of the households build no fires and therefore, eat only cold food in remembrance, villagers say, of an event during the period of the "Warring States." On the day of Ch'ing Ming Chieh itself, many villagers who have migrated permanently to the city return to Sanlei Ts'un for worship and celebration.

The second most important yearly event in Sanlei is the Matsu procession which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month and as previously stated, is the only religious affair for which cooperative activities extend beyond the confines of Talei Li. Beyond the li boundaries, the cooperation in the touring entertainment and god's procession lasts only one day, but inside Talei Li as well as inside several other li in the Hsin Tien area, the celebration usually lasts three days. There are usually elaborate hired entertainment programs such as an opera, many dinners

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] [84] most general. Village women now make special worship offerings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. [262] In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves. [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 705 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

796 return until after New Year although part of their responsibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 782 For most of the above events, although details vary, worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers, and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible, there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

796
514 villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

796
562 Most villagers claim that men are responsible for
782 carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

796 291 The above events serve to break up the year. Moreover, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 178 369 There are also the national holidays which are scheduled according to a calendar, but in this case the western calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [349] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

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362 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

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[797] Some social welfare support trickles into the community from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 795 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

796 796 821 the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

796 562 [801] The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

796 782 [262] Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.99 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

430 Monetary amounts ordinarily express the local currency system which is often identified in the literature as N.T. (New Taiwanese). Thus, $1.00 signifies one New Taiwanese dollar. When it is necessary to list an American equivalent, "U.S." is suffixed to the figure. At the time of the study, $ 40.00 was equal to $ 1.00 (U.S.) at the official rate of exchange and the unofficial rate on the black market was nearly identical.

804 There are two units of measure commonly employed in rural Taiwan and which appear frequently in this account. The measure of the land area is the chia, equal to about 2.39 acres and the measure of weight is the chin, equal to about one and one-third pounds.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 25; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)
"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)
"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)
"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)
"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)
"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor. [211]

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular deci-
183 sion or action because he can then say the gods so order
182
79 it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along
182 with certain life crises events, almost the only periods
771
796 of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

771 It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion
805 also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly,
461 monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is
182 justified on a religious basis.

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 886 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

4:Barnett E-4, 5 (1965-1967) 1970 · AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IX

CYCLES IN TIME

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Time is subdivided into many different categories which play a significant part in structuring social life in Sanlei Ts'un. For certain kinds of divisions, adherence to which of two conflicting systems for reckoning time provides a key to evaluating the level of modernization achieved by an individual. For example, years are subdivided according to both a traditional lunar calendar and a modern Western solar calendar. Although farmers place prime emphasis on the lunar calendar, businessmen and urban dwellers rely on the solar calendar and both calendars are important for determining village activities.[1]

Another relationship between the level of modernization and the type of time system employed may be seen in the new emphasis on clocks. Clocks were unimportant in rural traditional Chinese villages and according to older informants, Sanlei Ts'un had no clocks when they were children. As late as 1950, there were still only a few clocks in the village. Currently, almost every village house has a clock and an electric clock in the kung t'ing has almost become a necessary status symbol in spite of the fact no member of

178 805 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 822 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors 173 in decision processes in the village. For example, some 805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

173 were said to have originated in Fukien and also emigrated
• 805 to Taiwan 130 years ago. Villagers carefully distinguish between the two lines. A member of a Honan-originated line can list all other lines in the area which also supposedly originated in Honan and most claim that those who came from Honan are more like each other than outsiders although I believe it to be nearly impossible for an outsider to detect any differences.

The biggest subdivisions of time are labled according to dynasties. A sequence of calendar years starts over again at the beginning of each new dynasty. Since the last dynasty was overthrown in 1911 when the Republic was established, years have been numbered in sequence since 1911 as year 1 in a manner similar to this traditional pattern. Within dynasties, there were also occasional references to the reign of particular emperors as a means for dating events, i.e., in the 16th year of the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. No comparable phenomena is observed for the most recent period although this lack may be related to the relatively short perspective or to the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for such a long period in their respective spheres of influence.

The Sixty-Year Cycle (Chia Tzu)[2]

805 There is a system for naming years to be discussed below which generates sixty different terms and thus, a sixty year cycle. At the end of a sixty-year period, the

805 sequence is repeated. Completion of life through the entire
791 cycle is a primary factor supporting the stress on the six-
805 tieth birthday for any person who lives longer than a full cycle is considered to have been necessarily favored by the gods. This belief in god's favor applies to males and females alike. The sixty-year cycle results from the interaction between three sets of factors which are each a complex religious concept with exceedingly intricate complexities and ramifications. Although each will be discussed briefly below in turn, it must be realized that little more than a cursory examination is offered.

805 The first set is related to the Chinese view of the
812 world as if it were bipolar for not only does everything have its opposite, opposites are both necessary and complementary to each other. "These opposites tended to merge into each other and even to become each the opposite of its former self" (Thompson, 1969:3). One of these principles, yang, stands for activity, light, heat, dryness, hardness, and masculinity; the opposite, yin, for quiescence, cold, darkness, humidity, softness, and femininity (Bodde, 1951: 21).

812 The eternal interaction of the above two general
82 principles, the yin and the yang, produce the wu hsing (five
805 primary elements): fire, water, earth, wood, and metal (Bodde, 1951:21-2). The Chinese word hsing, which sinologues have usually translated as element, is actually a

805 812 82 verb meaning to walk, to go, to act and therefore, perhaps better translations of wu hsing might be the "five operational qualities" (Thompson, 1969:4) or the "five movers" or "five agents" (Carroll, 1963:8). Correlated with the five elements are a number of other five-members sets such as directions, notes, colors, tastes, odors, sacrifices, organs, etc. The five elements produce the t'ien kan (ten celestial stems), a yin and yang form of each element. It has been suggested that perhaps the ten celestial stems were once employed for counting the days of a ten-day week (Carroll, 1963:12), but if true, the knowledge has been lost in Sanlei Ts'un.

The third set of important categories are the ti chih (twelve terrestrial branches). There are also many correlations with the twelve branches and a number of twelve-member sets such as the compass points, tones of a quasichromatic scale, etc. (Carroll, 1963:13). However, the most popular correlation is with the twelve animals, in order: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, and Pig. The odd-numbered items are considered to be yang and the even-numbered, yin.

805 812 825

"The chia-tsu cycle of sixty terms is made up by combining the stems and branches so that each of the yang (odd-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yang branches and each of the yin (even-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yin branches" (Carroll, 1963:16).

805 82

805 Every adult in the village could name the branch and stem
82 of the current year and most could immediately predict both for the following year. When asked to predict some year farther into the future, most adults could satisfactorily figure them out. The question usually produced a response set which featured recitation of a sequence while counting on the fingers. The two cycles of five and twelve were figured separately and then combined by adjusting the yin or yang form of the stem to agree with the branch in order to produce the name of the year.

805 Every villager, with the exception of very small chil-
825 dren, knew the animal (branch) associated with his birth and almost everyone also knew the stem (element). Older people were often not sure of either their ages or the year in which they were born, but their approximate age plus the name of the animal associated with their year of birth always allowed accurate discovery. When we later obtained official records, there were only a few discrepancies between the recorded age and the age computed by use of the animals. Each discrepancy could be explained with a story which claimed the official records were not correct. For example, one Sanlei man had been registered two years later than his actual birth because his father was with the bandits in the mountains. In each case, the "animal" designation was correct and the official registration was inaccurate.

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

805 thirteen months according to the year's position in a
[796] nineteen-year intercalation cycle (Carroll, 1963:4-5). The extra month is assigned the same number as the month immediately preceding it. Villagers would say, for example, that 1966 had two "third" months. Although religious holidays based on a monthly cycle would be celebrated during the extra month, those based on a yearly cycle would only be celebrated during the first of the duplicated months.

Because of the differing length of the months and the differing number of months in any one year, the lunar and solar calendars do not match. Lunar New Year commences sometime in January or February of the solar calendar. Without exception, villagers were all aware of the current date at any moment in time according to the lunar calendar. On the other hand, most villagers were not aware of the current date according to the solar calendar. The awareness of solar dates was related to structural factors. As would be expected, those who worked in businesses or factories as well as those who did business regularly in the city were more knowledgable and therefore, on the average, men were more aware of both kinds of dates than women.

The Yearly Religious Cycle

796 In traditional China, there was no custom of a five-day or six-day week followed by one or two days for rest and recreation. Nevertheless, an equivalent relief period was provided by the celebration of various religious

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly.

The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

settlement, older informants had heard tales of the founding directly from the original migrants.

5 G. Myrdal explains that under British control, the petty officials at lower levels were usually members of the indigenous population and higher levels were British. There were also attempts to work through the previous political infrastructure. He contrasts this with the French rule in Vietnam where almost all levels were controlled by the French and therefore, had the highest ratio of foreign officials to indigenous citizens in the East (1968:123-4,187-9). L. Mair (1969:32) also stresses indirect rule as a general British policy in most colonial territories. Taiwan appears intermediate between the French and British extremes for almost all government officials were Japanese, but the traditional local infrastructure of political control continued to be important.

6 The pao chia system is based on a Chinese imperial edict in the eighteenth century but it is far from clear how it was applied for conflicting data exists from various areas (Freedman,1958:65). It appears to be a system of units organized in hierarchal order to maintain control. In Taiwan under the Japanese, it functioned as follows: each chia (family or household) had a chia chang (head) who was responsible for the actions of its members. About ten contiguous chia were combined into lin headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who was selected by a process of consensus and held responsible for the lin. About ten lin were combined into pao with an elected or appointed pao chang (head or mayor) responsible for communicating and carrying out government programs. Each pao consisted of about 100 chia. Since there were more than 150 chia in Talei Li, it was split into two pao.

7 The average rate for all Europe is about 10 and for North America, just over 9 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook,1966:103). The lower rate in Taiwan is primarily due to its relatively young population.

8 Early in the Twentieth century, flour was sacked in colorful cotton bags as a sales promotion device in the United States. The material was salvaged to make clothes which were very similar to underclothes now worn in Taiwan in terms of color and patterns.

Chapter III: The Economic Base

[192] 1 P'eng lai and tsai lai are both generic names for a large set of sub-varieties.

2 To facilitate comprehension, all dates in this chapter are furnished according to the Western solar calendar. [805] The lunar calendar is extremely important for village affairs and is considered in Chapter IX.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in the year when the twelve former allies come together and reaffirm their traditional unity, even though some of them may have been at odds with one another.

Each year a different village of the twelve declares its willingness to be host and takes the lead in organizing and arranging the procession. Leaders of the twelve meet there and decide which villages will furnish the entertainment which is provided along the route to and from the large Matsu temple in Lukang. The individual villages then organize, assigning by lot the various duties among their families. Some villagers are called upon to carry the large sedan chairs which bear the statues of the village gods, and others prepare and transport refreshments to the prearranged places where the procession stops for rest and food. When the lots are drawn to determine which family will assume which task, the names of the village's large landholders are always included in the drawing. While they often willingly donate refreshments, they are loath to carry a sedan chair; now, as in the past, if selected to carry one, they usually pay another villager to replace them.

On the day of the procession, the villagers assigned to carry the sedan chairs assemble at a prearranged spot to begin the circuit through the twelve villages. A large statue of Matsu, borrowed for the occasion from her temple in Lukang, is carried in a big sedan chair by several villagers. As the procession passes through the village, the residents worship the goddess, and a local shaman invites her to eat. Village teams of performers accompany the procession. They dance, give exhibitions of traditional boxing and sword play, act out little incidents or excerpts from traditional Taiwanese operas or stories, or do a dragon dance in which a large, green paper dragon is carried over the heads of many men who weave in and out to simulate his sinuous movements. The whole occasion is extremely gay and entertaining and, it is felt, most rewarding. Many food offerings to the goddess are displayed in each village along the route. They are provided by each village family and are eaten at dinner in the evening, after the Matsu procession has passed. However, only the host village, where the Matsu statue remains overnight, or members of the wealthier or large villages invite guests from outside to share in the feast.

In the spring of 1958 the area was in dire need of water, since it had not rained for several months. Several hours after that year's Matsu procession began, the sky became overcast and by mid-afternoon a drenching rain was falling on the procession as it moved through the area. By the time the circuit was completed the rain had stopped, having flooded the rice paddies and saved the crop. It did not rain again for over a month. The villagers who do not believe in the power of Matsu were surprised. A few of the young men, some of whom are well educated, have told me that despite their skepticism they did feel that "Perhaps the rain on that day was more than just a coincidence."

796 known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and
769 any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a
775 common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

796 The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on
796 the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday
• 821 of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship
[782] affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful
[431] this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends
[562] and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event
[842] (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive
[875] long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to
[431] the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

178 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality
805 according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of
a 822 time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors
173 in decision processes in the village. For example, some
805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958)~ 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948:126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–73), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao. Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lǐn) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

79 village itself. Each differs in the types of powers he possesses and/or the rituals he performs while two of the same type may have different qualitative ratings. Some specialists charge a fee for services and others depend on gifts. Nothing will be said directly if the gift is too small, but the practitioner will not return the next time he is called. Everyone knows what amount constitutes a proper gift. For the most part, the community has established rather permanent relations with certain individuals who have a regular practice in the area.

791 One significant type of practice involves special-
• 823 ists in feng shui (literally wind and water but usually
791 termed geomancy). Geomancy is related to the Yin (nega-
787 tive) and Yang (positive) factors and the Five Elements: water, metal, fire, earth, and wood (Burkhardt, 1953:129-33). "Geomancy deals with the supernatural relation of geographical locations to human events" (C. K. Yang, 1967b:263). Certain geographical locations have influence on human life, negative or positive. These factors are especially important with regard to the location of tombs, 791 building sites, and the kitchen stove. Almost all village 823 adults are amateur geomancers, i.e., they possess rudi- 787 mentary knowledge of significant elements. Moreover, villagers believe they can generalize from previous events. For instance, a house may be built right next door to a geomancer-directed house without professional consultation

by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1950's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children
[245] among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her
[775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

243 on the back. However, two features of the job are attrac-
462 tive to women if they are hired. That evening, they are entertained with dinner and do not have to help prepare dinner or clean up afterwards. Second, some women seemingly enjoy the discomfort to be observed in men watching women doing a man's job. The women who claimed this sentiment were all over forty, but younger ones smiled and giggled when this was repeated to a group.

243 Procedures after transplanting are similar to those described for the first crop: weeding, fertilizer, and insecticide but due to warmer weather seldom does it take more than 110 days from transplanting to harvest. More insecticide is needed because of the warmer weather. When the top of rice starts to bend with weight, the field is dried out in preparation for the next crop of vegetables. The second rice crop in Sanlei produces about as much as the first crop, occasionally more. This is rather unusual for Taiwan as a whole and is due to the fortunate abundance of water in Talei Li. Both crops are much larger than [433] earlier in history due to improved strains and technology but the total production is less in Talei Li than the general average for Taiwanese paddy fields because of the poor and shallow soil.

824 Rice straw from the second crop is bundled and sold
412 to brokers from Taipei who come out with carts although
438 woman gather and save some of the rice straw to make

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. [262] [426] [454] [888] She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the [245] fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the [775] center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
• 825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

582 and a lesser preference for li exogamy. Villagers are valued much more than the town people who are said to be lazy and who probably possess expensive tastes. Most couples were both raised in the area around Hsin Tien although brides brought in from down island carry high prestige.

Although marriages between people with the same surname are legal and villagers are aware of examples in town, they do not occur in the area around Sanlei. An interesting unconscious patterning was revealed by the fact that on every occasion when the possibility was discussed, someone made the same remark, "That's just like the pigs!" (See [325] Glossary C.) There is a shared belief that pigs are dirty and have no morals.

There are two other types of surname exogamy. Some surnames are said to be both descendants of the same ancestor and therefore should not marry, for example Liao and Chien although a violation of this rule is not as serious as would be the marriage of two people with the identical name. There was an example in the village and although the marriage had lasted many years, there was still much gossip about it for some people considered it a form of incest. Finally, two lineages may have had a fight and pledged that their descendants will never intermarry. This does not mean the proscription is for everyone with these surnames but only for the descendants of the pledgers who possess their surnames. There were three such pairs known to villagers

verb meaning to walk, to go, to act and therefore, perhaps better translations of wu hsing might be the "five operational qualities" (Thompson, 1969:4) or the "five movers" or "five agents" (Carroll, 1963:8). Correlated with the five elements are a number of other five-members sets such as directions, notes, colors, tastes, odors, sacrifices, organs, etc. The five elements produce the t'ien kan (ten celestial stems), a yin and yang form of each element. It has been suggested that perhaps the ten celestial stems were once employed for counting the days of a ten-day week (Carroll, 1963:12), but if true, the knowledge has been lost in Sanlei Ts'un.

The third set of important categories are the ti chih (twelve terrestrial branches). There are also many correlations with the twelve branches and a number of twelve-member sets such as the compass points, tones of a quasichromatic scale, etc. (Carroll, 1963:13). However, the most popular correlation is with the twelve animals, in order: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, and Pig. The odd-numbered items are considered to be yang and the even-numbered, yin.

"The chia-tsu cycle of sixty terms is made up by combining the stems and branches so that each of the yang (odd-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yang branches and each of the yin (even-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yin branches" (Carroll, 1963:16).

805 Every adult in the village could name the branch and stem
82 of the current year and most could immediately predict both for the following year. When asked to predict some year farther into the future, most adults could satisfactorily figure them out. The question usually produced a response set which featured recitation of a sequence while counting on the fingers. The two cycles of five and twelve were figured separately and then combined by adjusting the yin or yang form of the stem to agree with the branch in order to produce the name of the year.

805 Every villager, with the exception of very small chil-
a 825 dren, knew the animal (branch) associated with his birth and almost everyone also knew the stem (element). Older people were often not sure of either their ages or the year in which they were born, but their approximate age plus the name of the animal associated with their year of birth always allowed accurate discovery. When we later obtained official records, there were only a few discrepancies between the recorded age and the age computed by use of the animals. Each discrepancy could be explained with a story which claimed the official records were not correct. For example, one Sanlei man had been registered two years later than his actual birth because his father was with the bandits in the mountains. In each case, the "animal" designation was correct and the official registration was inaccurate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[75] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
591 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
[835] same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
[827] ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [541] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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next morning accompanied by her father's elder sister, a tiny, trim old lady dressed in black. Instead of summoning Ng Kui-lian, who should have been present at any negotiations between the two, Chui-ieng informed her husband that she was leaving the family permanently. I cannot imagine what reaction she expected from her husband, but from her subsequent behavior it is clear that she didn't expect what she received. Lim Chieng-cua agreed readily and said he would send someone immediately to summon the police that they might remove her name from the household registration and issue her a new police book. After a stunned silence, Chui-ieng threw all her good sense to the winds and with the biting sarcasm that has cost her so much happiness said, "That will be fine, won't it? You will really be a famous man now." She planted her final taunt with venom. "Yes, everyone will talk about how great the Lim family is now." The aunt, shocked less by her niece's outburst than by the dark red color appearing on Lim Chieng-cua's face, made an attempt to avert what was to come. She shouted at her niece, "Look at his face! You know his health isn't good. It isn't good for his health to get so angry!" But she was too late. In a frenzy, Lim Chieng-cua beat his wife about the head, grabbed her by the hair, and threw her to the cement floor where he punished her brutally with his feet. The aunt was frozen in horror and A-bok and his family were long ago at work in the fields. I had to abandon my anthropological immunity and participate in some direct foreign intervention. Lim Chieng-cua was literally shaking with rage when he left the room—his arms were jerking uncontrollably. The aunt's first statement when her tongue thawed was a typical Taiwanese reaction to someone's physical injury. She began to scold Chui-ieng.

By the time her foster mother arrived that afternoon, Chui-ieng's right eye was swollen closed and her ear and the side of her head were discolored with bruises and clotted blood. As soon as she saw her, the mother began to cry, "It's all my fault. It's all my fault. Oh, to see my daughter like this! Your grandmother and your father said that we shouldn't marry you to a man with such a bad temper, but I wanted this marriage. It is all my fault!"

Chui-ieng replied by begging her mother to take her home. "If I stay here he will kill me. He will kill me, I know it. He said he would kill our daughter." The rest of that day and all of the next a parade of people passed through Chui-ieng's bedroom, and streams of curious

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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chapter 12

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A GIFT OF PRIDE

During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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#159 #596 123 124 828 more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

#159 #596 123 124 I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

#159 #596 [369] [291] Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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178 167 829 369 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living. They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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769 this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

797 769 177 178 The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

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769 597 Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei 101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the 133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou 178 487 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the 178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place 487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan 496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half [829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place 823 715 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

975 that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this
823 time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

975 Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao.
175 Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally
624 unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political
[829] status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lǐn) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

*583 591 for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of [829] the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

548 One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages [546] failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced 548 to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a *549 woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their [761] own, and they had adopted sîm-pûà for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to 548 their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so *593 she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no [592]

the aims of the creators. That certain types of functional analyses have been as successful as they have while ignoring this point is probably only because the analysts have been saved from their teleological assumptions by the analytic abilities of the peoples being studied.

If we are right in placing this restriction upon the forms of explanation acceptable in social anthropology, it follows that anthropologists should be particularly concerned to discover what the native knows about the functions of his own social system. The native analyst, like the foreign anthropologist, is fallible. He may perceive certain advantages accruing from any given arrangement, but he may miss other equally important disadvantages. The reader may have noticed just such an instance in our description of Hsiachichou. The villager sees the reduced tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the major advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, but he apparently does not see the dangers of this arrangement for the parent-child relationship. That many village men leave their parental homes for extended periods of time to live with a mistress the average villager is aware, but he does not think of this as a consequence of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, although our analysis indicates that this is much more common among men who marry sīm-pûà than in either of the other two forms of marriage. Why does the villager see the advantages and miss the disadvantages? Are some social consequences more visible than others? And if so, what is it that makes them more or less visible? We would argue that the answer to such questions as these are crucial to an understanding of the origins of social structure.

*121 M2 • 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[446] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[823] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems. T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

162 Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be
[161] divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Szulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if
[829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed
829 identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
463 and which are not. The community members exert social
• 829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

735 558 These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 621 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are [648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is [829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high- [735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited [504] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for
• 829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 591 626 This section deals with the formal agencies of social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

829 villagers but to be avoided if possible. "When two men go to court, both always lose," (see Glossary C) is a 648 statement often repeated by villagers. Sanlei's usual direct contact with the police is through its own local policeman. Taiwan has a national police force organized like an army and divided into districts and branches. The closest branch office to Talei is in Pouti, a subdivision of a higher level unit in Hsin Tien. The policemen and their families, primarily Mainlanders, live next to the police station, usually spending several years at one place. The Japanese usually had transferred policemen every six months, a policy which did not permit the establishment of close relationships between policemen and villager which is now common in Taiwan. Villagers know the names of many different police officials in Pouti and a number are usually invited to large social or religious affairs in the village.

There is one policeman assigned full-time to Talei Li with a goal of crime prevention rather than detection and apprehension. To be effective, he must establish good relations with villagers. The previously assigned policeman, recently promoted, had been with the li many years and was both respected and popular. The new man, assigned during our stay, was having a difficult time although he was not really responsible for his difficulties for it is always hard to replace a popular man in any capacity.

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 525 562 575 appears that women usually constitute about half the membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

marriages!

Aside from the reports of many villagers that such
584 are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that
597 there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have
593 made a sīm-pûa marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages
837 are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people
831 who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to marry a sīm-pûa arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors, "He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a night at home."

837 As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital
548 relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou. Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as
583 frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here
837 is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these opportunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record
! [i.e., sīm-pûa marriages -- Analyst]

involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûà. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûà did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple *in flagrante delicto* in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûà form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûà marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always

#593
#583 had to be "pushed together", and why is it that young people refused
#831 to make such marriages as soon as they were in a position to do so?
152 The answer would seem to be simply the one they themselves give.
Such marriages are "uninteresting" and "embarrassing." To marry a man
or woman with whom one has lived from childhood is too much like
marrying a brother or sister. Such marriages lack the interest and
excitement of marriage with a person from another family, and to some
extent the idea of such a union may even arouse feelings of positive
revulsion.

#583 The two cases in which men born after 1910 did later marry their
#597 sīm-pûà tend to support rather than weaken this argument. Unlike the
other fourteen cases in which the young people refused to make a sīm-
pûà marriage, these two couples did not grow up as members of the same
household. In both cases the son was the offspring of a woman who had
married as a sīm-pûà, and the adopted daughter a child which the
husband had adopted while living with another woman. In one case the
future wife did not enter her husband's household until the time of
their marriage, and in the other they did not begin to live under the
same roof until the girl was seventeen years of age. Since it would
be impossible for the couple to marry if the girl was not thought of
as a sīm-pûà, the two marriages were both defined by the family and
by the couples themselves as sīm-pûà marriages. We therefore have in
these two cases instances of sīm-pûà marriages without the usual con-
ditions of early and constant association as brother and sister.
The fact that these were the only two sīm-pûà marriages among those

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were 584 brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in [831] conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

114 The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for [276] males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 562 • 831 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and 561 teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birth- 561 888 day, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

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833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
• [812] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

842 Almost everyone agrees that a couple should have the first child as soon after marriage as possible and I found no married childless couples employing birth control measures. It is proper to continue having children until the
• 833 first grand-child is born. Although it is expected that
842 intercourse will continue as long as physically possible, a couple who continues to have children after they have become grandparents will experience much ridicule.

Pregnancy and Birth

843 Pregnancy and birth are periods of anxiety in every
844 society for they are physically dangerous for mother and child alike since either may die. There may be a spontaneous abortion or defective children may be born. Consequently, almost everywhere, special ritual is required with respect to various aspects of the period of pregnancy.

Seemingly, in Sanlei, some of the ritual or belief is supported by modern medical discoveries, i.e., certain food requirements such as increased consumption of meat and eggs for expectant mothers is medically sound. The origins of other customs are lost in antiquity. It has been posited in another context that certain proximate events were often interpreted to have spurious causal connections (Carroll, 1963:5). In any case, there is a great host of Chinese beliefs connected with pregnancy and birth with attendant rituals and avoidances which are exceeded in number only by those related to death.

864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

• 833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds

833 [832] of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

783 796 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the [834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would [534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in 783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the 787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three 796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *han-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people
827 talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tuzuru Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Usuru Okada, Kiso Chaki, op. cit., p. 7.

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster family's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lông-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sîn-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cê-bô-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

*584 Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls
*593 do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma.
*597 A girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is in some sense married simply as
*562 a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes
626 her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family,
she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same
disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village
woman if a sīm-pûà could marry out of her foster family, she answered
"Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say,
'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

*584 We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-pûà marriage has
*597 several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It
183 is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more
• 835 conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people
refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in
the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred
prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the
parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always had to be "pushed together?"
When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a
way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage per-
sonally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that
marrying one's foster brother was bōu ī-sȳ, "meaningless" or "dull;"
and a number of bthers indicated that they felt that such a marriage
was kiàn-siȳu, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-pûà marriage is
culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

'584 given by many villagers was that they privately regard it as something
'597 very like incest. While we were told that marriage with a distant
183 clan mate is regarded as incest, none of our informants seemed to
835 display any personal revulsion in their attitudes toward such a union.
In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, on the other hand, it was agreed that no one could criticize a person for making such a marriage, but at the same time most people seem to feel uncomfortable about the idea of making such a marriage themselves. The discrepancy between social and private attitudes to the sīm-pûa marriage is perhaps most apparent in the behavior of those young people who refused to make such a marriage. They realize that the marriage is proper and feel guilty about not acquiescing in their parents' plans, but still they say that they could not submit to the marriage "because it was embarrassing."

Because of this embarrassment we were unable to get most of the villagers to discuss their feelings about the sīm-pûa marriage in any detail. Questions about the subject usually elicited the same kind of response as questions about personal sexual habits. One of the few exceptions was a young woman who talked to us at some length about her reason for refusing to marry her foster brother. While we do not have the information necessary to say that her reactions are typical, they do at least seem congruent with the less specific reactions of other informants.

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> "My father was so mad at me when I didn't want to marry my brother, but there was nothing he could do. I just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away either. There

was nothing he could do. They couldn't just kick me out of the house. He used to get so mad at me that he wouldn't even talk to me, but now he seems to have gotten over that. Now he understands me better, and is nice to me."

Did he try to make you marry your brother?

"Of course. Everyone here tried very hard. He didn't say anything to me himself; he had my mother talk to me. All the neighbors helped, too. He also sent for my real mother to talk to me but she can't argue very well. When I said something to her she didn't know what to say next. The neighbors would say something to her, and she would get mad and come and scold me. I told her, 'I'm going to be very filial. It's not that I'm not filial. I just don't want to marry him. I will treat you even better later than I treat you now.' I tried very hard to be filial to her, but when I asked her to come and go to a movie or something, she would say, 'Oh, let's wait until he (the informant's foster brother) gets married.' But then she died just after he married. I tried very hard to be filial to her but I just didn't get the chance. Even now that I'm not married I don't feel bad about what I did. My brother and his wife are happy. If I had given in and married him, I am sure that we would dislike each other very much by now."

But don't lots of people who marry in this way get along pretty well?

"Well, those who really get along are very few. You can say that none of them like it. Really, it is meaningless to marry your foster brother. I really think it is meaningless. One day after I refused a friend of mine who married a mainlander invited me to dinner at her house and my real father was there. After we had had dinner he began to scold me, telling me that I ought to marry my brother. I was so mad. I didn't like him in the first place, and when he did this I just felt that he was trying to lose my face and let everyone know that I wasn't filial. I got so mad my hands were cold, and I almost passed out. My mother was the one who bore me so she understood more, and she finally made him stop talking. But I was really mad. When I went home for a visit after my brother was married my father said to me, 'I don't see how you can stand it. How can you go on living in that house? I would have thought that you would have run away a long time ago.' When you think about it, it is meaningless for me to go on living here, but I felt like telling him, 'How can you think that I could come back here and get used to living with all of you again? From the time

*584 I was a child I hated you for giving me away, so how could
*593 I live with you now?' But I didn't dare say this because
*597 they were my real parents."

• 835 Why did your father say that you should be embarrassed to go
183 on living here?

"After I had done this there was no point in my living here anymore. My foster mother was the only one who really liked me, and she was already dead then. There just wasn't any point to it anymore. But I just couldn't make myself think of going to live with my real parents. Not even now that I am older and understand it all. And I really don't see how my foster father could have tried to make me marry my brother. When he married his foster sister she ran away after two days and never came back again. I'm sure he must remember that, and so I don't see how he could want me to make such a marriage. His foster sister lives in Taipei now, and she lives very well. The one time I met her though she was very embarrassed. After she ran away she married again, and she now has a very good life."

Why didn't she run away before she was married?

"I don't know. I guess she was just better behaved than I am. But then after she married the more she thought about it the more meaningless it was, and so the only thing she could do was to run away. And I think that was the best thing for her to do."

Why do you say that it would have been meaningless for you to marry your foster brother?

"I don't know. I just couldn't do it. I felt embarrassed about it. At that time I thought to myself, 'It is just because I'm young and don't want to get married yet.' And I didn't want to get married but that wasn't the real reason. I think that it was because he was my brother. Marrying your brother! I felt embarrassed about it. I don't even talk to him now unless I have to. I don't know why it is, but I just feel embarrassed about it."

*584 The parties to the preferred marriage or the matrilocal marriage
*597 do not ordinarily meet until they are biologically mature, but the
*593 man and woman who become husband and wife in the sîm-pûa marriage are associated with one another from early childhood. A woman with male

*584 children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà
*593 in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own
*597 daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like
[561] that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as
[513] brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

*584 Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into
*597 the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our
*593 suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily
*121 the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood asso-
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• 835 ciation. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

brother and sister to marry. The effect of their childhood association is to create conditions which result in a generalization of the incest taboo. Another possible interpretation is that the very fact of their intimate childhood association is itself directly responsible for this feeling of aversion. As Edward Westermarck suggested some eighty years ago, it may be that the incest taboo is a consequence of "intimate and prolonged childhood association." In Westermarck's words, "the fundamental cause of exogamous prohibitions seems to be the remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood, leading to a positive feeling of aversion when the act is thought of."[1] The first hypothesis suggests that foster siblings are averse to the idea of their sexual union because they consider themselves brother and sister, while the second hypothesis suggests that they reject the idea of their union because they have lived together as brother and sister.

Which of these two interpretations is correct must unfortunately remain a moot question so far as these data are concerned. The two crucial variables are experimentally confounded. The parties to the sim-pŭh marriage grow up in conditions which identify them as brother and sister, and they also experience a prolonged and intimate association from early childhood. But regardless of whether the crucial antecedent condition is their sibling identification or their early and prolonged contact, it seems clear that most of the parties to the sim-pŭh marriage do experience a real aversion to the idea of their sexual union. Aside from the reports of many villagers that such marriages

1 Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1921), Vol. II, p. vi.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

get to Taipei to talk with her. She then spent an entertaining hour trying to locate some relatives who would come and pay her hotel bill.

The source of Chun-ieng's unexpected happiness was revealed more slowly. Tan A-hong's complaints about her daughter were not completely groundless. Chun-ieng often answered her angry words with scorn and disrespect. She did not trust her mother and sometimes treated her honest need for money with disdain—understandable perhaps, but not behavior expected of a dutiful daughter. Unfortunately, Chun-ieng *was* a dutiful daughter. The anguish which prompted her toward suicide was as much the result of her own self-blame as of her mother's imprecations. Lim A-pou told me many months later that this was not the first time Chun-ieng had contemplated leaving her mother (always with adequate financial provision), but each time she had felt sorry for the older woman and returned. The interview that took place with her lover when he arrived from Tainan seemed to provide another solution. He generously proposed that she give up her plan of joining him, but also give up her work in the winehouse. He would send her a weekly allowance (the sum of which caused many round eyes) and visit her as often as possible until the day when they could be married. After their marriage, they would decide what to do about her mother. This was indeed a fairy-tale ending if it had been in fact the ending.

We had the pleasure of Chun-ieng's presence around the village for several months. Her boyfriend visited fairly regularly and she occasionally went to see him. Needless to say, each of her trips was preceded by anxious ill-temper on the part of Tan A-hong, but Chun-ieng always returned at the appointed time. Their quarrels were either less frequent or less violent because they came to my attention only rarely during those months. After awhile, though, I began to see more of Chun-ieng in the Lim house, often in tears, and I heard more of Tan A-hong's gambling debts. It wasn't long before Chun-ieng started disappearing from the village for two or three days at a time. I asked the family about her absences and received noncommittal answers until finally Lim A-pou admitted that she had returned to work. When I asked what would happen if her boyfriend unexpectedly turned up, Lim A-pou told me sadly, "We are supposed to tell him she has gone to work as a hostess in a coffee shop and we don't know where it is." Whether her lover discovered her deception or whether Chun-ieng

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

+159 +593 548 [836] herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier at her gambling.

+159 +596 +593 597 During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her. I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair. Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her back on dreams of a normal life.

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his father having full control of all family income and expenditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was expressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argument, lasting days, which was heard all over the village. In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married to the second son after the eldest son successfully persuaded his father not to force the marriage. The second son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the <u>siaosiv</u> marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "incest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument. Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above average successes in the village. In both cases (one is the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

584 cases the men were sexually curious but engaged in only a
936 minimum of petting with his future spouse such as squeezing her breast before the marriage. My own opinion, based on a general impression is that both men even today are rather naive in orientation toward the world.

584 As stated previously, in some cases the reluctance
593 and dismay was expressed openly by the son and foster daughter both and considerable argument ensued although the couple eventually married. Although not fully revealed by the data for the 94 marriages, some couples were successful in their arguments with parents and managed to change the plans for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage. This is a delicate area in which to collect data for it necessarily exposes someone as an unfilial person. Since the son is usually informed first, if the proposed marriage is immediately cancelled it is possible that only the father, mother, and son would ever know that the possibility had been advanced. Thus, an informant revealing this information would be required to state that his son had been unfilial. Yet, I did find four such examples among current living Sanlei men and women.

584 The incidence of the adopted girl marrying out does
556 not necessarily reveal refusal. The original purpose for the adopted daughter marriage was to save wedding costs and if the family financial status had improved, a regular bride may be brought in and the foster daughter married out

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

• 836 [178] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [348] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

marriages!

Aside from the reports of many villagers that such
584 are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that
597 there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have
593 made a sīm-pûa marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages
837 are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people
831 who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to marry a sīm-pûa arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors, "He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a night at home."

837 As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital
548 relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou. Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as
583 frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here
837 is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these opportunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record

[i.e., sīm-pûa marriages -- Analyst]

*583 all village gossip and other information which would allow us to
• 837 estimate in a rough way the frequency with which the men in our genealogies had sought extra-marital sexual relations. The striking conclusion from these data is that men who had made sīm-pûà marriages were more likely to engage in frequent extra-marital affairs than men who had married matrilocally or in the preferred way. Whereas we have evidence of frequent extra-marital relations for 14 (15 percent) of the 96 men who made either preferred or matrilocal marriages, we find a high frequency of infidelity among 11 (48 percent) of the 23 men who were forced to make a sīm-pûà marriage. While these data are certainly not entirely accurate, for the obvious reason, there is no reason to believe that there is a bias inflating the count for men who married sīm-pûà. There is no stereotype of the husband in the sīm-pûà form of marriage which might elicit biased responses, and we were unaware of the relevance of our data at the time they were being collected.

*583 What is perhaps more significant than this tendency for men who
*593 marry sīm-pûà to seek sexual satisfaction elsewhere is that this
837 often involves their avoiding sexual relations with their wives. Most men who have established a relationship with another woman visit her occasionally as they have the inclination, but men who are married to a sīm-pûà typically spend all of their nights with their mistresses, avoiding sexual relations with their wives several years at a time. If the man's parental family is a farming family, and if he is needed to help with the work in the fields, he will usually return home during the day to work with his father, eating his meals and otherwise

participating in the family on a daily basis. If he is a coal miner or laborer whose job is in another town or in the mountains, he may spend several weeks at a time away from the village, living almost exclusively with his mistress but sending money home to help support his parents. A case typical of such arrangements is that described by a forty year old woman whose husband and former brother has spent most of the twenty years of their married life living with another woman.

> "We were married when I was eighteen years old, but my husband didn't live here very long after we were married. When my daugher was about four years old and my son about three, my husband went away to live with another woman. I thought of going back to my natal home, but then I thought that these things are all decided by fortune. Also, I was very fond of my foster mother, and she took care of the children while I went to work gathering rocks to help support the family. That first woman my husband lived with has been dead now for about ten years, but before she died they adopted two daughters. (One of these girls is now married to the informant's son.) Now my husband is living in Nankang with another woman, but they have no children of their own, only one adopted daughter. Most of the year my husband works in a coal mine, but during the harvest season he goes from farm to farm buying rice stalks which he sells to a factory in Shihlin. He makes about NT$900 a month, and sends about NT$200 or NT$300 home. He didn't use to send any money home at all except when he had a very good job or when he was in a good mood, but now he sends some money almost every month."
>
> <u>If your mother liked you so well, why did she let her son go out and live with another woman?</u>
>
> "Oh, he is her only son and so she didn't like to reprimand him. Besides he wouldn't listen to her anyway."

Men who marry matrilocally or in the preferred way also occasionally take a mistress, and this sometimes leads to similar separations. What leads us to argue that the conditions of the <u>sim-pûa</u> marriage

produce a definite sexual aversion is that such separations are much more common among men who have married sim-pûa than among men who married in other ways. Of those 119 men whose life histories we know in some detail at least 13 spent two or more years of their married lives living away from their parental home with a woman other than their wife. These 13 men included 3 (4 percent) of 70 men who had married in the preferred way, 2 (8 percent) of the 26 men who had married matrilocally and 8 (35 percent) of 23 men who married a sim-pûa. There thus appears to be a striking difference between the sexual behavior of those men whose association with their wives began in childhood and those who did not come into contact with their wives until adulthood.

While it is expected that men who can afford to will upon occasion visit prostitutes or professional wine house girls, it is strictly forbidden for a married woman to engage in any kind of extra-marital relations. A young unmarried woman whose family is poor and does not have sons to depend upon may work as a prostitute without arousing unfavorable public opinion, but for a married woman to form any kind of liaison is generally regarded as a serious breach of morality. The not very surprising result is that extra-marital relations are much more common among men than among woman. What is somewhat more interesting is thatthe majority of those women who do commit adultery are women who have been forced to marry a foster brother. We do not know of a single case of adultery among women who married in the preferred way, and the only cases among women who married matrilocally

involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûà. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûà did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple *in flagrante delicto* in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûà form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûà marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

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As a point of fact, Lim Hue-lieng's marriage had little effect on his daily life. He did not live in the family home and took no interest in their daily activities. The marriage did, however, add one more chapter in the growing legend of his great personal power. He became the hero of one of the most popular village tales of sexual prowess. It was his boast and the favorite story of his admirers that he spent only two nights in Lim A-pou's bed: on his wedding night he gave her Lim A-bok, and some years later when a typhoon forced him to spend the night in the village, he gave her Masa. The rest of his nights were spent with a series of mistresses of whom even the most salacious village gossips have long since lost track. Finally, when his first-born son was about two years old, Lim Hue-lieng settled down more or less permanently with a village girl, Lim So-lan, the adopted daughter of another Lim family.

Because my assistant came to know Lim So-lan well during our stay in the village, So-lan was willing to tell us quite a bit about her life as Lim Hue-lieng's "second wife": "He only lived with his first wife for a few days just after they were married. After that he never stayed home at night. Before he began to live with me, he had a great many women, but he always left them after a little while because they were just interested in making money and would sleep with other men. When he first came to live with me, I was only seventeen years old. He had just returned from hiding from the police for a few months and had also just broken off with the last woman because she slept with someone else while he was away. His eldest son was about two years old then. He was a good friend of my foster mother, and often joked with her about me, telling her that he wanted to come and live with me. I was working in the river then, gathering rocks, and saw him there every day because he was the head of all of the people doing that kind of work. At that time my family was very poor because my father gambled too much. That year he gave us money to help us through New Year's. My mother was always urging me to marry him. I told her that he was a *lo mua* who had had a lot of girlfriends and would beat me if I did anything he didn't like. I was very afraid of him and ran away every time I saw him. When my mother said that she wanted me to marry him, I cried every night, but my mother knew that he made a lot of money and would help our family, and so finally she asked him to come and live in our house. He lived with our family for five or six years.

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"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their funerals. The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

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and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are *really* love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

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sophisticated than most village girls, my informant shares their view —such things don't happen to the daughter of Lim Hue-lieng. Naturally, she came home and reported the whole story to her mother. It was also written in Gioq-ki's "fate" that she sit in the sun under her neighbor's window that afternoon, knitting. Gioq-ki burst into her neighbor's house and demanded the whole story which, though understandably reticent, the girl and her mother were forced to relate. They warned her repeatedly to ignore the affair "because he brings home your income and you should be careful that it keeps coming. Forget about him, but don't throw away his money." Gioq-ki, of course, ignored them and confronted her husband with his philandering the minute he came home.

The village spent half the night listening to their quarrel. The girl next door told me, "My relative really feels bad about all this. She said, 'What is wrong with Gioq-ki? She is a very smart girl. Why did she marry this mainlander? If I were like her, I would leave him immediately.' I think she is right. I would rather not have any husband at all than one like this. She isn't his only girl friend, either. He has lots of women. Someone from the village saw him in a train station with another woman, too. That is why he doesn't bring all of his salary home."

The girl's mother, a retired wine house girl, added: "It is best not to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife and particularly this one because Gioq-ki is very much in love with her husband —even though she denies it. But she didn't know anything about all these women. She is really very poor, and he never gives her enough money. I know what his job is, and I know he can make at least NT$1800, but he never gives her more than NT$300. Her uncle told her she must go to Taipei on his next pay day and collect his salary before he does. She is going to do this and that will take care of it. No money, no girlfriends."

Chang Jong-kuei didn't return to the village for several days. Gioq-ki followed her relatives' advice and went to collect his pay at the newspaper office. Since Chang often does night work at the newspaper, he has a small sleeping room in the building. Gioq-ki decided to leave the older children in this room so that he would have to return to the village to bring them home. Her plan did not succeed. She met her husband on the street and there was a scene that ended with the crying children being pushed back and forth between them.

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Gioq-ki was further humiliated. Chang did not return that night either. I heard a pathetic exchange the next day between Gioq-ki and her favorite aunt.

The aunt: "Don't you worry about whether he comes home or not. You know when he gets paid so you can just go get the money each month."

Gioq-ki: "Yes, I'll go for his money and if he won't give it to me, I'll leave him the children to take care of. I don't care anymore. But I'm sure he will come back tonight because tomorrow is our eldest son's birthday."

The aunt: "Why do you think he will come back for that?"

Gioq-ki: "Well, he was asking me last week before all this started what day it was. . . ."

Chang did not return for his son's birthday. A few days later, I asked another of Gioq-ki's relatives what the latest news was. She told me, "I haven't been out much because I have a cold so I don't know how Gioq-ki is feeling now about these things. Everyone is talking about them, but no one saw the whole thing or knows whether all of these things are true or not.

"When you look at Chang Jong-kuei, he seems like a man with a good enough temper, but when he gets mad he is really enough to scare anyone. Gioq-ki's temper is just as bad. Her nature is just like her father's—no matter what it is, she has to be the head.

"As soon as a man has a family and his wife isn't there, this kind of thing happens. Gioq-ki has only a small family so why doesn't she move to Taipei and live with him there. He works in Taipei and of course he is tired and sometimes doesn't want to come all the way out to the village. If she really believes all the things people here are saying, and I'm not sure I do, she ought to move to Taipei and see if it is really true or not."

When I left the village a few months later, Gioq-ki had not yet followed her relative's advice, but Chang had returned and seemed to be around more often in the evenings. What has happened since, I have no way of knowing.

The reaction of the women in the main Lim family to Gioq-ki's troubles was that of sympathy, which surprised me somewhat, and non-involvement, which I expected. The men, of course, publicly ignored the situation. Even Lim Chieng-cua's wife, notoriously lacking in sympathy for anyone but herself, felt sorry for Gioq-ki. Lim A-

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Lim A-pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.) The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, borrowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lán when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

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chapter 11

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NARROW HEARTS

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According to Lim Chui-ieng, all of her unhappiness stems from someone's ill use of her. In adult life that someone has been Lim Chieng-cua. Chui-ieng has chosen to focus on her husband's mistresses as the source of most of her troubles. Romantic love is considered irrelevant to marriage in China; and Chui-ieng had not even met her husband before her marriage, let alone seen enough of him to love him. Nonetheless, she felt insulted and threatened by the extra-marital activities he engaged in from the early years of their union. Her childhood, unusual for an adopted daughter, had not taught her the rewards of submission or the pretense of submission, but had accustomed her to being the center of large and small storms, many of them brought on by her displays of temper. In the Lim family tempers were a speciality and Chui-ieng's little displays caused only looks of disapproval. She had expected trouble in her new home, indeed her parents had warned her repeatedly that she would have to mend her ways when she married, but she had not expected to be ignored. I don't think it had ever occurred to her that she might not be able to control her husband as easily as she had controlled her foster parents.

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Chui-ieng's failure made her frantic, but she was helpless. She could mask her despair with scorn, but the only reasonable criticism she could make of her husband was that the money he spent on mistresses would ruin the family. "It is not because my heart is narrow that I argue with my husband. It is because I want to save my family. If he spends all the money on girlfriends, what are my children to do? We aren't like Lim A-pou and her sons who only eat the rice in the middle of the pan [i.e. don't have to worry where it is coming from]. When my children's father has a girlfriend he takes her to movies and to restaurants, gambling and buying wine. They take friends along too,

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but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.' "

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ieng's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

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but the stories they told me of his extra-marital activities are curiously loyal—vindictive only when they touch upon the behavior of his wife, the outsider. Chui-ieng's life is almost as bitter as she describes it, but the villagers believe she brought it on herself.

When we came to live with the family, Lim Chieng-cua had not kept a mistress for some time. Chui-ieng occasionally nagged her husband about past infidelities, but in general, relations between them were tranquil. Lim Chieng-cua's most recent affair, and the one which still seemed to worry his wife, was his liaison with Lau Kim-chiok, the adopted daughter of one of his neighbors. Lim A-pou told me, "A few years ago Lim Chieng-cua had a mistress here in the village. She was a prostitute who was living just then with a man who worked nights in the winery. I know she wasn't married to this man because I saw her police book and his name wasn't in it.

"Both Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have hot tempers and they have quarreled from the day they married. She would never just accept his having a mistress or try to find some peaceful means of getting him to stay home at night. Instead, she used to go to the woman's house at night and beat on the doors and make a lot of noise. One night she even broke a window in the house. This really made my brother mad. She ran home and hid in my room. My father was still alive then, but that night he was disgusted and said he wouldn't interfere any more. Lim Chieng-cua tried to break down the door of the room to get at his wife, and I'm sure he would have killed her if my son hadn't pulled him away and calmed things down.

"Then in the middle of the night he had to go and find a workman to repair the window in that woman's house so the man she was living with wouldn't find out what was going on.

"Not long after this both the man and woman got put into jail for using narcotics. His sentence was a very long one because he had quarreled with some powerful *lo mua* before he got caught. She was given a sentence of three and a half years. She should be getting out soon now."

When Lau Kim-chiok was released, she returned to her mother's home in the village. Friends and neighbors came to see her, both to welcome her home and out of curiosity. Lim Chieng-cua who was in Taipei on business didn't return to the village until late in the evening, but when he did, he also went to pay his respects to his former mistress. According to my interpreter, who was also there, he was

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simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before.

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Uusally they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

#159 #596 #593 #839 holding whispered conferences with their mother and then disappearing again. And one evening when Lim Chieng-cua didn't return at his usual time for dinner, Kui-hok asked, with tears running down his face, "Where is father? Has he gone away?" Chui-ieng was using her children to spy on their father. She had told them that he might run away with another woman and if he did they would be abandoned to starve. Chui-ieng knew perfectly well that her husband would do nothing so absurd, but by convincing his children of the possibility she could both strengthen their ties to herself and keep a watchful eye on her husband.

#159 #596 #593 578 Early in her career Lau Kim-chiok, like most prostitutes, adopted a daughter to support her when she was no longer pretty enough to work. During Kim-chiok's imprisonment, the daughter stayed with various relatives and finally came to live with her maternal grandmother in Peihotien. With the hope of at least delaying her entrance into her mother's profession, Lim Chieng-cua gave the girl a job in his factory. Lau Bit had been working there for quite some time when her mother returned to the village. Two or three weeks after Lau Kim-chiok's release from prison, Lau Bit was visited in the factory by Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter. By this time the anxiety Chui-ieng had aroused in her children was beginning to fade and their spying had become a game. Le-cu, finding her father absent from the factory, tried to pick a quarrel with Kim-chiok's daughter. Lau Bit was several years older than Le-cu and much more conscious of the seriousness of life. Le-cu taunted her about her mother's profession, cursed her on general principles, and ordered her out of the factory. Lau Bit left in tears, humiliated before the other factory girls who watched round-eyed and fearful. Le-cu then went home to brag to her mother of her clever deed. Chui-ieng was amused and cruelly pleased by the story, but at the same time she realized that this was going to cause no end of trouble. She immediately sent her daughter off to stay with relatives in Lungyen. Her precautions were justified. When Lim Chieng-cua returned to the factory and heard what had occurred in his absence, he was furious. He went to his wife to ask his daughter's whereabouts, telling her explicitly that he intended to beat the girl to death when he found her. Chui-ieng told him calmly enough that she had sent the girl to stay with relatives, but she could not refrain from defending her child's indefensible behavior. One thing led to another and Chui-ieng soon turned to her usual tirade against Lau Kim-chiok and her family, accusing Lim Chieng-cua of treating "a prostitute's

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
• 837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv mar-
183 riage is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

178 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
584 1959 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

833 [832] of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

• 837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 548 184 [275] Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue however and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be most general. Village women now make special worship offerings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves. An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

593 858 [842] The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally.

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However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

When asked the most important reason for having children, several villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

fifteen years since Lim Bi-kok destroyed his tablets, his family is still the only family in Hsiachichou which does not make regular offerings to their ancestors.

The relationship between the living and the dead is a reciprocal one. The living are expected to provide the means of support for their ancestors in the next world, and the ancestors are expected to protect and succor their living descendants. Such a conception of man's relationship with his deceased forbears naturally makes it extremely important for a man to produce children. The man who fails to provide descendants to carry on the ancestral rites after his own death fails in his obligations to his parents just as surely as if he had failed to support them in their old age. Just as they needed rice and a comfortable place to live in this life, so they need living descendants who will continue to provide them with the necessities of existence in the next world. Moreover, the man who fails to provide children to insure the ancestor's future risks their loss of support in the business of this life, and may actually suffer various disasters as a result of their anger at his failure. No villager would be surprised by a statistic which reported that illnesses were more common among the children of matrilocal marriages than those of patrilocal marriages. And finally, the man who fails to produce male offspring condemns himself. Without children to make sacrifices to him after his own death, he is doomed to an existence as a "wandering ghost," begging for scraps of food at temple doors. When we asked a number of villagers the meaning of the terms hǒu mi̍: and pāi mi̍:, "good fortune"

842 and "bad fortune," or "good name" and "bad name," many illustrated their answers by pointing to a man with many sons as an example of bŏu miā: and one with no sons as an example of pâi miā:.

593 842 606 Although the ultimate responsibility for providing descendants belongs to the male members of the family, the immediate responsibility rests with those women who are their wives. The fertility symbols with which the marriage ritual is embossed serve to remind the bride that her primary duty to her husband's family is to bear children. Until she has fulfilled this duty she must "walk quietly" in her husband's house. Because of the high cost of marriage, few families in Hsiachichou would even consider repudiating a barren daughter-in-law, but neither would they forgive the daughter-in-law who failed to bear them grandchildren. The mother-in-law will usually take every opportunity to remind her of her failure. To her, the girl's failure is a terrible disappointment, casting a shadow over what were to be the joyous years of her old age. Something of the bitterness which arises in such a situation is apparent in a comment we overheard while talking to a woman whose three children were all adopted. During the course of our conversation, the natural born daughter of the woman's sister-in-law interrupted and was told to go away and "stop being a useless girl." Our informant's mother-in-law happened to be sitting in the same room and took this opportunity to comment, "It doesn't matter very much whether children are boys or girls. What really matters is whether or not a woman bears children."

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Aside from her responsibility to her husband's family, a woman has more personal reasons for wanting to bear children. For one thing, barrenness is the most indelible of all stigmas. Old women who are quarreling will often accuse one another of being barren. It implies not only an abnormal physical state, but also something of a failure of character. To bear children is so important that those who fail to do so must lack some essential moral quality. For another, it is only through her children that a woman can realize her position as a wife. The only common ground between a husband and wife in the early years of their marriage is their children. Often they marry as almost total strangers, and etiquette demands that they remain distant to one another. As the villages women express it, the children "give you something to talk to each other about." Finally, a woman's having any sense of security in her husband's home depends on her having children. Although the average village woman realizes that her husband's parents cannot afford to repudiate her, she also knows that they will never accept her until she provides them with grandchildren. It is by virtue of her children that a woman secures her status as a member of her husband's family. She herself may never become a full fledged member of the family until she dies, but as the mother of the family's male descendants she secures a position of respect. It is nothing to be a wife or a daughter-in-law, but it is a matter of pride to be a mother.

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Beyond those reasons we have already discussed, there are more general, less easily exemplified reasons for having children. One has

only to observe the excited anticipation of the older villagers, both men and women, when the birth of a child is imminent to realize that children have an intrinsic value. An old woman whose sons had not as yet given her grandchildren told us sadly of how quiet her house was, how lacking in noise and bustle. There is no life without children in the house. One also senses living in the village that children give a man a sense of fulfillment, of involvement in something larger than the narrow circle of the present. The young men who say that they will give up ancestor worship "when the old people die," nevertheless think of the family as an unbroken chain that began long ago and that will continue long after they are gone. Not to have children would be to take responsibility for breaking this chain, and, perhaps more important, without children the achievements of this life would lose much of their meaning. If by means of a lifetime of hard work and self denial, a man adds a small plot of land to his family's possessions, it does not appreciably raise his own standard of living, but when the value of the land is multiplied by its benefits to the untold generations that will follow, a man has reason for satisfaction. It is partially for this reason that a person must have children to inherit the property of his fathers. His father calculated the value of the land he acquired in terms of its benefits to his descendants, and if there are no descendants it is then worth no more than the few catties of rice it will yield before the present generation dies. As one of our thoughtful informants put it,

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

illegitimate offspring, but in one way or another the goal is achieved, indeed, must be achieved. It is therefore obvious that we need not consider as real alternatives any set of choices that would lead to family extinction. Whatever else their goals may be with regard to marriage and adoption, a family must make decisions which will lead to the perpetuation of their line.

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

*599 family is to have any security in either this life or the next, they
*562 must have children who are obliged to them as heirs and descendants.
• 842 As a result, male children have an absolute value, their worth to
181 their family being something which cannot be estimated in monetary terms. A family may be forced by extreme poverty to sell one or more of their children in order to support themselves and their remaining children, but they would never sell a male as a means of adding to their material possessions. To trade a male child for property would simply not make sense to most people in Hsiachichou, for it is with reference to sons and grandsons that property acquires much of its value. As one of our village informants put it when we asked him why so few people sell their sons, "There is no point in having money or land if you don't have children. Who will inherit these things if you have no sons or grandsons? And who will you have to carry on your family name when you are dead?"

*599 Of 110 male children born into Hsiachichou before 1930 only 8
735 (7 percent) were sold as <u>biēng-liāng-kià</u>:, and in every case the family selling the child was poor by local standards. We know that not one of these families owned land other than their own house site, and so far as their neighbors remember none had any income from a business or trade. Four of the eight children sold were sons of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-a whose family was probably the poorest in the village. According to Ong Chun-a, "We had to sell those children. We were starving then, and they offered a very good price. Besides, ooo I had to sell my milk to make money." It is interesting to note that

#597 602 involves weighing the relative importance of lineal and collateral kinship ties. The family which gives a child to an agnate naturally strengthens their ties with the adopting family, but they do so by sacrificing a potential tie with the descending generations of their own line. The question which a family must put to itself is this: Are strengthened ties with one's agnates worth the price of an heir and descendant? The answer is no. The frequency of such adoptions in Hsiachichou indicates a clear preference for lineal ties as the more [178] dependable and more significant. Although every family living in Hsiachichou has had agnatic kinsmen who did not produce sons in one generation or another, we find that not one of the 110 males born into the village before 1930 was given out as a kue-páng-kiá:. The only two such adoptions of which we have any record occurred after 1930, and neither of these are really exceptions to the preference for lineal ties. In both instances a child's grandparents decided to give a childless son one of his brother's male children. These two adoptions were thus made from lineal rather than from a collateral perspective, and did not invole a sacrifice of lineal ties for the sake of collateral ties.

#562 • 342 In speaking of a male infant a village mother will sometimes refer to the child as her pó̂u-pŭe, her "treasure." The term is never used with reference to female infants, nor is there any female counterpart of the term. The term which one hears repeatedly with reference to female children is the term liâu-cì-hŭe, "something to lose money on." Male children are "treasures" because it is through its male offspring

*562 that a family achieves its most important goal, the perpetuation of its
• 842 line. Female children, on the other hand, are "something to lose money on" because the money invested in raising a female child is lost when she marries. Her children become heirs and descendants of her husband's family, and her labor and skills a contribution to the welfare of her husband and his relatives. Whereas a son will remain with his parents and support them in their old age, the most that can be expected of a daughter is that she will mourn her parents when they die. As a result, most villagers feel that it is imperative to have male children and see little point in raising their female children. As one of our more outspoken informants put it, "There is no point in having daughters if you have sons. Daughters are just things you waste money on. You feed them and take care of them when they are small, and then when they are old enough to help you they marry and belong to someone else."

*583 The family which chooses to raise their female children does, of course, receive a bride price when they marry, "to thank them for raising the girl." While this is often a considerable sum of money, it does not really compensate a family for the expenses incurred in the girl's upbringing. The bride price is usually barely adequate to cover the expenses of the girl's engagement and marriage, and often a family finds that the marriage of a daughter actually costs them money. A marriage in a family invariably involves a number of dinners and teas, and when these are held in the bride's home they are the responsibility of her
[431] family. The family must also provide themselves with new clothes to attend the various festivities, and when they visit the groom's home they

583 584 hand-drawn carts, the contents laid out on sheets of red paper for all to see. The children of the bride's family often spend an entire morning pinning ten dollar bills onto the sheets of red paper to make the usual gift of a thousand dollars cash as impressive as possible. Such a colorful procession naturally collects crowds of curious housewives all along its route, and their shrewd estimates often serve to fix the family's social standing for years to come. As a result, few families attempt to economize on a dowry, if not for their daughter's sake, then at least for their own sake.

593 562 842 We might therefore say that while male children are valued as heirs and descendants, female children are regarded as something on which one stands to lose either money or face. Parents and grandparents may be as personally fond of their female children as they are of their male children, but it is simply not sensible for them to raise a number of their own daughters. If a family is going to raise any female children at all, it is better for them to adopt sîm-pûa than to raise their own daughters. A sîm-pûa can marry a son of the family and bear children who will belong to the family, while a daughter is forbidden by the incest taboo from ever playing such a role. She can only remain a member of her natal family by making a matrilocal marriage, and such marriages are pointless if a family has sons of their own. A wealthy family can, of course, choose to raise both their sons and daughters, but in the years before 1930 people in Hsiachichou were too poor for such luxuries. The cost of raising a daughter might make it difficult for a family to provide for their male children, and it would be

593 597 562 [584]

[178] [656]

*597 556 give their daughters out as sīm-pûa. The villagers themselves assume that such a correlation exists, but the limited data that we have do not seem to corroborate their assumption. The few cases for which we have all of the necessary information include several families who gave one daughter out as a sīm-pûa and sold another as a lông-lù. The choice between the two forms of adoption does not seem to have been a very significant one for these families, and so perhaps here again relative wealth is only an important factor when one compares the very wealthy and the very poor.

*597 *562 *121 We are thus able to draw a relatively simple picture of decisions concerning adoption in the years before 1930. Whether or not any particular child was given away in adoption depended primarily upon the child's sex and the composition of the family in which he was born. The prime concern of any family in making decisions about their membership was to have descendants who could care for the adult members of the family in their old age and provide for the continuation of the family into the next generation. A child who was born into an as yet childless family was thus almost never given away in adoption. Of 18 males and 14 females born into childless families only 1 (5 percent) of the males and 4 (22 percent) of the females were given out in adoption. [735] But while every family was very much concerned to have heirs and descendants, all but a very few families were so poor that they could not easily afford to raise all of their offspring. [611] [582] The general preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage also created among all families a tendency to value their male children much more than [842] their female children.

CHAPTER 11

THE DECISION TO ADOPT

During the past seventy years at least 20 women who married into Hsiachichou had the great misfortune to not bear male children. In 12 of these 20 cases the woman did not bear any children at all, and in the other 8 cases she bore only female children. There have also been a large number of women who married into village families and did not bear any male children until a number of years after their marriage. We can be certain that in every one of these cases the family in question would have liked to adopt a male child. The value of male children is so pervasive in the society that every family without sons will naturally be anxious about the fact, and the most obvious solution to the problem is to adopt a male child. It is also very likely that many of those families with only one male child would likewise have been happy to adopt a boy if the opportunity had been offered. Most people in the village consider it a risk to depend upon only a single son or grandson. One of our informants told us, "You have to have at least two or three sons. If you have only one son, and he isn't good to you, then what can you do? You should have several sons so that if one isn't good to you you can lean on the other."

But while the majority of village families would have been pleased at one time or another to be able to adopt a male child, the fact is that very few families ever have. We find in our genealogical

*597 involved in paying a large sum of money for a child whose loyalty would always be a matter of concern.

The reluctance of most families to buy a male child is also evident in the fact that in 5 of the 8 cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou [842] the family had already adopted at least one female child. It is commonly believed in the village that the adoption of a female child will increase a woman's chances of bearing a male child, it being said that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." We might say that it is only when a family is convinced that they have exhausted both natural and supernatural means that they finally turn to buying a male child. In terms of their alternatives for insuring their future, the family is then in a position of having to adopt a son or arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. When faced with these alternatives some families which can afford to do so run the risk of buying a son, but never before. The only exceptions are those very few cases in which a family is able to adopt a son from an agnate, and the occasional unusual case such as the young man who received a son in adoption as payment for having allowed a sīm-pûà to marry out of the family.

*597 *562 198 The adoption of male children by families living in Hsiachichou is thus very rare. The adoption of female children, on the other hand, is surprisingly common. While only 4 (4 percent) of 112 boys born before 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou were adopted sons, we find that the girls raised in the village before 1930 included more adopted daughters than daughters. Of 113 girls born before 1930 and raised by families living in Hsiachichou 80 (71 percent) were adopted daughters. In more

#599 #583 to adopt a son, but this is often impossible because of the expense. If they are poor and cannot find an agnate willing to give them a boy, they must be satisfied with a daughter and the hope that they will be able to find a good man willing to marry into their family.

#599 #842 When a woman has been married a number of years and not yet borne children and her husband's family then adopts a female child we can be fairly confident that the adoption was made with a matrilocal marriage in mind. But what if the woman has only been married two or three years at the time of the adoption? We find at least 19 women who adopted a female child within the first five years of marriage, and in 8 of these cases the women had been married less than two years. A matrilocal marriage is usually undertaken only as a last resort, and a couple who have been only recently married should not be ready to turn to last resorts. It is likely that they will bear children of their own, and if not they may still be able to arrange to adopt a son. In either case the adoption will not only have been pointless, but will also prove a costly loss to the family. They will then have to marry the adopted daughter out of the family, wasting both the cost of raising her and the expense of her marriage. That we find such a large number of adoptions by women married no more than a few years would seem to indicate that there is some other function which an adopted daughter may play.

Given the normal family cycle, a man's parents will usually be in their mid-forties by the time their sons marry, a stage in life at which they will have begun to think of their grandchildren. It is the joy of every elderly person to have many grandchildren about him in his

declining years, and it is of the utmost importance for a person to see that he will have many sons and grandsons to take him to the mountain when he dies. If, then, the son's wife does not become pregnant within the first year or two of marriage, her husband's parents begin to fear that the girl is barren. Her failure to show signs of pregnancy at the earliest possible time is also inevitably noticed by the family's neighbors, and someone is certain to suggest that this is a punishment visited upon the family for some former misdeed. Such gossip naturally arouses the husband's parents, and further exacerbates their own worries about their daughter-in-law's fertility. The man's mother then begins to chide her daughter-in-law who is already anxious for her own reasons. The result is a state of tension which grows in intensity as the months pass. If it is true that anxiety about fertility serves to make conception less likely, as psychiatric studies have suggested, the chances of the daughter-in-law's bearing children decline as the tension and anxiety around her increase.

If after eighteen or twenty months the girl is still not showing the signs of pregnancy, the family will often consult a shaman or fortune teller. Human fertility is thought of in Hsiachichou in terms of an arboreal analogy. Every woman has a tree with a number of red and white blossoms, the white blossoms representing the number of female children she will bear, and the red the number of male children. Should a woman fail to conceive and bear children it is probably because the tree is dying, the buds withering before they can come to blossom. There can be various reasons for this. It may be that the tree is

842 unhealthy as a result of a lack of nourishment, or it may be that the
755 tree is being attacked by some kind of ghost. If these baneful in-
775 fluences can be counteracted, the tree will flourish and the woman will be fruitful. The remedy in the case of an unhealthy tree is usually to prescribe herbal medicines for the woman, while ghosts are more often dealt with by means of rituals intended to elicit the aid of a benevolent
842 supernatural. One thus finds that the young married woman spends a
755 great deal of time and money seeking the proper herb and the intervention of potent deities. In observing the activities of a local shaman over several months we noted that only physical illness outranked worries about fertility as a reason for a person's seeking his services.

597 If a family tries these various herbal and ritual remedies and
755 their daughter-in-law still does not conceive, a shaman or fortune
842 teller may suggest that they adopt a daughter. As we have already mentioned, it is commonly believed that the adoption of a female child will stimulate a pregnancy. How the villagers rationalize this belief in terms of their own conceptions of physiology and fate we were never able to discover; they simply say that "the girl will lead a boy into the family." But whatever the rationalization, the belief is held with the greatest confidence. Even our more sophisticated informants agreed that the adoption of a female child will improve a woman's chances of bearing a male child. The reason for this confidence is not hard to see. Of a total of 27 village women who adopted their first child 19 (70 percent) did later bear children. One reason for these favorable

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755 results may be that the adoption serves to alleviate the anxiety which is partially responsible for the woman's failure to conceive. At least this has been suggested by several studies of adoption and fertility in this country. What is more likely in the case of Hsiachichou, however, is that most of these adoptions occurred before the woman had really tested her ability to conceive. Most village wives are strong healthy young women, and given time they conceive and bear children. While most adoptions do therefore lead to the eventual birth of a child, it is not always for the reason suggested by the shaman. Shamans and psychiatrists share the good fortune of practicing an art in which it is often difficult to separate the results of their good works from the effects of time and patience.

*599
842 It would thus seem reasonable to assume that many adoptions by childless families were motivated more by anxiety about barrenness than by the intent to arrange a matrilocal marriage. The importance of children in the society gives us reason to assume that any childless couple will be anxious about the fact, and this assumption is confirmed by the amount of money and time spent on ritual and medicinal cures for barrenness. Given then that one of the cures in which most villagers have the greatest confidence involves the adoption of a female child, it would seem reasonable to conclude that many adoptions by childless couples were undertaken in the hope of stimulating a pregnancy. Several village families told us that this was their primary reason for adopting a child, and the timing of the adoptions seems to indicate that similar motives were responsible in a number of other cases. While

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

48 girls entering childless families 18 (38 percent) entered by way of adoption, and of 27 girls entering families with female children but as yet no sons 2 (7 percent) came by way of adoption. The difference is that we now find a relatively low rate of adoption among families with male children. Of a total of 103 girls entering families with at least one male child 12 (12 percent) entered by way of adoption, and 8 of these were girls who were adopted before 1940. Adoptions by families with male children were almost always for the purpose of obtaining a wife for one of their sons, and such adoptions became pointless once it was apparent that very few of them would culminate in a marriage. The rate of adoption among childless families remains high because while there is no point in adopting a girl to raise as a daughter-in-law, it is as important as ever for families to have sons and to make some other provision for the perpetuation of the family if they do not.

Whether or not a family adopts their first child depends primarily on how long it is after marriage that the wife becomes pregnant. The sooner she demonstrates her fertility, the less likely the family is to adopt a daughter. There is, however, one other variable. A family is somewhat more likely to adopt a daughter for the wife of a first born son than for the wife of a later-born son. Whereas we find among 54 first born sons 16 (30 percent) whose first child is an adopted daughter, we find only 6 (17 percent) adopted daughters among the eldest children of 36 later born sons. The reason is simply that the husband's parents are more concerned about a daughter-in-law's fertility before they have grandchildren than after they have grandchildren.

591 They therefore begin to press the wife of a first born son to adopt
842 a daughter much sooner than they do in the case of the wife of a later born son.

597 We have now seen some of the considerations which may cause a family
562 to give away its own children in adoption, and we have also isolated
858 some of the factors which may influence a family to adopt a child.
181 Before turning to our next topic it is worthwhile to pause for a moment to consider the total effect of these considerations upon the flow of male and female children between families. As a consequence of the preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage, males are highly valued and have a universal utility. It is important for a family to have male children to inherit their property and perpetuate their line, and a male child may play this role in either his natal family or in a foster family. The result is a great demand for male children and at the same time a low rate of male adoption. Many families which do not have sons of their own would like to adopt a male child, but the high value placed upon male children makes this difficult. Relatives are unwilling to surrender their own heirs and descendants and those who are willing to sell male children can ask a price which many families cannot afford. The situation of the male child is thus very much like that of a scarce commodity in a market economy. Insofar as males do change hands, they pass from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, but most people do not participate in the exchange at all. The great majority of those who want male children cannot afford to buy them, and most of those who have male children are unwilling to sell them.

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
573
589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[709]

589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me." [842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 5

[P.45]

LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

#159 bok's young son, the tiny family tyrant, smiled, and ran off to join a
#596 nearby ball game. Unlike any of his brothers and sisters, Kui-hok
157 openly adores his father. Even the adults are amused by his practice of hoarding any treats that come his way to share with his father. He is shy, particularly with us, but not so shy that he wouldn't occasionally slip his hand into my husband's when they happened to be going in the same direction.

#159 Lim Chui-ieng now uses her older children as substitutes for the
#593 adult friends she has been unable or unwilling to make in the village,
#596 but as infants she did not find the solace in them that many unhappy
#842 wives do. After the first two, she was unable to produce sufficient milk and had to rely on powdered milk and local substitutes such as rice gruel and soy milk. She complains of the work they cause her, and she complains of the bad effect her pregnancies have had on her health. After the birth of Kui-hok, Lim Chieng-cua made an extraordinary suggestion for a Chinese husband. He told his wife to have an hysterectomy, the only means of birth control considered reliable at that time by the Taiwanese. Most men, even men considerably poorer than Lim Chieng-cua, are unwilling to limit the size of their families. The number of sons a man has is a great source of pride. An old man told me, "People here don't ask how much money you have. They ask how many sons you have." Perhaps the fact that Lim Chieng-cua had three sons and was seriously concerned about Taiwan's population problems prompted his suggestion to his wife. And perhaps he was looking at the more personal future of his family. If his three sons as adults could not live in harmony under the leadership of the eldest, their share of the family property would be divided in three portions. A three-way division of Lim Chieng-cua's half of the family estate would make small portions and more sons with even smaller shares would land each of them back close to where old Lim Han-ci had begun. Lim Chieng-cua may also have been worried about his wife's health although to me she looked stronger than most of her neighbors. Perhaps he was just tired of her complaints.

Out of fear, Lim Chui-ieng delayed the operation until after the birth of two more children. Lim Chieng-cua remarked to me once that it would have been a great blessing to everyone if she had gone when
#159 he first suggested it. The fifth child, Bieng-cu, is an ugly, sulky little
596 girl. Her habitual expression is one of barely repressed anger. She has
157 not yet the courage to express her feelings in attacks on her peers so

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

she resorts to attacks on their possessions, their smaller siblings, or to vicious cursing from a safe distance. She is disliked by most of the village children and finds her only companionship with Tan A-hong's youngest daughter. Chai-ngo is gradually rejecting her as she becomes better acquainted in the village, leaving Bieng-cu to her own devices which consist mainly of tormenting the last born of Lim Chieng-cua's children, Cin-hok. When I left the village, Cin-hok was the four-year-old stereotype of all last-born boys in Chinese families. He acts much younger than his age and takes full advantage of his position. He cries more than any child I have ever known, but his tears can be turned on and off at will. To stop them one need only comply with the demand that started them, and that is exactly what everyone in the family does. What A-bok's young son achieves with insolent charm, Cin-hok gets with long, sullen crying. Both Bieng-cu and Cin-hok are lacking in the family good looks. They resemble neither parent but are square, stocky-looking peasants.

After Cin-hok's birth, Lim Chui-ieng entered a hospital and had an hysterectomy. When she left the hospital she went to her adoptive parents' home and informed them that she never intended to step foot in her husband's house again. I have no idea what plans she had for supporting herself, but after a few weeks her foster brothers told her firmly that she must return to her husband. Even if she believed them far superior to her husband's family, they could not afford to support another man's wife for the rest of her life. Poor Chui-ieng's last attempt to reject her "fate" ran head on into reality. Personally, I question the sincerity of her avowed intention of severing her relations with the Lim family. I am more inclined to believe it was just another attempt to bring trouble and humiliation upon what she considered the unjustifiably proud head of her husband. She returned to him and her children just over a month after her operation.

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

163
434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

511 There is little doubt that the villages appear quite prosperous and people are not afraid to spend money.

Health and Sanitation

743 As stated previously, there has been a tremendous
744 decrease in the death rate. No small part of this decrease is due to improved health care, both personal care and public health facilities. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction), a health station serving the village has been established in Hsin Tien. This station provides assistance in pregnancy and birth control as well as some treatment of disease and
[842] injury. It will also provide and insert Intrauterine Devices (I.U.D.) at a cost of $30.00, a day's pay for a woman. However, Sanlei village women prefer a private hospital, also in Hsin Tien, which charges $120.00. The latter center provides more privacy and personal attention and also guarantees to refund the fee if there is rejection of the device or provide treatment without charge in the event of bleeding.

744 There are also educational programs to stimulate intensive village health and sanitation practices. However, sanitation techniques in the village are not always in accord with knowledge. For example, all village adults know that the water should be boiled for ten minutes before drinking it. However, although almost no one drinks

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is 511 463 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day 465 or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 However, the family is deeply in debt because the 736 two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

584 554 183 123 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtaining marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 851 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a siaosiv marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a siaosiv marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

597 improve her position in an extended household soon after
562 marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for
842 a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

597 A second additional reason for the adoption of
769 daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

The Desire for Children

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The following expression of the Confucian design for living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the offenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to worship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social security is essentially provided by one's children and moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of validating one's position in the community. It would be very rare for a childless man to fill an official position or play any significant leadership role in the community. A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's family through her children. There is a culturally provided escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the equivalent of a natural child.

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The pressure for descendants has other concomitant effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had no real personal desire of their own although the cultural values and logic of security mean the latter would be unlikely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage. In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

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581 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide
842 security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high
597 sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 Martin Yang reports that the number of children de-
178 sired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing
183 over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longi-
125 tudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of
183 a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For
178 young married women, it is possible that the attitude may
842 change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

The typical desired family size among women of childbearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

842 Almost everyone agrees that a couple should have the first child as soon after marriage as possible and I found no married childless couples employing birth control measures. It is proper to continue having children until the 833 first grand-child is born. Although it is expected that 842 intercourse will continue as long as physically possible, a couple who continues to have children after they have become grandparents will experience much ridicule.

Pregnancy and Birth

843 Pregnancy and birth are periods of anxiety in every 844 society for they are physically dangerous for mother and child alike since either may die. There may be a spontaneous abortion or defective children may be born. Consequently, almost everywhere, special ritual is required with respect to various aspects of the period of pregnancy.

Seemingly, in Sanlei, some of the ritual or belief is supported by modern medical discoveries, i.e., certain food requirements such as increased consumption of meat and eggs for expectant mothers is medically sound. The origins of other customs are lost in antiquity. It has been posited in another context that certain proximate events were often interpreted to have spurious causal connections (Carroll, 1963:5). In any case, there is a great host of Chinese beliefs connected with pregnancy and birth with attendant rituals and avoidances which are exceeded in number only by those related to death.

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[842] As previously stated, it is hoped the first child will be a boy and boys will continue to be desired following the first child until the desired number is acquired. There are rituals to change the sex of the unborn child from female to male, some performed by the family and others by specialists, but villagers do not believe them very effective. It is also possible to detect the sex by various means such as computations involving the mother's age and month of conception.

844 Most births in the village are attended by a local unlicensed midwife with the assistance of a few older women while men are excluded. A woman should not make much noise during birth as everyone lives crowded together and loud [843] crying or screaming would be disturbing. Herbs have been consumed monthly commencing the third month with more added as the expected delivery date nears. Women give birth while lying down on their backs.

The new baby is wiped with sesame oil and a cloth soaked in salt water is used to clean his mouth followed by sugar water. Eye drops are irregularly used, increasing now in frequency but still only half the time for they cost extra. The baby is wrapped in a cloth and placed next to

864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[812] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

527 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

796 known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and
769 any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a
775 common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

796 The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on
796 the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday
821 of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship
[782] affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful
[431] this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends
[362] and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event
[842] (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive
[875] long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to
(431) the li school teachers.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 [759] [743] The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the *hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 759 178 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 759 465 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attending several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

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846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic 356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere • 843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from 776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The [197] fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good. 251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as 744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

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843 For just about every other event in village requiring
562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
846 He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

• 843 The husband usually is told matter of factly as soon as the wife suspects she is pregnant for only wives keep track of the menstrual cycle. Outside the immediate household, others are not normally told until the woman starts to show but since social relations are so intimate, word soon gets around. Outsiders are really curious only about brides but only old women in the village ask brides openly, usually accompanied with a cackle and slapped knee, "Are you pregnant yet?" The girls never answer and are greatly embarrassed while older people laugh openly and younger ones smile. From older women, the expectant mother learns what should be done, what is good to eat, what food and activities to avoid, etc.

[782] The pregnant girl may have prayed to a particular god or a variety of gods for assistance in becoming pregnant so the answer to the prayer should be recognized with rich food sacrifices. Rarely does anyone regret a pregnancy.

843 M. There are many taboos for a pregnant woman such as the set which derives from the belief in Tai Shen, the god of the pregnant womb. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant, Tai Shen enters her room and hides somewhere, under the bed, in a chair, on a picture on the wall, etc. If he is disturbed, he may harm the baby, possibly causing an abortion. Thus, it is necessary to keep the bedroom undisturbed all [356] during pregnancy. The belief prevents sweeping and cleaning

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
716 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
356 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
843 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning
before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertent-
ly offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain
in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
844 is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because
716 of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place
in the regular bedroom.

178 An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen
844 is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a
716 small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor
185 for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers
with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore
having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but
still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible
to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, relig-
ious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so
the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hos-
pital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

843 There is a whole host of other taboos for the preg-
nant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the
baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes,
etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding
ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 • [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1980–1981, has told me that Matsu is not considered

121 general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years. Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from modern included housing types, extensiveness of material goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing machines, changes in occupational structure, average level of formal education, and types of health practices. The traditional village was one which had changed relatively little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village was one which had changed considerably. I will illus-
121 trate with one concrete example. In the traditional vil-
178 lage, mid-wives attended at births which have usually
844 been in the home; in the modern village, most women went by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

121 Personal factors not directly relevant to the research design also influenced selection of the village: we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These two conditions did not prove to be problems since every site that approached reasonable congruence with the other above requirements would have seemingly made out entry easy.

122 Finally, I traveled with my family which included two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

757 a variety of different traditional and modern medicines hanging on the walls in houses. People use what they desire and when the salesman returns he replaces missing items and charges for them although there is no charge if none have been used. Different salesmen provide different combinations of drugs. There are 134 such medicine bags distributed among 59 of the 66 village households.

758 Health care has greatly improved in recent years. People go to a doctor much more often than previously. A contributing stimulus is the care received by miners and their families under health insurance programs. A Western-style doctor, a Mainland army officer, started a part-time practice in a rented room in Erhlei two months before we left Taiwan. Sanlei has a mid-wife responsible for most births. However, in the past five years, a few women in the village have traveled to the hospital in Hsin Tien after the onset of labor, usually returning about four hours after birth. Births in a hospital are common among the women living in Erhlei. The half-hour ride on the bouncing bus with a laboring woman is sometimes most exciting, especially if she has already given birth to several children. On more than one occasion, a woman in labor has gotten on the bus and had the baby during the one hour round trip without ever getting off.

758 844

262 The final factor contributing to improved health and longer life is diet. Fish and pork consumption is at

842 Almost everyone agrees that a couple should have the first child as soon after marriage as possible and I found no married childless couples employing birth control measures. It is proper to continue having children until the 833 first grand-child is born. Although it is expected that 842 intercourse will continue as long as physically possible, a couple who continues to have children after they have become grandparents will experience much ridicule.

Pregnancy and Birth

843 Pregnancy and birth are periods of anxiety in every 844 society for they are physically dangerous for mother and child alike since either may die. There may be a spontaneous abortion or defective children may be born. Consequently, almost everywhere, special ritual is required with respect to various aspects of the period of pregnancy.

Seemingly, in Sanlei, some of the ritual or belief is supported by modern medical discoveries, i.e. certain food requirements such as increased consumption of meat and eggs for expectant mothers is medically sound. The origins of other customs are lost in antiquity. It has been posited in another context that certain proximate events were often interpreted to have spurious causal connections (Carroll, 1963:5). In any case, there is a great host of Chinese beliefs connected with pregnancy and birth with attendant rituals and avoidances which are exceeded in number only by those related to death.

and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of potentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place in the regular bedroom.

An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, religious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hospital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

There is a whole host of other taboos for the pregnant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes, etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

843 chung hsi (good counteracts good) means that either the mother or the newlyweds will likely suffer harm. There are many other such strictures but almost any lapses may be counteracted by the activities of a shaman.

[842] As previously stated, it is hoped the first child will be a boy and boys will continue to be desired following the first child until the desired number is acquired. There are rituals to change the sex of the unborn child from female to male, some performed by the family and others by specialists, but villagers do not believe them very effective. It is also possible to detect the sex by various means such as computations involving the mother's age and month of conception.

844 Most births in the village are attended by a local unlicensed midwife with the assistance of a few older women while men are excluded. A woman should not make much noise during birth as everyone lives crowded together and loud crying or screaming would be disturbing. Herbs have been consumed monthly commencing the third month with more added as the expected delivery date nears. Women give birth while lying down on their backs.

[843]

The new baby is wiped with sesame oil and a cloth soaked in salt water is used to clean his mouth followed by sugar water. Eye drops are irregularly used, increasing now in frequency but still only half the time for they cost extra. The baby is wrapped in a cloth and placed next to

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[MM] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

846 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can
612 afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go
784 outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under
845 other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do
784 not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the
782 husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*159 +396 *593 604 578 [527] 235 [262] [896]

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

[262] [851]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

[274] [289]

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

843 For just about every other event in village requiring
562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
• 846 He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
796 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
356 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
844 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
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553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

• 846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the 846 baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 834 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this 831 resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Le-cu, the cause of all the trouble, did not return for several days but was finally summoned by her mother when it became apparent that Lim A-pou had no intention of departing from the established cycle of responsibility for cooking. Many men make a hobby of cooking, displaying their special skills at banquets and the like. We often savored some of Lim Chieng-cua's specialties, but in this situation it would have been impossible for him to step into the breach for even one meal, serving his nephews and children. Instead, his eldest son managed, and managed quite well, until his sister returned to assist him. To my knowledge, no words were exchanged between daughter and father, but one look at her mother probably was punishment enough. I do not imagine that Chui-ieng passed up this opportunity to tell Le-cu what she had suffered on her behalf. For several weeks Le-cu was a model daughter, but she avoided her father whenever possible.

By the time Lim Chui-ieng was moving around the house again, Lau Kim-chiok had gotten a job in a brothel in Wanhua and came back to the village once a month, if then. After a few months she formed one of the semi-permanent liaisons which makes a prostitute's life more bearable and sent for her daughter to live with her. Lau Bit never returned to work in the factory. Not long after, I noticed a gayly dressed young woman, rather heavily rouged, visiting Lau Kim-chiok's mother. My interpreter, amused that I did not recognize her, said that this was Lau Bit. She couldn't have been much over sixteen, but, as with so many young prostitutes, her youth disappeared with her innocence. Just before I left the village, I heard that Lau Bit had had her first abortion.

Relations between Lim Chieng-cua and his wife improved considerably after the crisis of Lau Kim-chiok's return. Although Lim Chieng-cua did not appear any more attentive than usual, I think his wife at last realized that among other things, her husband no longer cared for the responsibilities and expenses of the kind of entertainment he had enjoyed during his affair with Kim-chiok. He had not, in fact, for years, but Chui-ieng's outrage and jealousy prevented her from accepting this. She still complains about money and on occasion refers vaguely to past excesses, but she is more cautious now in her choice of words.

*583 *593 591

Aside from these various considerations which might make any man reluctant to marry matrilocally, there is also the unwillingness of most parents to see a son marry out of the family. All of the same reasons which make it important for a family to have male children make it equally important that these sons remain in the family. As a result, men who make matrilocal marriages are often men who are not bound by any family claims. The situation of a young villager by the name of Lim Liong-hong is perhaps a good example of the kinds of circumstances which may lead to a man's making a matrilocal marriage. Born as the illegitimate child of an adopted daughter who became a prostitute when her foster parents were unable to arrange a marriage for her, Lim Liong-hong was left for his mother's foster parents to raise when she married and moved to southern Taiwan. Since his foster grandparents had sons and grandsons of their own, they took little interest in Lim Liong-hong, allowing him to govern the course of his own life from the time he graduated from primary school. When we knew him he was living part of the time with his foster grandparents in Hsiachichou, and part of the time with a maternal relative in Panchiao where he was working in a paper mill. According to his grandmother, this family has only one child, an adopted daughter, and "so they treat him very well because they would like to have him marry into the family." She thinks this would be a good thing, and whenever Lim Liong-hong returns to the village she urges him to go back to Panchiao. "I tell him that if he stays there a while maybe he will get used to that girl, and after a

597
562

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

[848] of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

597 The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaosiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at [435] marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [118] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [848] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

554 596 606

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

462 [574] [262]

a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

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Aside from her responsibility to her husband's family, a woman has more personal reasons for wanting to bear children. For one thing, barrenness is the most indelible of all stigmas. Old women who are quarreling will often accuse one another of being barren. It implies not only an abnormal physical state, but also something of a failure of character. To bear children is so important that those who *562 fail to do so must lack some essential moral quality. For another, it *593 is only through her children that a woman can realize her position as 842 a wife. The only common ground between a husband and wife in the 861 early years of their marriage is their children. Often they marry as almost total strangers, and etiquette demands that they remain distant to one another. As the village women express it, the children "give you something to talk to each other about." Finally, a woman's having any sense of security in her husband's home depends on her having children. Although the average village woman realizes that her husband's parents cannot afford to repudiate her, she also knows that they will never accept her until she provides them with grandchildren. It is by virtue of her children that a woman secures her status as a member of her husband's family. She herself may never become a full fledged member of the family until she dies, but as the mother of the family's male descendants she secures a position of respect. It is nothing to be a wife or a daughter-in-law, but it is a matter of pride to be a mother.

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Beyond those reasons we have already discussed, there are more general, less easily exemplified reasons for having children. One has

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

584 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtain-
654 ing marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to
183 disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly
123 rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team. (For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged
• 851 member of her new family for a wife attains a status in her husband's home only through her children, especially sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

> . . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of a child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood . . . the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incorporated into her husband's chia until after she has a child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact that the literature suggests that barren women could be divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard of it happening.

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.
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583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
861 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

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surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

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851 The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

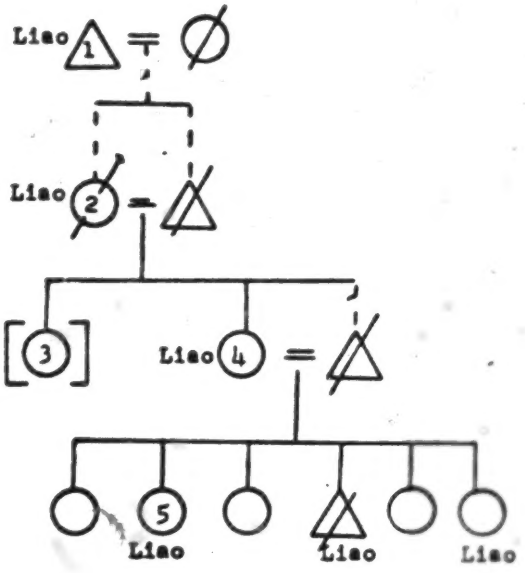

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

583 her. She (2) had two children: one (3) married out, but
• 851 an adopted-in husband was brought in for the other (4). The latter (4) had six children before her husband died and half were named Liao and half Wu in accordance with the initial arrangement that alternating children would be assigned each surname. At the time of the study, the family was searching for a man to be brought in as an adopted-in husband for Liao's 18 year old great-granddaughter (5). Liao (1) hoped to have him agree that all his children would have the surname Liao, but he was willing to reduce his conditions to a minimum of his choice of one of the first two only. Thus, Liao Chi-cheng (1) has been able to maintain his family name and ancestral line for three generations although there were no natural children in one generation, only girls in another, and the only male in the third died as a child.

583 Men who become adopted-in husbands usually possess
556 some social characteristic that makes them unlikely pros-
681 pects for a regular marriage. That is, they may be from a poor family, be an orphan, or be the last in a family with many sons. In each of these cases, it would be difficult for the man's family to afford the expenses necessary for a regular marriage. Sometimes the man has a physical defect such as a crippled leg which lowers his value as a groom. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a quite capable and ambitious young man with otherwise poor

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
• 851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

753 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed
755 in supernatural methods—the shaman.

There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly
755 diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in
757 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers
177 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates
178 which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hain Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when
[553] another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming
[852] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and
[967] then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

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851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

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resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

852 There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

853 Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[771] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

• 853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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593 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

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854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

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861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks: they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and your don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age. When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are *really* love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this, she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

863 Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six
• [854] or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women
889 and children carry children around strapped to their backs
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and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is variable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife normally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

CHAPTER 8

DECISIONS BY PARENTS

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• 855 The popular image of the adopted daughter in Taiwan is not unlike that of the stepchild so familiar to readers of European children's literature of the last century. The adopted daughter is invariably represented in folk songs and folk tales as the most miserable of human creatures, rejected by her parents, mistreated by her foster parents, an object of pity for the kind and scorn for the cruel. The situation of the sīm-pûa has, in fact, become symbolic of the innocent bitter victim of fate. To complain of your lot when you feel there is no recourse one need only say, "What a sīm-pûa am I!", and to convey an impression of a person who is both dejected and resentful it is enough to note that he has "a sīm-pûa face." So vivid is this image in the popular imagination that even small children are only too well aware of what it means to be an adopted daughter. A crying child never mistakes her mother's meaning when she tells her "to stop acting like a sīm-pûa", and even the most recalcitrant child bends to parental will when threatened with the prospect of adoption. As one of the most popular of Taiwanese proverbs has it, "It is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter."

Partially at least, this image of the adopted daughter is a popular stereotype, a representation which earns its way in the language and literature by its metaphorical value. Nonetheless, there is more

than a modicum of truth in the picture, at laast in so far as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned. Regardless of the form of adoption, an adopted daughter must work harder and longer than her foster parents' own female children; she is much less likely to be given an opportunity to attend school regularly; and when there is tension in the family it is the adopted daughter who is most likely to become the scapegoat. As one of our informants expressed it, "No matter what it is, an adopted daughter is always lower." There are, of course, exceptions. If the foster parents have no children of their own they are more likely to treat an adopted daughter much as they might treat a daughter, and occasionally even a girl adopted by a family with children can win her parents' affection. One girl who was adopted in the hope that "she would lead a boy into the family" told us that when her mother did bear a son within the year "she was so happy that she treated me just like a boy." But while such fortunate exceptions do occur, they are rare. We were told by a number of women who had been adopted daughters that the experience had taught them "to be careful" and "to watch other people's faces." While it would be too much to say that the following account is typical of the life of an adopted daughter, similar accounts from other women indicate that it is not exceptional.

> "When I was adopted my foster mother had to take a milk child to make money, and so I could only have the milk that was left over. There naturally wasn't enough and so I had to drink powdered milk and water off the rice. My foster sister tells me that the neighbors used to call her the fourteen year old mother because she was just like my mother. You know that when a baby doesn't get enough to eat it cries all the time. My foster mother would get angry when I cried, and just throw me on the bed. Then my sister

*597 • 855 would run and pick me up and beat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my <u>nia:</u> was so bad."

*597 626 Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may [558] interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

*597 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment
152 toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon
155 the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who
*597 hates her foster parents. At the beginning of the last chapter we
• 895 quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as
152 "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-puà's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-puà marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-puà who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-puà marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-puà form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depend-
[954] ing upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*596 *159 • 855 *593 603 We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

*596 *159 *593 157 Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

181 *593 To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

159 426 521 made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

159 525 Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is [857] old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their [855] mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

159 581 I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly [142] hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 561 [555] [514] A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 • 855

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 [493] One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

846
834 resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very
831 funny.

Babies

852 There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

853 Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the
853 children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a
855 child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered
832 while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

362 Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

000

861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child

• 855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[858] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 887 482 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women and children carry children around strapped to their backs

855 857 482 603 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small 593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var- 604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 855 [852] The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor- [854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a jani-
[363] tor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
• [855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem.

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them.

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal.

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige.

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

593 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the
854 day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of
857 six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task
618 falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion,
612 when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expresely asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 872 872 851 [464] The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 871 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who refuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 [554] Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

*597 they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of
*562 raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly,
*583 saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a
591 man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money
182 on and you might as well give her away."

*597 A second consideration which often enters into these decisions
*562 concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not
462 ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until
182 very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking

*597 for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this
• 857 work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is
462 a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as
182 she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsi-

*597 bility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child
*562 for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done
182

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day, I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who scoff at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

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she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry.

"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me.

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ieng told me: "She [probably the go-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] [465] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[851] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] [474] participate in rice-field activities outside their own family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

243 Under the best conditions, it is 110 days from transplanting to harvest although this period may range up to 130 days dependent on weather and the particular sub-variety of tsai lai rice used. Harvesting activities cover the latter part of the May through the early part of June. The usual work crew of five or six men take nearly four days to harvest a chia of land. The rice is threshed in a rotary foot-pedal machine, several of which are owned in the area, and then carried in baskets to the house court-yard where it takes three or four days in the sun to dry. The mounds of rice must be regularly turned so that all parts will be exposed to the sun. Women and children usually do the necessary raking but invariably, a man makes the decision when the crop is sufficiently dry. One chia of land produces about 6,000 chin (8,000 pounds) for the first crop. The rice straw is bundled and used for compost or sometimes sold to brokers from the city. For the first crop, due to the shortage of labor and great press of time, much of it is plowed under to enrich the soil.

In the meantime, the second crop activities start long before the first crop is harvested. The seeds are cast in the second seedbed in a manner similar to the first at the end of April or early in May. However, given the warmer weather, they only take about 30 to 40 days to be ready for transplanting and only about half as much seed

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[751] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

346 burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside,
353 directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are
[532] three large niches in the wall, each of which contains
776 from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 The temple is open from early in the morning until
857 late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by
794 children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast,
778 they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three
[517] men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the
778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess
524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers.
794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole
794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in
778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening,
[517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on
[794] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[621] The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

863 [834] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 837 482 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women and children carry children around strapped to their backs

and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is variable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife normally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[7

Life History of the Villager

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDREN

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The notion of limiting the number of their offspring is quite alien to Hsin Hsing villagers. They greatly desire children and feel that to have none is the saddest thing in life. This attitude is entirely in keeping with the general cultural emphasis on family continuity and care for aged parents which is summed up in the saying, "A husband and wife without children are people without a future." A son is of greater importance and value than a daughter, simply because it is the male who remains with the family and ensures its continuity; his sister's marriage inevitably takes her away from her natal family and ties her future to that of her husband and his kinship group.

Nevertheless, girl children are considered necessary in any household, and the ideal family consists of four or five children, of which two are girls. There are countless chores around the house for which daughters are needed, and today unmarried girls often contribute financially to the family income. Even the daughter's marraige plays an important part in helping to extend the family's relationships with others. When a parent dies, daughters return to mourn and wail at the funeral. As some villagers said, "If you have girls, then they will cry for you on the road one day." In addition, there is little doubt that most parents are sincerely saddened when their daughters marry and leave home. Parents are genuinely devoted to their children, regardless of sex. The children are welcomed and loved and treated equally, especially in early childhood. Even a physically handicapped child receives loving care, and no matter how inadequate the food supply may be, all will share it equally.

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However, under a patrilineal system the boy child is always more desirable, and the parents' love for all their children does not mean that a daughter's ultimate value is considered equal to that of a son. As several villagers said in more or less the same words, "When a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

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Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

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While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

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Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

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The past thirty years in Hsiachichou have thus seen a sharp decline in the rate of female adoption. Partially this is due to a decreased demand for adopted daughters, but primarily it is a result of changes in the economy and the structure of the kê. But is this the limit of the effect of these changes upon decisions concerning female adoption? We have seen in the last chapter that in the pre-1930 period the likelihood of a female child's being given in adoption was a function of her utility to her natal family. Those girls born into families who might need them to bring a son-in-law into the family or for their labor were retained, and those born into families with sons of their own and adequate domestic labor were given out in adoption. Do these same considerations enter into decisions about adoptions in the years after 1930? The question is an interesting one because of the very fact that the authority for these decisions has shifted from the older to the younger generations of the family. In asking whether or not the same considerations are relevant in the two cases we are asking whether or not the younger and the older generations of the family share the same values with regard to the nature and purpose of the family.

Despite the generally impoverished conditions of most families in Hsiachichou prior to 1930, very few families ever chose to give away in adoption a girl who was born before they had any other children. With no sons as yet the family had to face the possibility that they might not have male heirs, and so they chose to keep their daughter as a possible means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. Of 18

girls born into childless families only 4 (22 percent) were given out in adoption, and in at least 3 of these 4 cases the family was so poor as to be unable to afford such insurance. This same tendency is also found in the case of those decisions made after 1930. Of 35 female children born into childless families during this later period only 2 (6 percent) were given out in adoption, and in one of these cases the child's parents did not have any choice in the matter. Adopted by a village family as a sim-pua, the child's mother objected to marrying her foster brother, and was then allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give them her first born child in adoption.

In the years before 1930 the rate of adoption among those girls born into families with male but no female children was also relatively low, although somewhat higher than among those girls born into childless families. While not needed as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, girls born into families with no other daughters were valued for their labor, and hence were not commonly given out in adoption. Of 13 girls born into families with at least one son but no daughter only 4 (31 percent) were given away, and in several of these cases the child would probably have not been given away if it had not been that her grandparents already had other granddaughters. Again we find the same tendency for those decisions made after 1930. Of 17 girls born into families with sons but no daughters only 3 (18 percent) were given away, a rate of adoption which is higher than that found among girls born into childless families but still somewhat

lower than the overall rate for girls born after 1930. It is interesting to note that in two of those three cases in which a family reclaimed a daughter given away in adoption the girl was an only daughter of a family with several male children. These families apparently did value their only daughter to some extent even though they had given her away in adoption, and when offered the opportunity they were not too reluctant to take the child back.

The highest rate of adoption in the pre-1930 period was among those girls born into families with female children or both male and female children. These families already had all the female labor they could afford as well as the means of perpetuating their lines, and so they gave away their later born daughters to save the expense of raising them. Of the 47 girls born into such families 37 (81 percent) were given out in adoption, a rate substantially higher than that for girls born into families without female children. The same is true of those decisions made after 1930. Although the absolute rate of adoption among girls born into families with female children or both male and female children is much lower than in the pre-1930 period, it is much higher than among those girls born into families with no female children in the post-1930 period. Whereas only 5 (10 percent) of those 52 girls born into families without female children were given out in adoption, a total of 32 (31 percent) of those 103 girls born into families with female children were given in adoption.

We thus find much the same pattern of adoption in the years since 1930 as in the years prior to 1930, a correspondence which suggests

that all of these decisions were made in much the same terms. It would therefore seem that there is a close agreement among the generations of the family with regard to certain values concerning the goals of the family. Having more resources available to them and being more concerned about the personal welfare of their children, parents gave away fewer of their female offspring than did the grandparents when they held primary responsibility for these decisions. When circumstances did force the parents to give away one of their children, however, they generally made their decisions as to which child in much the same terms as had the grandparents. They gave away those girls who had little value as labor or as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, and they retained those girls who could be useful as domestic labor and who might be needed as a means of insuring continuity in the family line. Although we shall see later that the shift in authority from the older to the younger generations of the family has affected some decisions about marriage and adoption, it apparently did not alter the kinds of considerations which go into a decision about female adoption.

Another comparison between the adoption patterns of the two periods adds further weight to this argument. In the years before 1930 families almost always gave away girls born after a female but before a male as well as those girls born after the family had both a son and a daughter. Of those 13 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 11 (85 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 33 girls born into families with both sons and daughters

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26 (79 percent) were given in adoption. This is what one would expect if most families were so poor that they could not afford to raise their female children. When a family which did not have any sons as yet produced a daughter they would keep her as insurance against the possibility of not bearing sons, but they would tend to give away all of their later born girls whether or not they had borne a son in the meantime. They simply could not afford to keep two female children as insurance. If a family was not so pressed by their limited financial means, however, we might expect to find a very different attitude towards raising a second daughter when they had no sons. Until a family actually bore a male child who could act as an heir and descendant, they might very well want to keep more than one daughter as a potential means of bringing a man into the family. Just as it is considered wise to have more than one son "because you can't tell how one of them might treat you," it is also wise to have more than one daughter in case one of them rebels against the prospect of a matrilocal marriage. We might therefore expect to find a very different rate of adoption among girls born into families with daughters but no sons in the years after 1930. Living in a generally more favorable economy, most families could afford more insurance, and so we might expect them to keep all of their daughters until they actually produced a son, giving away their girls only if they were assured of continuity through a male heir. This is just what we do find. After 1930 girls born into families with a daughter but no sons were retained as members of the family nearly as often as those girls born into

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan. In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a year's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 118 boys born into the village before

1930 were sold as bīeng-līeng-kià:, but we do not find a single case of the sale of a male child among those 144 boys born after 1930. The only cases of male adoption in Hsiachichou in the last thirty years have been the two cases already mentioned in which a boy was transferred by his grandparents from one brother to another. Whatever other changes have taken place in Hsiachichou in recent years, it is obvious that the desire for an unbroken chain of male descendants has remained.

In the last chapter we saw that the likelihood of any particular girl's being given away as an adopted daughter was not to any large degree a function of the wealth of her natal family. Most families in the village at that time were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising a female child if she was not needed, and only a few families were so poor that they could not reasonably undertake the responsibility of raising at least one female child if there was good reason for them to do so. The likelihood of a girl's being given in adoption was thus a function of her value to her natal family, and this was determined in large part by the composition of the family into which she was born. The general poverty of the village forced all families to seriously consider giving away their female children, but it did not make any one family more or less likely to give away their daughters than another family. In the language of the experiment, wealth was a constant. But this is not the case in more recent years. As the general economy of Hsiachichou has changed during the course of the last three or four decades, some families have benefited from these changes more than others. In the early

Decisions about the sīm-pūa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

find only 3 (2 percent) adoptions for a total of 142 boys born in the years between 1940 and 1960, and it would appear that the sīm-pûa marriage will soon be an institution of the past in the village of Hsiachichou. In order to restore it one would have to reinstitute complete parental authority in the kâ. It was a system which had many advantages for the senior generations of the family, but it was an arrangement into which the younger generations entered only under compulsion.

We began this analysis of the sīm-pûa marriage in Hsiachichou by noting that most villagers take the view that children exist for the sake of their parents and the family rather than the family and the parents for the sake of the children. We are now in a position to offer some evidence for this statement. We have seen that the sīm-pûa form of marriage has several very real advantages for the senior generations of the family, and we have also seen that it is at best an unhappy fate for those who are forced to make such a marriage. Since we can safely assume that those parents who have made sīm-pûa marriages themselves are vividly aware of its difficulties, it is significant to note that they are no less likely to adopt sīm-pûa for their sons than are parents who did not make such a marriage. sīm-pûa marriages were planned for 12 (27 percent) of the 45 boys born to parents who had themselves made such a marriage, and for 40 (19 percent) of 208 boys born to parents who had married either matrilocally or in the preferred way. While it would be a mistake to conclude that village parents are unconcerned about the happiness of their children, it would be an even worse mistake to assume that they put the welfare of their children before that of the family.

*597 842 They therefore begin to press the wife of a first born son to adopt a daughter much sooner than they do in the case of the wife of a later born son.

*597 *562 *858 181 We have now seen some of the considerations which may cause a family to give away its own children in adoption, and we have also isolated some of the factors which may influence a family to adopt a child. Before turning to our next topic it is worthwhile to pause for a moment to consider the total effect of these considerations upon the flow of male and female children between families. As a consequence of the preference for patrilineal descent and patrilocal marriage, males are highly valued and have a universal utility. It is important for a family to have male children to inherit their property and perpetuate their line, and a male child may play this role in either his natal family or in a foster family. The result is a great demand for male children and at the same time a low rate of male adoption. Many families which do not have sons of their own would like to adopt a male child, but the high value placed upon male children makes this difficult. Relatives are unwilling to surrender their own heirs and descendants and those who are willing to sell male children can ask a price which many families cannot afford. The situation of the male child is thus very much like that of a scarce commodity in a market economy. Insofar as males do change hands, they pass from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, but most people do not participate in the exchange at all. The great majority of those who want male children cannot afford to buy them, and most of those who have male children are unwilling to sell them.

*597 *562 • 858 182 Because of the incest taboo and the preference for patriliny, the situation is very different in the case of female children. While male children have a universal value, the value of a female child varies with her situation. She is usually of little value to the family into which she is born, but she may be of considerable value to a family which adopts her. To her natal family she is "something to lose money on," but to a potential foster family she is the means of achieving the goal of genealogical continuity. The result is that while there is a one way flow of male children from those who have to sell them to those who can afford to buy them, there is a generalized exchange of female children. Families who have female children gladly give them away in adoption, and at the same time they are glad to adopt female children from other families. Most families participate in the system as both givers and takers because they have no use for their own girls and do have uses for the girls of others. The only exceptions result from the possibilities created by the institution of matrilocal marriage. When a family has no sons this institution allows them to substitute a daughter for a son, and as a result they do not give away their own daughters or adopt daughters from others. The possibility of a matrilocal marriage makes some female children the equivalent of male children and thereby precludes their entrance into the system of exchange.

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[For the importance of the male child in the Hokkien family see category 842.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents.

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

 596 857

the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correc· his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [571]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

593 854 857 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—99 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

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brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief. [61] The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

621 769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

54 Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is es-
• 861 pecially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily
596 identify which family within it. Also, although women
[621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields.
[461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the
462, break up of compounds and the division of extended fami-
508 lies is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
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[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[589] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only administered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with
[604] a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[858] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women 857 and children carry children around strapped to their backs 482

593 in a joint household, she usually does not take much part in money management or training for money management until about age 30 or more. In a few households, the man is extremely dominant.

Sex

836 [719] Most brides and grooms are virgins. Today, several of the young men have previously visited houses of prostitution while in the service and many visited tea houses in Hsin Tien where they play with women but do not have intercourse. When the bride is not a virgin, she has usually only had relations with the boy she marries in a love match. [648] Some of the girls who work in the factories have had illegitimate children arousing reluctance among some villagers about letting their girls go to work.

864 Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, "He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her" (See Glossary C). Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are

• 864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

*121 182 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

8% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

562
867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the lung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

.1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores.

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income.

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
293 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [824] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former • [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [541] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into h family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in
872 Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of
85 the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at
[464] least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who re-
871 fuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom
[554] are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

648 from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit
[631] head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.
[632]
[191] Many of the men but only a few women learned some
871 Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese
648 school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

648 Economically, there were many improvements. The
177 narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road.
[49] Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very
[316] narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin
[496] Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad
[245] improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about
[245] the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started
[242] to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques in-
[494] creased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

fertilizer. The expansion of production in the coal mines and industrial growth have meant more non-agricultural economic opportunities for villagers. The extent of democratic participation in decision-making processes has increased. The li now has its own school with attendance reaching nearly 100%.

As part of a war dispersal process, the government established a branch of the Communication Bureau in Wulei, the last village in Talei Li (see Figure 2). Most of the Bureau's employees live in company housing. Since they are nearly all Mainlanders, the former Taiwanese residents had to move out. Although Wulei is still officially part of Talei Li, its Mainlander residents do not participate in li politics or li religious affairs. The children do not even attend the li school. Instead, they travel daily to a school in Hsin Tien which has a much higher academic reputation. The attitudes of the Mainlanders in Wulei towards the Taiwanese are characterized by a high level of ethnocentrism. They frequently curse the Taiwanese and berate them.

To facilitate transportation to the Communication Bureau, the government blacktopped the road all the way from Hsin Tien to Wulei. A small bus company maintains a route from Hsin Tien to Wulei and back nine times each day. Mainlanders seldom travel on the bus however, possessing a private bus on which only Bureau employees and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a [871] major new market. Government policies are increasing edu- [702] cational opportunities. The universal military draft, in [582] addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military [204] obligations. A few villagers read the national news and [207] most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

872 Li families send a total of 423 students to school, over 98 per cent of the eligible residents in the li, with girls constituting a slight majority over boys.

871 The Sanlei school is not highly rated. During the first four years students attend only half day and the last two years only permit full days. Admission to junior high school in Taiwan is by competitive examination except for expensive private secondary schools. Successful completion of the examination usually requires six years of full day classes plus a considerable amount of evening classes and individual tutoring. Though illegal, the majority of island schools provide these extra programs for a fee. Talei's school does not and this is one of the reasons why the Mainlander children in Wulei travel to Hsin Tien to school.

871 Villagers do not yet fully believe in the efficacy
872 of education. They point out that most junior high graduates do not earn more money than elementary graduates. School teachers, for example, earn less than most miners and many farmers. For example, a rich farming family with four sons in T'oulei sent the youngest to college and he is now teaching in a Hsin Tien school. Although he brings some prestige to his family, his three farming brothers supplement his salary. In its history, Sanlei has had only one high school graduate and two junior high school graduates and only one of these graduates earns more

871
875 money than an average farmer.

871 Taiwanese schools are rated comparatively like American universities. An important key to the quality rating is the percentage of graduates who take and pass the examination. It is this factor that makes the Talei school so low in rating.

Although education is essentially free, there are a number of fees such as those for the Parents' Association, various taxes, and school supplies although text books are provided without cost by the Ministry of Education. Fees total about $40.00 for the first and second grade, rising in steps to $60.00 for the sixth. Since an experienced farm laborer earns $50.00 per day, the fees are not really high but not inconsequential either, especially if there are many children in the family.

875 The local community has little influence on the selection of the school staff which consists of outsiders, primarily Mainlanders. Only two live in Talei Li while most of the others live in Pouti, a larger more sophisticated community. The staff tends to be an integrated group who feel greatly superior to villagers.

876 Relations with students are usually harsh and "secondary" rather than "primary," i.e., not intimate (Cooley, 1909). This relationship is considered proper by educator and villager alike. Indeed, according to villagers, a teacher must look and sound "fierce" if he

876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

[571]

The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

• 871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for 829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of
121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes
• 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the
882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schooler versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

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Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant
[368] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Poutí or Hsin Tien. Six of the

875 thirteen staff members are males and seven, females.

871 875 The principal and teachers are appointed by the Provincial Ministry of Education with the local villagers having no choice in their selection. However, a degree of local control is maintained through the Parent-Teacher's Association which raises part of the money for school construction and equipment.

The qualifications of Talei Li teachers are below national average because an appointment in Talei Li is not a desireable post because of the few opportunities to earn extra income. In order for a student to go on to junior high school he must pass a competitive examination which is nearly impossible to accomplish without supplementary school lessons at night and individual tutoring. Although illegal, all good schools provide supplemental offerings for a fee and thereby, teachers earn a sizeable portion of their yearly income from these extra fees which are shared with the principal. The desire for higher education is not very strong in the village as most villagers do not believe that more education will produce opportunities for more income. Therefore, the li school has no such extra courses and few li children request extra tutoring, denying the teachers and principals the opportunity for a good income although a few of the teachers living outside Talei Li earn extra money tutoring in Pouti.

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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562 operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei
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[288] which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

512 vacation period for the school alone marks significant
[871] changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
[354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at
[515] 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,295, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

872 to drop out for a while, and have now returned to complete their schooling.

During 1958, there were fourteen other Hsin Hsing village children of school age—two boys and twelve girls—who did not attend the primary school. The girls had either not attended at all that year or had dropped out during the course of the school year. The number of students from Hsin Hsing not attending school is proportionally higher than the number from other villages in the Hao Hsiu primary school area. This is probably attributable to one or both of two factors: the impoverished condition of some families and the negative attitude of some parents toward the necessity of schooling, particularly for girls.

871 872 852 [464] The economic factor is undoubtedly more important, especially in Hsin Hsing village, which suffers most from a land scarcity. More of the male adults, both young and old, must go to Taipei to work on at least a part-time basis. Consequently, the women must take a much greater part in cultivating and harvesting, which means that school age children must care for their preschool siblings. This applies mainly to girls in Hsin Hsing and helps account for the much larger number of girls not attending school. However, the negative attitude toward education also plays an important part in keeping children from school. The mother frequently feels this way about schooling because, unlike her husband, she has had few outside contacts or experiences to show her the value of education. However, to answer the social pressure to send their children to school, villagers who refuse to do so tend to use the economic factor to justify their actions. They point out that the child is needed at home to care for younger siblings while the mother works in the fields. And they add that "it is not important for girls to go to school and learn to read." Since village children are not required to wear uniforms in primary school, and since the cost of books and supplies is small, parents do not usually cite these expenses as a reason for keeping a child home from school.

872 871 Although primary school education is compulsory, parents who refuse to send their children are not forced to do so. At the very most, the local school teacher may pay the family a visit and make a tactful attempt to persuade the parents to send the child. If they still refuse, the school drops the matter until the next year, when the personal request by a teacher is repeated.

871 [554] Most villagers however, do realize the importance of education. While they feel that schooling is more necessary for boys, many also recognize its value for girls. Adult Hsin Hsing villagers, most of whom are illiterate, often say that "one suffers if one cannot read and write." It is generally the educated members of the village who are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read. 871 554

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school. 872 191

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice. 212

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate. [204]

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home. 873

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing [874]

Languages

Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one language is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

Mandarin is the official language in the schools. Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

Several of the older men, especially the more influential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

474 Currently, the 66 members, 31 from Sanlei, constitute an
245 all-time high reflecting the previously described change to citrus cultivation. Four representatives serving three-year terms represent Talei Li, one from T'oulei, one from Erhlei, and two from Sanlei, another equal balance of factions. These representatives meet with others in Ch'i Chang to elect 20 of their members to represent them at the Taipei (main) level. At the Taipei level, 111 representatives elect a 25 man board which selects the general manager.

The fruit cooperatives are much larger than farmers' associations, the election process is more indirect, and the organization is less responsive to its membership. However, its management has generally been excellent, distributed profits are good, and marketing is efficient. No Talei citrus farmer has failed to join the cooperative and each markets most of his crop through the association.

Education

• 872 Talei Li has its own six-year primary school located in Erhlei. Under Japanese rule, students walked to the Pouti school. In 1955, a branch of the Pouti school was established in the li, and in 1964, it was granted independence. Currently the school has a principal, twelve teachers, and a janitor. There is no clerk but one will be added when the school gets bigger. Two hundred Talei

872 Li families send a total of 423 students to school, over 98 per cent of the eligible residents in the li, with girls constituting a slight majority over boys.

871 The Sanlei school is not highly rated. During the first four years students attend only half day and the last two years only permit full days. Admission to junior high school in Taiwan is by competitive examination except for expensive private secondary schools. Successful completion of the examination usually requires six years of full day classes plus a considerable amount of evening classes and individual tutoring. Though illegal, the majority of island schools provide these extra programs for a fee. Talei's school does not and this is one of the reasons why the Mainlander children in Wulei travel to Hsin Tien to school.

871 875 Villagers do not yet fully believe in the efficacy of education. They point out that most junior high graduates do not earn more money than elementary graduates. School teachers, for example, earn less than most miners and many farmers. For example, a rich farming family with four sons in T'oulei sent the youngest to college and he is now teaching in a Hsin Tien school. Although he brings some prestige to his family, his three farming brothers supplement his salary. In its history, Sanlei has had only one high school graduate and two junior high school graduates and only one of these graduates earns more

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for

829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

• 872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. [431] When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. [764] Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

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Taiwan AD6

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The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

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ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[9] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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Peihotien

because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
562 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

872 Li families send a total of 423 students to school, over 98 per cent of the eligible residents in the li, with girls constituting a slight majority over boys.

871 The Sanlei school is not highly rated. During the first four years students attend only half day and the last two years only permit full days. Admission to junior high school in Taiwan is by competitive examination except for expensive private secondary schools. Successful completion of the examination usually requires six years of full day classes plus a considerable amount of evening classes and individual tutoring. Though illegal, the majority of island schools provide these extra programs for a fee. Talei's school does not and this is one of the reasons why the Mainlander children in Wulei travel to Hsin Tien to school.

871 875 Villagers do not yet fully believe in the efficacy of education. They point out that most junior high graduates do not earn more money than elementary graduates. School teachers, for example, earn less than most miners and many farmers. For example, a rich farming family with four sons in T'oulei sent the youngest to college and he is now teaching in a Hsin Tien school. Although he brings some prestige to his family, his three farming brothers supplement his salary. In its history, Sanlei has had only one high school graduate and two junior high school graduates and only one of these graduates earns more

871
• 875 money than an average farmer.

871 Taiwanese schools are rated comparatively like American universities. An important key to the quality rating is the percentage of graduates who take and pass the examination. It is this factor that makes the Talei school so low in rating.

Although education is essentially free, there are a number of fees such as those for the Parents' Association, various taxes, and school supplies although text books are provided without cost by the Ministry of Education. Fees total about $40.00 for the first and second grade, rising in steps to $60.00 for the sixth. Since an experienced farm laborer earns $50.00 per day, the fees are not really high but not inconsequential either, especially if there are many children in the family.

875 The local community has little influence on the selection of the school staff which consists of outsiders, primarily Mainlanders. Only two live in Talei Li while most of the others live in Pouti, a larger more sophisticated community. The staff tends to be an integrated group who feel greatly superior to villagers.

876 Relations with students are usually harsh and "secondary" rather than "primary," i.e., not intimate (Cooley, 1909). This relationship is considered proper by educator and villager alike. Indeed, according to villagers, a teacher must look and sound "fierce" if he

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a jani-
[363] tor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the

875 thirteen staff members are males and seven, females.

871 The principal and teachers are appointed by the
875 Provincial Ministry of Education with the local villagers having no choice in their selection. However, a degree of local control is maintained through the Parent-Teacher's Association which raises part of the money for school construction and equipment.

The qualifications of Talei Li teachers are below national average because an appointment in Talei Li is not a desireable post because of the few opportunities to earn extra income. In order for a student to go on to junior high school he must pass a competitive examination which is nearly impossible to accomplish without supplementary school lessons at night and individual tutoring. Although illegal, all good schools provide supplemental offerings for a fee and thereby, teachers earn a sizeable portion of their yearly income from these extra fees which are shared with the principal. The desire for higher education is not very strong in the village as most villagers do not believe that more education will produce opportunities for more income. Therefore, the li school has no such extra courses and few li children request extra tutoring, denying the teachers and principals the opportunity for a good income although a few of the teachers living outside Talei Li earn extra money tutoring in Pouti.

• 875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

871 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

882 882 [868] 743 [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

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marriage, the two generations are the potential foster parents and either the foster father's or foster mother's parents; in the case of the preferred patrilocal marriage and the matrilocal marriage, the two generations are the young people to be married and one of their sets of parents. Our next task, then, is to establish which of these two generations was responsible for the decisions with which we are concerned. When we speak of the motives for adopting a child, are we speaking of the motives of the foster parents or of the foster grandparents? When we ask why a family decided upon a particular form of marriage, are we asking why the couple chose to marry in this way, or why their parents chose to arrange this kind of marriage for them? The answer depends on when during the past sixty years the decision took place. As a result of the various social and economic changes which have occurred in the past thirty years or so, the locus of authority for making decisions about marriage and adoption has undergone a basic change.

Forty years ago both the kind of marriage a young person made and the particular person he married were chosen by his parents. Except in the occasional family in which the young women were needed to work in the fields, unmarried women were not allowed out of the house except in the company of their mothers or grandmothers, and even then they did not often venture out of the seclusion of the family home. To do so would be something less than proper. One old woman gave us the following account of a young woman's life in Hsiachichou around the turn of the century.

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"Before women didn't go out of the house unless something really happened. One of our relatives who used to live here had a daughter and everyone knew they had a daughter, but no one had seen her. When there was that big flood and everyone was running for their lives, her older brother wrapped her in a blanket and carried her out. Even then they wouldn't let anyone see her. At that time buying and everything was done by the men. It wasn't like now when the women are the ones who take care of guests and do the marketing. The men who worked for the family were not allowed to go anywhere in the house. When they came back from work they had to go to their own rooms and stay there. If it was a big family there would be a separate room for them to eat in and to wash in. If they wanted water from the kitchen to take a bath in then it would be the men of the family who would come and get it for them. They couldn't come into kitchen. The women only did the housework and cooked. When it was about time to eat they would get all the food on the table and then go stay in the bedroom until all the men had finished eating. It wasn't very easy to even see a woman then. The only women you could see were old ladies."

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There was clearly little opportunity for romantic attachments to form, and even on those rare occasions when they did there was little chance for the young people to marry unless their preference happened to be their parents' preference as well. The authority of the parents over their sons and daughters was as nearly absolute when they were twenty as when they were two or three. The terms of filial piety provided a moral justification for unquestioned parental authority, and the importance of land in the economy gave parents the power to enforce this authority. There could be no prodigal sons because there was no place for the disaffected son to go. To earn a living one had to have access to land, and it was only through inheritance that such access could be achieved. It was the happy position of the parents of this time to have both morality and the economy on their side, and it was the unhappy fate of the young to be nothing more than sons and daughters,

It was inevitable that once the younger people gained some authority in the family they would revolt against their parents in the matter of marriage. As we have already seen, this process began in the early 1920 but it was not until the 1930 that the younger generation began to assert their independence in any degree. By this time the majority of the families in the village were dependent to some extent on a wage income, and since it was easier for a younger person to get a job, their voices were heard more and more often in family affairs. Even those families who were still primarily farm families could not answer the challenge of a son who threatened to leave the kê and support himself if the parents did not consent to his choice of a marriage partner. The high value which the older generation placed upon genealogical continuity and the realistic fear which they felt in facing old age without children began to work against them. The loss of an adult son was an irreparable loss, and parents were reluctant to risk it by opposing their children in the matter of marriage.

Perhaps of as much influence on the changing marriage patterns is the very fact that the freedom the young people gain by their wage work also gives them new opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex. Young men and women work together in the same factories, travel back and forth together on trains to their jobs without the company of their parents, and have some opportunity to meet together in private. There is, however, still nothing like the Western notion of freedom of contact between the sexes. A young woman seen talking to a strange man in public will be very much gossiped about, and only a few years ago

178 the local booligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen
• 882 walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations, however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walking together toward the local market town. Some of the young people from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without completely destroying their good names.

*584 In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding
*583 marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match
128 is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940 have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51 marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abrogation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the
128 marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more
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3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
369 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

87% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are c educational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

362 593 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were expected [861] to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child who threw a temper tantrum was ignored [584] Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain at home [434] Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male or female [882] Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. [431] When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. [164] Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 873

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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517 444 [883] includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 [438] The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage ooo and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
[562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[276] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 599 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
• 886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time. even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Tu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Tuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

[886]

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There 886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

0007 As a term paper project in my undergraduate class, the late Joseph Payne conducted 50 surveys of ancestral shrines in the city of Taipei and found only 37 had ancestral tablets but all 50 had censers.

[776] 8 The question as to whether or not Confucianism is a religion has not yet been settled (C.K.Yang,1967:26-7). Villagers believe that Confucius is a god who has the power to do good.

9 "Bad-hearted" is a literal translation. The idea which is conveyed seems to be a combination of insincerity and impropriety. On the other hand, a "good-hearted" person is usually one who does the right thing at the right time, quietly and modestly.

10 When invited to a wedding, the guest is expected to pay an amount in cash (enclosed in a red envelope) which is sufficient to cover the cost of his food and drink. The size of the donation which is proper varies but an informal communication system conveys the amount. I use donation advisedly for in practice, one often does not recieve the formal invitation until after the donation has been delivered.

Chapter VIII: The Life Cycle

1 Subsequent to the completion of the study, the change to nine years has been officially inaugurated.

2 The children sleep in bed with their parents until about age ten (See subsequent section of this chapter).

3 He was often consulted by other villagers with regard to the accuracy of some line of poetry or quotation from the classics.

4 Wine houses serve drinks and food along with entertainment by prostitutes. Although use is made of the prostitutes, many trips are merely to drink, eat, and joke with the girls while sitting at a table with male friends.

5 There are a very few wealthier families who celebrate a man's fiftieth birthday.

• [884] 6 Over age 60, everyone is considered to be old. Some people argue that old age commences at age 50.

7 This would mean that the 60th, 80th, and 100th are more important than the 70th or 90th although the increment of importance added by the greater age overwhelms the differences from the belief in numbers.

8 No one was sure what would be the nature of a ceremony for a married person who died young without having any children. The only cases of married barren people in recent memory were all those who married late in life and were both poor and with a small network of kinsmen. The ceremonies in each case were simple but this could be related to the latter two factors rather than the lack of descendants alone.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596 593 [114] frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the new *chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

[626] From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend 337 a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who 337 has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his 593 time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

465 561 [884] chronological age and varies with the physiological maturity of the individual and his ability to demand this level of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 463 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields. [477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).

245 [462] Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After [462] [887] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned [465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

By the time the division takes place a man and his wife are usually in their middle or late fifties and in many cases no longer able to support themselves. Since no one is able to save more than enough money to buy his coffin, the parents often have no choice but to live with one of their children. Moreover, even if they could afford to live alone few parents would choose to do so. The joy of an old person's life is to spend his declining years in the company of his children and grandchildren. Their progeny represent to most elderly villagers the most important and most satisfying accomplishment of their lives. To be separated from them would be unthinkable.

Which of the sons the parents live with after the division of the hf varies. In some cases they will live with the eldest son; in some cases with the second or third son; and in others they will alternate between two or three sons. In 1960 there were 33 people living in Hsiachichou who had at least one married son. Of these, 17 were living with their eldest and only married son; 3 were living with the eldest of several married sons; 5 were living with the second-born of several married sons; and 5 others were living alternately with two or more married sons. Which of these arrangements obtains often depends on where the sons live after the division of the family. Because of the scarcity of land in the village, it is common for one of a family's sons to leave the village after the division, and in this case the parents will usually live with whichever son remains. The old people are reluctant to leave their relatives and friends in the village for the strange environment of the city. Should more than one of their sons

542 593 388 remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

596 594 621 As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternately with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

511 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local
426 wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter
602 how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable
888 to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

*593 602 888 [189] the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 191 842 888 When asked the most important reason for having children, several villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [291] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [838]

592 ica, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[888]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest [592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[388] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for 888 the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

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602
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182

(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[361] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 ADS Taiwan Hokkien ADS
Sanlei...in

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 899 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ta'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

527 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis
561 for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called
527 hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX,
805 the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one
886 reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but
527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There
886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

388 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 888 562 831 561 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

562 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby,
593 the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 Another element related to the above argument is found
562 in the requirement that the young must show respect for the
593 aged. The traditional literature frequently includes state-
[361] ments about the respect due from females to males and from
[888] young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

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It becomes evident then that there has been significant change in the traditional Chinese value toward the land held earlier. Were it not for fellow villagers and *ch'in tsu* who still are critical of those who sell off their land in the indiscriminate manner in which it is so often done today, and for those villagers who still prefer the village and the agricultural way of life, it would be tempting to deny almost completely any residue of the feeling of "reverence or intimacy" toward the land which the peasant may have held in the past.

The villagers' attitude toward education is another evidence of the lack of real attachment to the land and village. Education to them means a way to rise above the life of a farmer or farm worker, although they do not necessarily expect it to raise them to civil service or elite status. Their primary interest in education is the attainment of an easier life, financial betterment, and power for the individual family. Thus, typically, village farmers want their daughters to marry businessmen. Education has far less inherent value of its own per se than it had in the Confucian tradition, and the materialistic ambitions are against the tradition as well.

Today there are few well-educated villagers who remain active in village affairs in the Hsin Hsing area. Usually, they go into business outside the village or accept employment in local government, such as in the district Public Office. When a man establishes a business outside the village area, as we saw happening after the land reform, he usually shifts his social as well as his economic interests. Once he accepts a position in local government, the educated villager tends to become cliquish and spend most of his time with high-status fellow government employees. Because of his position, he may be called upon by his village to help in certain problem situations, but generally, he takes little interest in most of his village's affairs and does little to furnish leadership. To a great degree nowadays in rural Taiwan, as a result of the new paths to status, education has come to have consequences contrary to the traditional function of education in the society. It now tends to foster greater individualism and detachment from the village and the local larger kinship group, and at times even from one's family.

This attitude held toward the village by the educated man who, usually, is financially well off, begins during earlier student days. Almost immediately upon entering middle school, the bond between the student and his fellow villagers weakens—that is except for those who happen to be school chums. Thus, only in a limited number of cases do middle school graduates serve as leaders or innovators in their village. The relatively better educated village members rarely enrich any of the village community functions, nor do they by their own

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example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercussions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently, a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin, and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically. Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however, these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is required, and without such education the villagers might never have been able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities. Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[491] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
• 871 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The

inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in traditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposition
871 was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that among the wealthier classes in society, there were many educated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are devoted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
• 891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described [571] informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for

829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

• 876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

Cooley's construct of a primary-secondary relationship continuum (1909), Americans expect a kindergarden or first grade teacher to have a primary relationship with his students, i.e., he should be intimate and have knowledge of the child's home life, father's occupation, number of siblings, etc. As the child progresses in school, his relationships with teachers moves steadily towards the secondary end of the continuum, reaching its lowest point near the second year of college. It then reverses again approaching a maximum at the primary end during advanced graduate work.

The Chinese model is quite different. The first grade teacher has an extreme form of a secondary relationship with his pupils possessing knowledge of the student's name and academic performance and little more. He should not be warm; rather, he should be extremely harsh, a style of behavior considered best by teacher and parents alike. Indeed, parents will criticize a teacher on the basis that he doesn't look "fierce" enough. The new principal who assumed the position during our study experienced some problems establishing her competency because she was a female. Villagers felt that no female could be quite as frightening to a child as a male and therefore, she would not be able to properly fulfill the principal's main function of discipline. The secondary relationship is maintained with almost all students throughout primary school although a few

• 8% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[751] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
• 882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 983 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of 121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the 882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schoolen versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

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Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[284] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
a [884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

Young Men

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Young Women

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462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[887] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.92 percent of his

1:Gallin E.4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit